

12. 24

LIBRARY OF THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

PRINCETON, N. J.

BR 75 .W8 1883 v.28
Wycliffe, John, d. 1384.
Latin works



Cod. Univ. Prag. XI. E. 3. fol. 9^b. *De Fund. Sect. pag. 55.*

et conseilus qui sit auditore sando est omni in dñe
seculis & platis. Et ut aut ossibus et levius sit
faciles & immobilitat quidem operantur defendendo ad
utorum quod dent intendit sic operantur homines
poterunt peribz primorum quatuor distantes fuerint
dui differunt spualitatem adiuvare. et sic usque deinceps
dico plurimi et ipsati quia pectoralit qui indent
esse lupa et omnia in mites ac mea perpetrato et
ram et deinde sui spualit ad utorum pacem ut
pucap pectoribus plures mihi. Deinde vero vobis
oss ut qui differunt reprehende sicut dent sicut
beli operantur pueris. Quia ex fide capimus

Cod. Univ. Prag. III. G. 11. fol. 58^b. *De nov. Ord. pag. 330.*

tant quicq; fini concepto quo et eorum vita et vis
et astari apostoli yuio ac qd ppa fidei et conducti-
vitate discepatos Et zo si fidei ueritatem fidei etiam
uocat. iste fratribus ppf uultem cum Gesum quanta si
in diuina ista fa factur ab ecclesia fidei excoleta fact
abit. supris capacitate libata. Vnde assumit quod si
debet apostolis qd tardat in qua pvincia suu doc
uatis sat qd sancti fidei si ut aliis laberant fidei
adde pueris. Nibbi cibis ouesum sit absq; dubio
et fidei pueris. cu qd feta eorum vis suis ples doce
ant p; ex sibz et dicitur taciturnus qd ut sunt in fide
les suam statim p; ponere ut fletur ut fidem
pplo p; dicatur.

^a Cod. Univ. Prag III. G. 11, fol. 260^a. *De Perf. Stat.* pag. 481.

DEC 15, 1984

JOHN ✓ WICLIF'S
POLEMICAL WORKS
IN LATIN

FOR THE FIRST TIME
EDITED
FROM THE MANUSCRIPTS
WITH CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES
BY
RUDOLF ✓ BUDDENSIEG.

ENGLISH EDITION.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
PUBLISHED FOR THE WYCLIF SOCIETY BY TRÜBNER & Co.,
57 AND 59 LUDGATE HILL.

1883.

TO THE
MASTER OF WICLIF-RESEARCH
GOTTHARD LECHLER, D.D.
PROFESSOR ORDIN. AT THE UNIVERSITY OF LEIPSIC
THESE VOLUMES ARE DEDICATED
AS A TOKEN
OF THANKFULNESS AND ESTEEM
BY
THE EDITOR.

PREFACE.

Until within the last few years, England has been singularly ungrateful to the memory of one of her greatest men. She seems to have forgotten that not only is John Wyclif the father of her prose, but that he was also the first to do battle for the maintenance of evangelical faith and English freedom with a foreign power that openly denied to Englishmen the privilege of both.

Great as he was, we do not yet know him as we should. That he influenced his time, is on all sides conceded: how he influenced it, nobody precisely knows. On many, perhaps most of us, 'his dim image looks down like the portrait of the first of a long line of Kings, without personality or expression.'

The only way to understand him is to read him, not to read about him. Then only does his inmost self, his deepest spiritual life, animate the portrait hitherto so shadowy, and we see how much in that great strife between two conflicting influences depended upon the personal power, the character and the moral force of the individual, upon his relations to the great interests he represented, and to the adversaries he combated. 'Dann geschieht es wohl oft', says Leopold von Ranke, 'dass die Bestrebungen, welche in ihren Trägern zu Grunde gerichtet erscheinen, eine nachhaltigere Wirkung auf die nachfolgenden Ereignisse ausüben als der Sieger, der zu früh triumphierte.'¹

This is in a remarkable manner the case with Wyclif, who stood on the boundary line of two distinct modes of thought, and in whose noble personality the great movements which stirred the English

¹ For it very often happens that efforts, which seem to have perished with those who made them, exercise a more enduring influence upon subsequent events than the conqueror who prematurely triumphs.

people at the close of the Middle Ages, are united. No one therefore, for whom historical studies have any interest, will regret to trace the growth and development of a great nation in the person of its greatest representative — thus at the same time feeling somehow the pulsations of the deepest national life.

This, however, cannot be, so long as a personality, having a profound influence upon a nation's intellectual life, remains unknown, as regards his most important utterances. True progress in historical study will not be arrived at by talking about these old writers, but by letting them speak for themselves; not by listening to what people say of them, but by listening to their own words. More first-hand knowledge is wanted. English Handbooks of Literature are, in my experience, too commonly filled with second-, or third-hand information; yet there is a world of difference between reading a work, and reading about it.

For these reasons I thought it worth my while to copy and to collate the following Tracts of Wyclif's from their Manuscripts in Continental and English libraries. I have spent more than seven years over this work, making use, for my studies, of all the holidays and the leisure hours left me by school duties. Upon the difficulties of copying and collating, of examining critically, correcting and printing texts of the later Middle Ages, I will not expatiate. 'For I profess not talking, only this: let each man do his best' — and say little about it!

In 1880 and 1881 I endeavoured in private letters to draw the attention of Englishmen to the desirability of printing these texts. I did not succeed. Even the Delegates of the Oxford University Press declined an offer made to them for this purpose. A letter which I wrote on the subject to the Editor of the 'Academy' on September 17th, 1881, was more successful: this led to my having some correspondence on the Wyclif texts and their eventual publication, and shortly afterwards when in March 1882 the Wyclif Society had been founded by the energetic F. J. Furnivall and his helpers, I was asked by the Executive Committee to print the Polemical Tracts as the Society's first volumes.

I do not feel afraid of any reflections on the late appearance of my volumes. I appeal to scholars who have ever done work of the kind. It is simply impossible for one man to prepare and bring out two volumes of the present size in six or nine months.

As to my English, I do not pretend to any elegance, or even fluency. No fair-minded reader will expect it from a foreigner who only occasionally ventures upon an idiom not his own. If I have succeeded in making intelligible what I had to say, I shall be satisfied, for then my highest ambition for the present will have been fulfilled.

In this connection I may as well add that the translation of the critical parts of the present volumes afforded no little difficulty. To edit mediæval texts critically is work not very familiar to English scholars: the Anecdota Oxoniensia are only just beginning to break up the way. Consequently, I had to struggle forward on ground not yet trodden, and to form a terminology of my own: whether I have succeeded, those who understand this editorial and critical work better than I do may decide.

I should also mention that while preparing these volumes I became aware that on the Continent, not only in Vienna, Prague (and Paris) are there Manuscripts of Wyclif's Latin Works, as has been hitherto assumed.

Dudík has already stated that the Library of Stockholm is possessed of Wyclif Manuscripts carried off from Moravia during the Thirty Years War.¹

On a tour of investigation through Upper-Lusatia, Bohemia, Moravia and Lower-Austria I have been fortunate enough to come upon, to examine, and, in part, to collate Wyclif MSS. hitherto unknown, in Bautzen (Bibl. Gersdorff.) and in Olmütz (Kais. Kön. Studienbibliothek).

I take also advantage of the occasion which this preface presents, to draw the attention of Wyclif scholars to a paper Manuscript of the fifteenth Century, which is preserved in the Dombibliothek of Zeitz (in the Prussian province of Saxony), and which contains the 'Articuli Wygcleff condempnati 1407'; and lastly to a codex of the Biblioth. Laurentiana in Florence, containing the following Tracts: (1) De Fund. Pseudofratrum; (2) De Christo et suo Adv. Antichr.; (3) De Citat. frivolis; (4) De nova Praevaricantia Mandat.; (5) De Contrar. duorum Domin.; (6) De quibusdam captivis Hispan. (Shirley, Catal. No. 66); (7) Dialogus (Shirley, No. 62); (8) Trialogus; (9) Determinatio de Dominio (Shirley, No. 56); (10) De Servit. civ. et Domi-

¹ Cf. Dudík, *Forschungen in Mährens Geschichte*, Brünn 1852, p. 198 ff.

nio saecul. (Shirley, No. 68).¹ — I regret that though the existence of this codex became known to me, I had not an opportunity of examining it. The pages of the Florentine Catalogue referring to it did not come under my eye, until the printing of the texts in question had been nearly completed.

I have also prepared a German edition of the Polemical Tracts, which will be published by Johann Ambrosius Barth, of Leipzig. This edition, which I prepared previously to the English one, is in one volume, and this circumstance must eventually explain some references made in the book without regard to its being published in two volumes.

In conclusion, I offer my heartiest thanks to the many, whether friends or strangers, from whom I have received assistance in compiling and translating these volumes. I would mention especially F. D. Matthew Esq., of London, to whom I am indebted for the copy of two Tracts; Miss Frances Jones and the Rev^d. R. Horne, of Dresden; and, in particular, Miss Alice Shirley, of Oxford, who thus in some manner continues the services rendered by her much revered Father to the memory of John Wyclif, the great Reformer, in whom the characteristics of the Christian and the Englishman meet and combine in almost equal fulness, as do in Luther Christianity and Germanity. Five hundred years ago John Wyclif passed to ‘the fatherland’; four hundred years ago Martin Luther was born: in the confused strivings and the unclear tendencies of the present time it is, I believe, meet and proper to remember τοὺς ἡγονμένους ἡμῶν οἴτινες ἐλάλησαν ἡμῖν τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ, Hebr. XIII, 7.

Dresden, Vitzthum Gymnasium: October 31, 1881.

Dr. Rudolf Buddensieg.

¹ Cp. Catal. Cod. Lat. Bibl. Laurent. ed. Bandini, Flor. 1774. Tom. I, p. 579—581. Codex membr. MS. in 8, Saec. XIV exenatis, perversis et intricatis literis ac per compendia exaratus. Constat foliis scriptis 182. Deest hic una cum sequenti codice in Catalogo Montfauconiano, ubi sub numero XXXIII ponitur Codex Prophetarum Minorum cum scholiis.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME I.

	Page
I. General Introduction	I—C
(1) <i>John Wyclif's Latin Works and their Bearing on his Schemes of Reform</i>	I—XV
(2) <i>The Polemical Writings and Argumentation of Wyclif</i>	XV—XXIII
(3) <i>Contents and Arrangement of the Volume</i>	XXIII—XXVIII
(4) <i>The Manuscripts</i>	XXVIII—LVII
(a) <i>The Vienna Manuscripts</i>	XXIX—L
(b) <i>The Prague Manuscripts</i>	L—LVI
(c) <i>The Olmütz Manuscript</i>	LVII
(d) <i>Lord Ashburnham's Manuscript</i>	LVII
(5) <i>The present Edition</i>	LVII—C
II. Text	1—384
(A) <i>Polemical Tracts against the Sects</i>	1—384
I. <i>De Fundatione Sectarum</i>	1— 80
(a) <i>Introduction</i>	3— 12
(b) <i>Text</i>	13— 80
II. <i>De Ordinatione Fratrum</i>	81—106
(a) <i>Introduction</i>	83— 87
(b) <i>Text</i>	88—106
III. <i>De Nova Praevaricantia Mandatorum</i>	107—150
(a) <i>Introduction</i>	109—115
(b) <i>Text</i>	116—150
IV. <i>De Triplici Vinculo Amoris</i>	151—198
(a) <i>Introduction</i>	153—160
(b) <i>Text</i>	161—198
V. <i>De Septem Donis Spiritus Sancti</i>	199—230
(a) <i>Introduction</i>	201—207
(b) <i>Text</i>	208—230

CONTENTS OF VOLUME I.

	Page
<i>VI. De Quatuor Sectis Novellis</i>	231—290
(a) <i>Introduction</i>	233—240
(b) <i>Text</i>	241—290
<i>VII. Purgatorium Sectae Christi</i>	291—316
(a) <i>Introduction</i>	293—297
(b) <i>Text</i>	298—316
<i>VIII. De Novis Ordinibus</i>	317—336
(a) <i>Introduction</i>	319—322
(b) <i>Text</i>	323—336
<i>IX. De Oratione et Ecclesiae Purgatione</i>	337—354
(a) <i>Introduction</i>	339—341
(b) <i>Text</i>	342—354
<i>X. De Diabolo et Membris eius</i>	355—374
(a) <i>Introduction</i>	357—360
(b) <i>Text</i>	361—374
<i>XI. De Detectione Perfidiarum Antichristi</i>	375—384
(a) <i>Introduction</i>	377—379
(b) <i>Text</i>	380—384

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

abbrev. = abbreviated

add. = added

cap. = capitulum

cf. = confer

chap. = chapter

cod. (*codd.*) = codex (*codices*)

col. = column

compend. = compendium

corr. = corrected

cp., *comp.* = compare

cr. out = crossed out

e. g. = exempli gratia

Expl. = Explicit

ff. = following

f. i. = for instance

fol. = folium, folio

ibid. = ibidem

i. e. = id est

Inc. = Incipit

in mar. = in margin

l. = line

lin. = linea

mar. = margin

m. of ref. = mark of reference

n. (not.) = note

om. = omitted

p. = page

repeat. = repeated

texthd. = texthand

ud. = underdotted

underl. = underlined

v. = verse

viz. = videlicet

w. m. of ref. = with mark of ref.

CORRIGENDA IN VOLUME I.

Page 56 line 33 read vend. v. em.

„ 57 „ 7 „ nimis *in cod. γ*
„ 57 „ 26 „ debent *in cod. γ*
„ 67 „ 4 „ impietate
„ 93 „ 24 „ *Ockam*
„ 153 „ 13 „ 161; *they are*
described
„ 172 „ 32 „ supp. *αD,C etc.,*
then enim supp.
BE

Page 190 line 27 read III D²

„ 191 „ 17 „ Prov. 30^{33e}
„ 201 „ 16 „ despised
„ 252 „ 30 „ *A¹ blasph. ACE*
om. E
„ 275 „ 36 „ *E¹ om. γ*
„ 307 „ 32 „ suarum domorum
„ 312 „ 31 „ ^c as to
„ 340 „ 5 „ *fugitive —*
„ 340 „ 13 „ *head to foot*

WYCLIF'S POLEMICAL WORKS.—WYCLIF SOCIETY.

CORRECTIONS.

VOL. I.

PAGE			
vii,	Preface, l. 9 from foot, <i>for</i> fifteenth <i>read</i> fifteenth.		
viii,	l. 2 „ exam „ examin.		
	„ l. 2 from foot „ 1881 „ 1883.		
iii,	Introd., l. 5, from foot „ Reformers „ Reformer's.		
	last line „ 1669 „ 1869.		
iv,	l. 1 <i>for</i> notes „ <i>read</i> notes ¹ .		
	n. 5 „ T. Gottl. Vierling „ J. Gottl. Vierling.		
vii,	n. 2 „ in light „ in the light.		
x,	l. 2 „ Englishman „ Englishman.		
	l. 21 & elsewhere „ Montague „ Montagu.		
	l. 23 „ undertaken „ undertaken.		
xii,	l. 1, ‘expostulated’ is used in its Latin sense of demanded.		
xiii,	l. 8 <i>for</i> loocked „ <i>read</i> looked.		
	l. 17 „ needlessless „ needlessness.		
xiv,	l. 17 „ Philipp „ Philip.		
	l. 18 „ Wilhelm „ William.		
	l. 24 „ Eward „ Edward.		
	l. 24 „ strenuously „ strenuously.		
	l. 3 from foot „ wich „ which.		
xvi,	l. 11 „ wich „ which.		
	n. l. 2 „ Vaughan „ Vaughan.		
xxii,	l. 18 „ Kathars „ Catharians.		
	l. 13 „ Quatuor „ Quattuor.		
xxiv,	l. 2 from foot „ where „ were.		
xxix,	n. 1 „ bibliography „ bibliography.		
lviii,	last l. „ af „ of.		
lxxxvi,	first l. „ to „ too.		
	l. 20 separate ‘requires at.’ „		
lxxxviii,	at foot <i>for</i> Fourtenths, & Fiftenths		
	Fiftenths „ Fourtenths, & Fifteenth.		
lxxxix,	l. 25 „ undoubtedly „ undoubtedly.		
xcii,	l. 17 „ wether „ whether.		
	6, l. 33 „ exstirpation „ extirpation.		
	35, n. h. „ superstition „ superstition.		
	47, n. c. „ This „ The.		
	92, n. l. 1 „ 1377 „ 1347.		
	143, n. b. „ fatrum „ fratrūm.		
	n. d. „ two priest „ two priests.		
	155, l. 20 „ where „ were.		
	166, n. b. „ Innocence „ Innocent.		
	219, l. 22 „ Luc „ Luke.		

CORRECTIONS.

PAGE		
256,	l. 22 for 13s 40d	read 13s 4d.
257,	n. d. , Urban IV.	, Urban VI.
281,	n. h. , Bisshop	, Bishop.
	„ <i>read</i> : ut quid ergo venistis, and <i>omit</i> the parenthesis.	
291,	Title of Tract VII, „ Purgtaorium	, Purgatorium.
332,	n.c. <i>read</i> ‘W. recurs to this accusation.’	
340,	last line „ Authors	, Author's.
341,	l. 5 „ terminus	, term.
	l. 9 „ reservation necessary	, necessary reservation.
373,	n. c. „ clergg	, clergy.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

I. John Wiclif's Latin Works and their Bearing on his Schemes of Reform.

The publication of John Wiclif's English Works was concluded three years ago, after more than 300 years had elapsed, since it first was taken in hand. His 'Wicket'¹ was brought out in Nüremberg and has since gone through three editions.² In 1608 Thomas James published two controversial writings of Wiclif against the Friars;³ his translation of the New Testament into English has been often⁴ printed,

¹ Wycliffe's Wycket, which he made in Kyng Rychard's days the Second Imprinted at Noremburc M.D.XLVI.

² Wicklieffe's Wicket faithfully overseene and corrected after the originall and first copie. 8^o, without date and place of publication. Wicklieffes Wicket, or a learned and godly Treatise of the Sacrament; set forth according to an ancient printed copie by Henry Jackson, 4^o. Oxford 1612. A reprint of the first edition was issued from the University Press by the Rev. Thomas Pantin.

³ TWO SHORT TREATISES AGAINST THE ORDERS OF THE BEGGYNG FRIARS. Compiled by that famous Doctour of the Church, and Preacher of God's Word, John Wicliffe, some time Fellow of Merton, and Master of Balliol College in Oxford, and afterwards Parson of Lutherworth in Lecester-shire, ed. by Th. James, DD., First librarian of the Bodleian, 4^o. Oxford 1608.

⁴ New Testament, translated out of the Latin Vulgata by John Wiclif, about 1380. Edit. by John Lewis. Fol. London, 1731. — New Test., transl. from the Wiclif, Polemical Works.

an edition of the translation of the entire Bible was given to the public in 1850,¹ and parts of the Bible have been edited separately.² The eminent theologian Dr. J. H. Todd, who has rendered us great service in connection with Wyclif literature, has lately given access by publication to three shorter works of Wyclif;³ F. D. Matthew brought the English series to a conclusion in 1880, in a volume of the Early English Text Society by including in his 'English Works of John Wyclif'⁴ what nine years before Thomas Arnold either on literary or practical grounds, had omitted from his 'Select English Works'.⁵

Latin, in the year 1380 by John Wyclif, DD. To which are prefixed Memoirs of the Life, Opinions, and Writings of Dr. Wyclif, and an Historical Account of the Saxon and English Versions of the Scriptures, previous to the opening of the fifteenth century. 4^o. London 1870.

New Testament in Bagsters' Hexapla, London 1841.

New Test. The earlier version, ed. by Lea Wilson. 4^o. London 1848.

The New Testam. in English according to the version by J. Wycliffe about A. D. 1380 and revised by John Purvey about 1388. With Introduction and Glossary by W. W. Skeat (formerly edit. by Forshall & Madden, now reprinted by the Clarendon Press) Oxford, 1879.

¹ *The Holy Bible in the earliest English Versions, made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his Followers.* Edit. by Rev. J. Forshall and Sir F. Madden, Oxford, Clarendon Press 1850. 4 voll. Imp.-4.

² *The Song of Solomon.* The earlier version, printed by Dr. Adam Clarke in his Comment. on the Bible. 4^o. London, 1810—1825. Also *The Books of Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon*, according to the Wycliffite Version made by Nicolas de Hereford about A. D. 1381, and revised by John Purvey, about A. D. 1388. With Introduction and Glossary by W. W. Skeat. 8^o. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1881.

³ *Three Treatises by John Wycliffe, DD.* — I. *Of the Church and her Members.* II. *Of the Apostasy of the Church.* III. *Of Antichrist and his Meynee.* Now first printed by J. H. Todd, DD. Dublin 1851. — Todd ten years before had printed, what Shirley has since declared not to be genuine, *The last Age of the Church*, Dublin 1841 (see *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, p. III, note). A few years later it was again published in the *Biblical Versions of Divine Hymns* by Wil-mot Marsh, London 1845, p. 121 ff.

⁴ *The E. W. of John Wyclif*, hitherto unprinted. Ed. by F. D. Matthew. London, publ. for the E.E.T.S. by Trübner & Co., 1880.

⁵ *Select English Works of John Wyclif.* edit. from the original MSS. by Thomas Arnold. 3 voll. 8^o. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1869—1871. The first two

His theological point of view seems to have had some influence on his selections.¹

Thus we are already possessed of first, second, and even third editions of all Wiclif's English Works. It still remains to publish a complete edition of those in Latin.

This task calls the more loudly for fulfilment, as not only all efforts in this direction, except for the publication of the Trialogus, have entirely ceased,² but as, in the unanimous opinion of those who have made a special study of the subject, the Latin works are all in various degrees of more value than the English. Wiclif's most important theological work, for instance, the exponent of his whole system, does not even exist in print.³

During the last twenty years many efforts have been made for the furtherance of this object. Most important were those of Lechler, whose keen appreciation of the Reformers ecclesiastical and political importance has raised a lasting monument to Wiclif's memory in his excellent Monograph⁴ and won for himself a permanent reputation. Wiclif's Trialogus, till lately considered as his greatest work, was twice printed in Germany,⁵ and in 1669 Lechler published a complete edition

volumes contain sermons. Before this A Postil of the Annunciation was published in the Biblical Versions of Divine Hymns by Wilmot Marsh. 8°. London 1845, p. 91 ff.

¹ *The son of the great Thomas Arnold of Rugby has joined the Romish Church. His conversion stands, I believe, in connection with the High Church movement, which still finds its chief support in Oxford, and which naturally prevents any great interest being shown in one of the first opposers of the Roman Church. Wiclif cannot even after his death expect to receive much at the hands of his Alma Mater, who during his life time expelled him when at the height of his fame.*

² *Lechler in 1863 published De Officio pastorali as a University Programm from the Manuscript No. 1337 of the Vienna Imperial Library; also several smaller writings in his Johann von Wiclif II, 574—621. In addition to this is De Christo et suo adversario, edited by myself, Gotha, Perthes, 1880.*

³ *With reference to this cf. De Christo etc. p. 8 ff.*

⁴ *Johann v. Wiclif und die Vorgeschichte der Reformation. I. vol. 743 pages, II vol. 654 pages. Leipzig, Fleischer, 1873.*

⁵ *The 'editio princeps' is probably the work of T. Frobenius (see Trialogus ed. Lechler, Oxonii, Typogr. Clarendon, 1869, 11); it must therefore have been printed*

of it with critical notes; by this critical edition, and by the publication of several smaller Latin fragments² he has rendered very valuable service to literature.

Next to Lechler, I must mention Walter Waddington Shirley in grateful appreciation of the many services rendered by him in connection with Wyclif, and in warm admiration of him as a disinterested compiler and acute critic. Shirley ranks far above all his predecessors in the minuteness of his research and his penetrating judgement,³ and has left indispensable aid to his successors in the province of Wyclif research. To him we owe the foundation of a firm basis from whence to prosecute a scientific enquiry concerning Wyclif as a theologian and Church politician. He has further enriched the Wyclif literature by the publication of the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, in which, in addition to the polemical works of Netter, he has printed a small number of Wyclif's Latin writings.

But his labours for Wyclif far outweigh those on Wyclif. During a number of years of his life at Oxford⁴ he never ceased in his efforts to enlist sympathy for the Reformer. Clearly and decisively he has pointed out to the 'Alma mater' what a debt of gratitude she

in Basel: *Jo. Wyclifi viri undiquaque piiss. dialogorum libri quattuor*, anno MDXXV. The full title in Lechler, Trial. 12. The name of the printer and place of printing is missing. This edition is rare. — The second edition bears the title of the edit. princ. (*auctus est denique liber catalogo praecipuorum de Wiclefo nostro scriptorum, quem vita ex optimis fontibus Germ. idiom. depicta sequitur*) and was published by T. Gotl. Vierling, 1753, in 4^o, at Leipzig and Frankfort; it was probably compiled by Ludw. Phil. Wirth, to whom we are also indebted for the first German biography of Wyclif.

¹ *Trialogus cum Supplemento Trialogi, illum recensuit, hunc primum edidit, utrumque commentario critico instruxit G. Lechler, Oxonii, typogr. Clarend.* 1869.

² see above p. III note 2.

³ *A Catalogue of the Original Works of John Wyclif*, Oxford 1856; *Fasciculi Zizaniorum Mag. Joh. Wyclif cum Tritico*, ascribed to Thomas Netter of Walden, ed. by W. W. Shirley (Master of the Rolls Series), London, Longman 1858, the value of which is increased by an introduction, evidently the fruit of earnest and critical study, (IX—LXXXVIII), and by an equally important appendix.

⁴ He died at Oxford in 1866 as Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Canon of Christ Church, after a short life of great activity.

owes to the memory of one of her greatest, if not the greatest of her sons.¹ ‘To the memory of one of the greatest of Englishmen his country has been singularly and painfully ungrateful. On most of us the dim image looks down, like the portrait of the first of a long line of kings, without personality or expression — he is the first of the reformers Of his works, the greatest, ‘one of the most thoughtful of the Middle Ages’, has twice been printed abroad, in England never.² — If considered only as the father of English prose, the great reformer might claim more reverential treatment at our hands. It is not by his translation of the Bible, remarkable as that work is, that *Wyyclif* can be judged as a writer. It is in his original Tracts that the exquisite pathos, the keen delicate irony, the manly passion of his short, nervous sentences, fairly overmasters the weakness of the unformed language, and gives us English which cannot be read without a feeling of its beauty to this hour.’

These words of Shirley’s have been so far of avail that the Delegates of the Oxford University Press have actually undertaken an ‘Edition of the Selected Works of Wyclif: English and Latin.’ The Delegates, with every means at their command, have printed Wyclif’s English Sermons, but this edition though externally well got up, is from a critical standpoint very imperfect, and these Old English writings have evidently been treated with a view to their historical and philological, rather than to their literary and theological bearings. But this publication did not pay its own way, and the commissioners not seeing their way to pecuniary success stopped short. The continuation and conclusion of the English edition, issued by Matthew, was the result of a private undertaking.³ The performance of the

¹ For the last time in 1865 in his Catalogue XVIII; V, see also *Fasc. Ziz. XLVI*; *Lechler Trial*. 34 (Oxford edition). — Shirley considers Wyclif as one of the four greatest scholars of the 14th century (*Duns Scotus, Ockam, Bradwardin and Wyclif*, *Fascic. LI*); see also the tribute paid to his literary importance in the *Hist. et Antiqu. Univ. Oxon.* by *Ant. a Wood*, *Oxon. 1674*, I, 193 c. 1 and 2.

² The *Fasciculi* were printed in 1858, Lechler’s Oxford edition of the *Triologus* in 1869.

³ The Early English Text Society under the direction of the energetic F. J. Furnivall.

most important part of the programme, viz. an edition of a selection of the Latin works, was not only not attempted,¹ but offers in connection with the enterprise, were rejected less from literary than from business considerations, by the majority of the Delegates, who thus, in my opinion, betrayed great want of appreciation of the duties of their trust.

After the fruitless appeal made by the late Professor Peter Lorimer, Lechler's translator, to those whose work it should have been to edit Wyclif's 'Opera Latina', it is doubtful whether the earnest exhortation addressed to the Oxford Society by Montague Burrows, in his short, but excellent work on Wyclif,² will be of any avail.

On the other hand, that steps must be taken in the direction in which Shirley and Lechler have proceeded, is obvious. The intrinsic value of the Latin works is in itself sufficient to remove the ban under which the memory of the great Reformer and enemy of Rome lies.

Most of the English Tracts were composed either for purposes of instruction or of agitation, and were sometimes a sort of sermon, sometimes a pamphlet on Church politics, but always intended to influence the great mass of the people. 'The English Works', says Shirley,³ 'are almost always short, being intended for popular circulation.'

¹ The 'Trialogus' edited by Lechler for the Delegates, had already twice appeared in print, and therefore does not come in question here.

² Cf. *Wyclif and his English Precursors*, translated from the German of Prof. L. by P. Lorimer. 2 voll. London, C. Kegan Paul, 1878, I, XII: 'It is much to be wished that the University of Oxford, Wyclif's Alma Mater, should complete the service of justice to the memory of so great a man, by carrying out to the full her own noble design of a collection of the "Select Works" of Wyclif.'

³ *Wyclif's Place in History. Three Lectures* by Montague Burrows, Prof. of Modern Hist. in Oxford. London, Isbister, 1882, p. 40: 'In the face of concurrent testimony to the need of printing these works, it is distressing to hear that the authorities of the Oxford University Press have found themselves obliged to decline N. N.s. offer to undertake the task of editing them. — One must suppose that nothing but imperative necessity could have prompted the refusal of the University to perform what would seem to be its natural function. Let us hope that some other society or munificent individual may step into its place. No literary enterprise of a nobler character is open to any man in the present day.' See also p. 128—129.

⁴ *Catal. VIII.*

tion' and Lechler remarks, *J. v. W. II*, 557, that 'the great majority of the English writings are merely pamphlets, numbering but a few pages, the most extensive filling at most four or five sheets of print' and in the same place: 'The chief merit of Wyclif's English works lies in the knowledge they give us of the history of the English language and of his popular influence.'

Wyclif's Latin works are of greater and more lasting importance, not having been called into existence by the ephemeral questions of the day, as their form and contents testify. Of these not even his chief work, the '*Summa Theologiae*', is yet printed.

The value of these writings for the better knowledge and estimation of the man has been pointed out by many. Wyclif, the philosopher and theologian, the controversialist and pastor, the Church politician and University professor can never be duly appreciated, till it has become possible to study him from these sources.

'A thorough knowledge of Wyclif's position as theologian and politician can only be arrived at through these', 'the Latin works far outweigh the English in importance', writes Lechler,¹ and Shirley remarks: 'The Latin works are both historically and theologically by far the most important'; 'it is from them alone that Wyclif's theological position can be understood; and it is perhaps not too much to say that no writings so important for the history of doctrine are still buried in manuscript.'² The late Reinh. Pauli, who died at a time when his friends and fellow workers could ill spare him, wrote as follows with a happy allusion to Milton's verdict on Wyclif's national merit: 'Time and posterity have not comprehended him. It is only after the publication of his various works in Latin and English, when his teaching will come to be seriously investigated, that his rightful place as one of the earliest Reformers will be accorded him. The reformation of the Church was not to be his work during his lifetime. So far Milton is right in exclaiming, though in a tone of lamentation, from his own high and patriotic point of observation: 'If the stiff-

¹ *J. v. W. II*, 557.

² *Catal. IX*, with ref. to this, cf. *Fascic. XLVII*: As it is in light of subsequent events etc.

³ *Bilder aus Alt-England*, 2. ed. 1876, 265.

necked obstinacy of our prelates had not obstructed Wyclif's sublime and exalted spirit, the names of the Bohemians Hus and Hieronymus, and even of Luther and Calvin would at this day have been buried in obscurity, and the glory of having reformed our neighbours would have been ours alone!'

But apart from their purely theological importance and value as throwing light on Wyclif's doctrines, the Latin works are at the same time valuable as proofs of the authenticity of the English writings. As to the former, evidence of genuineness is abundant, for of them we have an old tradition dating from the 25 or 30 years following Wyclif's death. Reference is made to them in the writings of his adversaries, Cunningham, Woodford, Netter, and in the Acts of the English¹ and Basel Councils and in the controversial literature of the Husites, as well as in the works of Hus, Jakobellus and Rokycana. Lastly Wyclif himself alludes to them either directly or indirectly, sometimes referring to their whole title, or in a general way, e. g. *ut alias testigi, ut sepe dixi, de quo dictum est alibi etc.* No such proofs exist for the English writings. They are almost entirely ignored by Wyclif in his unquestionably genuine writings,² neither is any mention made of them in the works of his opponents, so that we possess no external evidence of their authenticity. This lack of direct proof is supplied by Wyclif's Latina, the shorter ones of which are often simply duplicates of the English Tracts, with merely the title changed.³

¹ Cf. the great work of Wilkins', *Concilia M. Britanniae*, London 1736.

² The one exception is his *Wicket* which was the cause of a trial in the 16th century.

³ I shall give but one example: Select. Engl. Works III, 242: 'For þis uncouþe discencioun þat is bitwixe þes popes semeþ to signyfie þe perillous tyme þat Pouл seiþ schulde come in þes laste dayes And firste it semeþ, þat dissensioun of þis popehede is for coretise of worschipe and wynnyng of þis world, þat bi cautele of þe fende is knytted to þis office' etc. to be compared with 'Quia ista monstruosa dissensio inter papas videtur significare tempora periculosa, que secundum apostolum novissimis temporibus sunt futura' etc. in De dissensione paparum cod. (of the Imper. Libr. at Vienna) 3929 fol. 219^r, see below p. 542 ff. 'It is impossible', writes Matthew in a private letter treating of this question of date, 'while the Latin works are unprinted, to decide the date or

In addition to this the more extensive Latin works contain no little material for contemporary history. Wiclif was a man who evidently took an active personal interest in all the important questions of his day, and was a prominent leader of one or other of the religious and political factions. Without therefore being an actual historian, he refers, in the midst of his theological expositions, to nearer or more distant events in illustration of his subject, sometimes merely touching them, at other times going into details. The following Tracts have also a rich vein of history running through them, and historical allusions in connection with controversial discussions may be found scattered through nearly all of these. Regarded in this light, these pamphlets would have formed a suitable object to the Master of the Rolls for the great care he is bestowing on the preservation of the annals of his nation's history during the Middle Ages.

In the fourth place attention is to be drawn to the fact, that although Lechler in his biography of Wiclif has thrown so much light on single periods of the reformer's life, there yet remains much that is still controversial. This deficiency was a natural consequence of the state of Wiclif-Literature at the time of Lechler's publication; his task was restricted to certain limits. He performed his utmost by the free use, as far as lay in his power, of the Vienna Manuscripts, and has far surpassed English biographers. On small and sometimes important points he must submit however to correction. With reference to this, I will allude only to the so called Oxford-period of Wiclif's life 1360—1374, to the commencement of the warfare with the Friars and to the establishment of his Travelling Preachers. The new Latin sources of information about to be published in this volume will contribute valuable aid on these points. It will become an easier matter to prosecute further research, when more light has been thrown on these periods by the solution of chronological difficulties which have long burdened Wiclif-literature. So much for this.

On the other hand, when these chronological difficulties will have been overcome, we shall have gained a most excellent means of dis-

the genuineness of the English Tracts. Still it must be useful to bring them within the reach of the critics:

covering and comparing the different phases of the development of Wyclif, as an Englishman, a scholar and a reformer.

Such are the reasons, concerning Wyclif personally, which seem to render it necessary to begin the publication of the Latin Works, or, at least, a selection of them. They form at the same time the motives for my own undertaking: Lechler has laid aside his pen,—the disciple, in all consciousness of the limits of his knowledge and capacities, has endeavoured in the following pages, to continue in the footsteps of his master.

In this edition of Wyclif's Polemical Works which now is given to the public, the first stone is laid to the broad foundation on which W.'s theological system must be erected for the good of our later generations. Small as it is, it appears to me to be of value as displaying a characteristic picture of the reformer's work. May it prove to have been well hewn and appropriate to its purpose.

In the meantime many hands have lately been at work to collect materials for this edifice. A Wyclif Society was founded in England during the March of last year, to remove, by publishing W.'s main works, 'from England the disgrace of having till now left buried in manuscript the most important works of her great early reformer'. Under the energetic management of F. J. Furnivall, Prof. Montague Burrows, and F. D. Matthew, the Society have undertaken the task of publishing those of W.'s Latin works which are still in manuscript, thus rendering them accessible to the learned. The work is being carried on with great energy. W.'s principal treatise, the Summa Theologiae, will at once be taken in hand. F. D. Matthew hopes to issue the two first books De Mandatis Divinis and De Statu Innocentiae before the end of this year; he is also to undertake the publication of book X: De Simonia, XI: De Apostasia and XII: De Blasphemia. Later on, Reginald Poole will publish the III—V book: De Dominio civili. The VIth book: De Veritate Scripturæ sacrae has been copied and collated by myself, and is now being prepared for publication. The books VII, VIII, IX either have been, or are now being copied by competent scholars. The pamphlet De Dominio divino, which is the Introduction to the Summa, is already tran-

scribed. A volume, containing a number of smaller Tracts, is in preparation.¹ The Executive Committee have, therefore, good reason to say: 'The work is thus well forward.'

It may be hoped that an undertaking, so successfully begun, will be carried to a satisfactory conclusion. It is much to be wished that the five hundredth anniversary of W.'s death (31st Dec. 1884) should find English and Germans engaged in the joint work of raising a memorial to this vigorous Teutonic mind; a monument more beautiful and durable than marble or bronze, not formed of lifeless stone, but moulded in his own living words of evangelical faith, of manly frankness, and patriotic high-mindedness.

John Wyclif is worthy of such a memorial. The struggle with the hierarchy of the Church, and the supplantation of the latter by new civil liberties of the nations on the one hand, and the free development of the religious conscience, in opposition to the dogmatism of Church formularies on the other — are the two currents by which the spirit of the Reformation is marked: both unite in W. not only for the first time, but also in their greatest force. At a period of universal helplessness, when the papacy, being lost in worldliness, and degenerated to a political rather than a religious institution, was unable to satisfy the national and spiritual aspirations of the Western peoples, — Wyclif was the first to give utterance to ideas which might bring deliverance to a generation whose traditional forms of life and thought were fading away without the prospect of their place being supplied. Towards the close of the Middle Ages it was more especially in England that the new power of an awakening national spirit was struggling into existence.

¹ Matthew has copied De captivo Hispanensi (No. 66 in Shirley's Catal.); De Paupertate Christi (No. 64 in Shirley is being copied in Paris.) No. 54 and 55 of the Catal. Contra Magistrum Outredum and Contra Willelmum Vynham are also being copied under the superintendence of Prof. Paul Meyer. Finally I have copied and compared a number of smaller pamphlets in Vienna, Prague and Bautzen which are not printed in this volume; these are in Shirley's Catal. No. 23: De Confessione; 47: De Oratione Dominica; 48: De Salutatione Angelica; 59: Responsiones ad 44 Argutias monach.; 61: Epistolae octo (so far as they are not yet published). 77: De Ordine christiano; 92: De Praelatis Contentionum; 94: De Graduationibus and 95: De Gradibus Cleri.

This spirit was embodied in W. and his great contemporary, the Black Prince. In the contest of the disorganizing power of feudalism and of a decaying romanticism, with the first strivings after political consolidation, the 'Last Knight', as Reinhold Pauli¹ observes, took part with an organizing hand, while it was in W., that the movement of the national spirit against the oppressions of the papal system had its most powerful representative. And of both parties it is true, that everyone, however noble-minded, however high in rank, whose fate cast him into this whirlpool, was seized by the force of opposing influences, none of which carried away undisputed victory. Treading in the footsteps of Ockam, Bradwardin and Grosseteste, W. proclaimed not only the modern idea of the liberation of the State from hierarchical supremacy, but he expostulated with St. Bernard and St. Francis evangelical piety in the 'Sect of Christ' instead of a Church in conformity with the world. Uniting warm religious feeling with the keen intellect of the dialectician and politician, W. maintained the authority of Holy Scripture over Pope and Church, and from this standpoint went on to criticise the constitution and doctrines of the papal system. And he was not only a man of words, but of deeds; nor did he work in vain. What he taught and lived continued to germinate abroad and to influence the religious feeling of the Lollards, Husites and Moravians till Luther's time; whilst it was in England, his native land, that his influence on the State was lasting.

Even though his remedies for the evils of the times were not always the right ones, his words sometimes ambiguous and apt to be misunderstood, — for the earnest minds of a later time they became the fountain of a new spiritual life. Thus his powerful personality in which the light of a later era seems to be reflected, stands at a turning-point in the history of the Christian Church.

The first harbingers of a new intellectual, though certainly premature spring, neither timidly nor faintly appear in him fully developed. Neither before nor after him, with the exception of Luther, has any reformer striven with such determination to bring back the Church from her outward lifeless forms, to urge her regeneration in accor-

¹ *Aufsätze zur englischen Geschichte*, Leipzig, Hirzel, 1869, S. 1.

dance with the teaching of Holy Scripture, and to infuse its spirit into her heart. The hidden germ of true religion had to be freed from the manifold external ceremonies by which it was concealed, in order that the Gospel might again appear in its unveiled purity and be proclaimed anew to the whole world. And since this national as well as religious revival found its representative in W., in whom the essential ideas and endeavours of the pre-reformers in the Church found unreserved expression, he is rightly looked upon as the most distinguished of the early reformers.

Before Hus, W. had already conceived the higher idea of a Church including in its community all believers belonging to the 'Party of Christ', instead of a merely legal institution, such as the Romish Church had become. All those ideas and tendencies by which so keen an observer as Karl Hase¹ recognises the peculiar importance of Hus, *viz.* his opposition to the clergy and to the abuses of the Papacy in his pamphlets and sermons, — the equality of the priesthood, — the needlessness of a visible head of the Church — the rights of congregations, — tithes mere alms, — the right of the government to confiscate Church property when ill-administered, — in fact the extinction of any proprietary right through the mortal sins of the possessor, — all these may also be found in W.'s writings, and many of them can be pointed out word for word in his works.

The connection between the Oxford and Prague movements is, in my estimation, far closer than could be supposed from what has hitherto been published.

And as regards the leading idea of the German Reformation, Lechler² has already pointed out that W. not only brings forward prominently Luther's formal principle of the Sole Authority of Holy Scripture, but also that the mediation alone by Christ, which he advocates, is conceived in the true spirit of the Reformation and closely connected with the evangelical doctrine of justification. — Thus the great and powerful ideas to be realized by a future, rich in promise, are embodied in him.

¹ *Church History*¹⁰ p. 366.

² *J. v. Wyclif I*, 741.

In the following polemical writings, these thoughts, though not always expressed in direct words, are everywhere made the basis of his arguments, or are tacitly implied. But the other side of his life work, so to say the negative one, which is the supplement of the positive, manifests itself more immediately in these controversial writings. All those dim and desponding tendencies of the past centuries, which called for a reform of religious life, are clearly and powerfully represented by W., the controversialist.

Since the disputes between the Catharians and the Roman See, neither Grosseteste nor Armagh, nor the Minorites¹ had so clearly discerned the inner depravity and antiehropian character of the papacy as Wyclif.

Since the death of Gregory VII., neither Arnold of Bresecia nor Peter Waldus, neither St. Francis nor St. Dominic, neither Bernhard nor Joachim, had demanded the return of the Church to apostolic purity and poverty of life so energetically as he.

Since the strife between Boniface VIII. and Philipp the Handsome, neither Marsiglio of Padua nor John of Jandun, nor Wilhelm Ockam had defended the national idea of the peoples as being equal to the ecclesiastical one, and demanded their recognition so vigorously and untiringly as he.

This national feeling, which first manifests itself in the Synod of Rockingham (1095),² and which rules the Romish policy of nearly all the English kings till Eward III., was upheld more strenuously and warmly by W. than by any of his predecessors. The following Tracts prove this.

But not only in this respect did he overstep the limits drawn to the German Reformation, but also by extending the Catholic idea of the Church through the prominence he gave to the universal membership in Christ, or as Luther expresses it — the ‘Allgemeine Priestertum’, — in conformity with which he yielded to the laity even a larger share in Church government than did Luther. His printed writings deal in detail more or less with this phase of his reforming activity.

¹ *In their reaction against the antiehropian character of the worldly and wealthy vicars of Christ.*

² *Cp. Jäger, J. Wycliffe and his Influence on the Reformation, Halle 1854, p. 2.*

The Church of the Future may also lay claim to him, because, amid many errors, he upholds the one fundamental truth, that the ideal Church, the Church still to come, must and will be a Church of the people and not of the hierarchy.

The currents of a reforming spirit, which may be traced all through the expiring Middle Ages, thus meet in W. At first they appear as narrow streamlets, running through the sterile and exhausted soil of a worldly hierarchy; but, in spite of the burning eagerness of an unevangelical Church to retain her possessions, they gradually increase, till in the Oxford Professor they overflow their banks, and at last threaten the vast structure of the Roman Church with danger and destruction.

It is profitable in the present time to bring this thought before our minds. And I consider these polemical writings, if read aright, as able to do this. This is one of the considerations which induced me to publish them, although they are in the first place offered to the learned. For beyond this circle I scarcely venture to hope for readers.

II. The Polemical Writings and Argumentation of Wiclif.

From what has been said above, it is clear how much importance is to be attached to W.'s Polemical Writings. They are a memorial of his patriotism, and as such bring before us one phase of his work as a reformer. On this account I have devoted all the leisure, which my school-duties have allowed me for the last seven years (especially the holidays), to copying and collating all the polemical writings of W., designated as such by Shirley and Lechler and by myself, and which are found in the Vienna, Prague, Olmütz, Bautzen and English Manuscripts. —

The publication of a Latin Polemical Tract would in itself possess considerable interest, for until about three years¹ ago, no such pamphlet had been printed.²

¹ My edition of *De Christo etc.* appeared at Easter 1880.

² Strange as this fact may appear, it is true. Dr. James had published an English pamphlet in 1608. (*Objections of freres*, by Thomas James D.D. Ox-

Without the publication of the most characteristic and important of the Polemical Works, it is impossible, in the present state of the Wiclif-literature, to trace the conflict with certainty through its various phases up to the climax, which we are to see represented in one of the Tracts printed in this volume (De Christo et Adversario suo Antichristo, last Tract but one). Lechler has already done good service in this direction also;¹ the main features have been accurately drawn by him; and if the following observations differ from him in details,² the explanation is mainly to be found in the fact that in depicting the struggle with the Papacy, he has failed to make use of just those Tracts which are essentially polemical, and has rather endeavoured to

ford 1608, 4^o; also with the title: An Apology for J. W. showing his conformitie with the now Church of England.) and Dr. R. Vaughan, in his Tracts and Treatises of J. de W. with Selections and Translations etc. London 1845, as is hinted at in the title, only gives selections and translations, together with a few modernized English writings of W.

¹ *Johann v. Wiclif I*, 566—602.

² *Amongst other matters, the date of the commencement of the struggle with the Begging Friars, which Lechler places in the middle of the year 1381, and believes to have arisen entirely out of Wiclif's attack on Transubstantiation (summer of 1381) seems to me an open question. (J. v. W. I, 488—89: 'From the moment that he began distinctly to apply his theological principles to the Roman Catholic dogma, . . . not only did his judgment on the Papacy grow much more severe, but at the same time he opened an attack upon the Begging Friars'.) I cannot at present enter upon a discussion of this question, and refer the reader to Matthew's remarks on this matter Engl. Works, p. XLIII ff. Even the De Officio Pastorali, edited by Lechler, Leipzig 1873 and placed by Lechler himself 'before 1378' (see p. 4), contains sharp attacks on the Friars. If Shirley in particular (Fascic. Zizan. XIV, p. 517 ff.) and with him Lechler (J. v. W. I, 586) pronounce the opinion, 'that, when the brave Archbishop Richard Fitz Ralph of Armagh died, in 1360, W. immediately took up his work, and as his spiritual heir continued the struggle with the begging Friars, so strongly maintained by him, to be a "mythical tradition", this same opinion and "mythical tradition" is expressly confirmed by Wiclif himself in one of the following Tracts, cp. De Ordinatione Sectarum, p. 92 ff. This makes it quite clear that W. did take up the battle with the monks as Armagh's spiritual heir. Cp. a similar statement in a letter of T. Arnold to the 'Academy', June 3^d 1882, p. 397, where the substance of a Lollard sermon is given.*

ground his theories on Wyclif's systematic works and Sermons.¹ — And yet this side of Wyclif's work of reform is especially deserving of careful examination,² for it forms the centre towards which his other doings converge. It is not, as Lechler has pointed out, and as I have formerly observed,³ to be regarded as the preparatory stage of his positive and constructive teaching, but it is an essential part of his life work, which, as will appear from the following Tracts, continues to the year of his death.

Taking a broad survey of this life work of Wyclif's, we find that it falls into two divisions, not indeed sharply separable in point of time, but yet in their tenour and purport distinct from one another: (1) the political struggle with Rome, 1366—1378;⁴ (2) the religious struggle with Rome, 1378—1384. This latter was carried on by him in two directions, (a) against the Papal Church and its institutions (Constitution, Monasticism, Pope-dom, Sacerdotalism, Cultus, Hierarchy), and (b) against the Romish doctrine, 1381—1384. Lechler has already given an excellent ge-

¹ He has made use of the following works of Wyclif's: *Lib. Mandatorum*, cap. 26 (cod. 1339 fol. 205 c. 1); *De Verit. Script. s.*, cap. 11 (cod. 1294 fol. 30 c. 3); cap. 20 (fol. 65 c. 4); cap. 14 (fol. 43 c. 3); *De civili Dominio II*, 4 (cod. 1341 fol. 104 c. 2); *I*, 43 (fol. 120 c. 1; fol. 123 c. 1); *I*, 35 (fol. 84 c. 1); *De Ecclesia*, cap. 12 (cod. 1294 fol. 164 c. 3); cap. 2 (fol. 133 c. 2); cap. 15 (fol. 178 c. 4); cap. 1 (fol. 128 c. 2); *Festivals Sermons*, X (cod. 3928 fol. 19 c. 1); *V* (fol. 8 c. 2); *LVI* (fol. 116 c. 3; fol. 117 c. 1); *XLIV* on Matt. 24, cp. Arnold, S. E. W. II, 394 ff.; *Cruciata*, cap. 8 (cod. 3929 fol. 238 c. 1); *Suppl. Trial.*, cap. 9, p. 450 (Lechler's ed., Oxford 1869); cap. 4, p. 423; 477; *Trial. l. IV*, cap. 32; *De Blasphemia*, cap. 1 (cod. 3933 fol. 117 c. 2); cap. 2 (fol. 123 c. 3); cap. 3 (fol. 126 c. 1); *De Apostasia*, cap. 1 (cod. 1343 fol. 37 c. 1) *XXIV Sermons*, No. IX (cod. 3928 fol. 152 c. 1).

² To give such in this place, by way of introduction, seemed to me incompatible with my present task, and with the object of a first edition. If God spares me life, time and strength, I hope to be able to make use at a later time of the material here given, for the elucidation of that subject.

³ Cp. *De Christo* etc. p. 12.

⁴ This is the crucial year: the Schism (cp. Pauli, *Bilder aus Alt-England*, p. 243; against Lechler, who gives 1376, J. v. W. I, XVI); the measures taken against Wyclif in 1377—1378 by the hierarchy were the result of his political and patriotic opposition.

neral sketch of this conflict with the hierarchical Church system. He distinguishes three stages,¹ between which a clear line of demarcation may be drawn. Up to the time of the Papal Schism in 1378, Wiclif 'was still very far from attacking the Papacy as such, in its core and essence: as the central Church authority he yields it a real recognition and sincere respect, though it is true only within certain limits'; this is the stage of a relative recognition of the Papal primacy. When in the year 1378 the French Cardinals set up an Antipope in the person of Clement VII. in opposition to Urban VI. who had been elected by the Romish Cardinals, and whose evangelical earnestness and Christian spirit Wiclif at first still acknowledged,¹—this setting aside of the Gregorian idea of Church unity brought about a reaction in Wiclif's mind: from henceforth he stands opposed on principle to the Papacy. Towards the person of Urban first recognised by him his attitude is neutral: but from the Papacy as such he finds himself bound to break away thoroughly.³—This position however was theoretically untenable: it would have been a stopping short half way; and of this a character so decided and thorough as Wiclif was incapable. The closer his conflict grew with the ecclesiastical authority, the more emphatic did his denunciations of the errors and crimes of the head of the Church become; and if it was not the sacramental controversy, dating from the summer of

¹ *J. v. W. I*, 575—581.

² *Cp. De Ecclesia*, cap. 2 (*cod. 1294 fol. 133 c. 2*): Dominus matris nostre (*i. e. ecclesiae*) . . . providit caput catholicum, virum ewangelicum, Urbanum VI . . .; ideo oportet ex operibus credere, quod ipse sit caput nostre ecclesie; also *fol. 133 c. 2*: *Ista fides de nostro capite tam gracie et legitime nobis dato est credenda . . . Nec dubium, quin nos omnes tenemur subesse sibi (*i. e. Urbano*) etc.; *Festival Sermons X* (*cod. 3928 fol. 19 c. 1*): Ideo maneat Urbanus noster in iusticia verus Petri vicarius et valet sua eleccio. *Cp. cap. 15 (fol. 178 c. 4)* and for an old reminiscence below *De Christo* etc. *cap. XI*: Qui videtur (*antipapa* is subject) pape nostro pretenso plus humili adversari.*

³ To this stage belongs Wiclif's *Cruciata*, *cp. cap. 8*, below p. 583 ff.: Absit fideles credere, quod in sanctitate vite unius istorum vel alterius pendeat . . . salus totius ecclesie militantis, cum probabiliter creditur, quod utroque istorum subtracto de medio vel dampnato staret ecclesia Cristi quiecius quam stat modo.

1381, which forced him into active opposition to the Papacy¹ as such, it was the perception that the Roman Pontiff stood in direct antagonism to Him whose vicar on earth he claimed to be. In this third stage of uncompromising opposition to the Papacy, the motto of the attack was: 'the Pope is Antichrist'. The systematic impoverishment of the country churches, the overbearing pride, the worldly character of the government, the claim of a universal priestly rule, on the part of the Pope, are nothing less than the assumption of divine attributes and rights; and that is a diabolical assumption. And now not only are the two actual Popes, Urban VI. and Clement VII. 'false Popes and Antichrists',² but the Pope as such is Antichrist; he is superfluous and pernicious to the Church, since he owes his office to the Devil.³ But, according to Lechler, not only does Wyclif hold this, but he goes so far as to stigmatise the Papal office, whose bearer is Antichrist, as in itself poisonous and destructive.⁴ Therefore no one is better fitted than the Pope of Rome, ut sit vicarius principalis Satanae et praecipuus antichristus.⁵ Lastly,

¹ *Fascic. Ziz.* 104: Post haec, cum non posset ultra celari ignis absconditus, coepit palam . . . dictare blasphemias etc. Incepit autem, sub a. D. MCCCLXXXI in aestate determinare materiam de sacramento altaris; *cp. also Joh. v. W. I*, 652.

² *Trial. (Suppl.)*, 450: Unde isti pseudopapae non possent patentius ostendere se esse vicarios antichristi and *ibid.*: Manifeste patet, quod uterque istorum pseudopaparum tanquam membrum diaboli in causa stultissima provocat homines ad pugnandum. *Cp. also De Christo etc. end of cap. VII:* Cum videtur multis peritis probabile, quod iste papa sit precipuus anticristus etc.

³ *Trial. (Suppl.)* 423: Ex ipsis rationibus potest colligi vel Avinionicus, quem aliqui vocant papam . . . , sit fons et origo totius nequitiae in militante ecclesia, ac si foret praecipuus antichristus. *S. 426:* Debemus enim credere . . . , quod nullus talis papa necessarius est per ordinationem Christi, sed per cautelam diaboli introductus; et tunc ista duo monstrata cum membris diabolo sibi adhaerentibus sese destruerent, ecclesia fidelium stante salva. *Cp. also Johann v. W. I*, 583 notes 1 and 2; *Historia Anglicana Thom. Walsingham* (*ed. H. Th. Riley, London, Rolls Series, 1863*) II, 58 art. 9; *lastly De Christo etc. end of cap. IX:* Ecclesia Christi posset regulari prospere et quiete sine tali papa, ut patet de tempore etc.

⁴ *XXIV Sermons IX* (*cod. 3928 fol. 152 c. 1*): Breviter totum papale officium est venenosum . . . , prelati versi sunt in lupos et capitaneus eorum . . . dyabolus vita et opere anticristus.

⁵ *De Blasphemia, cap. 3* (*cod. 3933 fol. 126 c. 1*).

as Lechler observes, the conception of Antichrist becomes in Wiclif's mind identical with that of the Pope, so that, for example, he simply describes the Papal Legates as missos a latere antichristi.¹ — And in one of the passages where he uses the strong language of his age, he characterizes the veneration accorded to the Pope as a plus detestanda atque blasphema idolatria, 'because thereby divine honour is paid to a member of Lucifer, who is a more horrible idol than a painted log, since he contains in himself such great wickedness.'²

Lechler has portrayed the last stage of the conflict in very vivid colours; probably chiefly because he has not drawn upon any systematic account, composed *ad hoc*, of Wiclif's opposition to the Pope, but has collected the violent outbursts against the Vicar of Christ, which are to be found scattered up and down throughout the already published writings of Wiclif (as well as in some still lying in manuscript); thus they appear at first sight to have no inner logical foundation and as being simply the rabid outpourings of a mind that sees the divine ideal of the Church perverted into sin and shame, and even diabolical wickedness. But a highly-coloured representation of this kind does not, as I believe, convey quite the true idea. In order to arrive at this, we must have regard to the whole range of Wiclif's polemical works; only these can give, I think, a more systematic account of his conscientious opposition to the aggressions of the Papacy and the Monks, explain the particular attacks, and throw light on every part of the subject. It seems to me that this is the case with the Tracts now published. They contain everything which Wiclif had to allege against Pope and Monk. I do not believe that any important charge which was available for the attack has been omitted. But with all the sharpness of the contest, with all the moral earnestness of the patriot and the Christian, the language remains full of a noble pathos, and never

¹ *Festival Sermons*, IV (cod. 3928 fol. 8 c. 2): Legatos cum bullis missos a latere anticristi. Cp. also below *De Christo*, beginning of cap. XII: Anticristus autem in persona propria etc.

² *De Blasph.*, cap. 2 (cod. 3933 fol. 123 c. 3), cp. *De Christo* end of cap. VII. How far this repulsive language is excusable, I do not undertake to decide; on this point see Lechler, J. v. W. I, 584 ff.

descends to the reckless and fanatical declamation which from such occasional expressions as those quoted above we are led to expect.

Most valuable for determining in this respect the entire character of the controversy is the Tract *De Christo et suo Adversario Antichristo*, which is the work of Wiclif's last year, and thus belongs to the final stage of the contest. In spite of this, Wiclif in no passage¹ goes so far as downright and without modification to identify the Pope with Antichrist or the Devil. His innermost conviction that thus it is he expresses in the passages bearing on the question cautiously and conditionally: the Pope is Antichrist only so far as he does, or leaves undone, this or that.² I consider it the more important to draw attention to this decided, but so to speak intellectually higher method of disputation, as Wiclif's enemies have not failed to bring forward in the most violent and reckless manner the recklessness and violence of their opponent against the visible head of the Church,³ and 'to make capital out of it'.⁴

¹ Even the beginning of cap. XII would seem to be conditional, cp. what follows.

² The following are the passages in question, cap. VII: Quanto magis anticristive etc.; and: Cum videtur multis peritis probabile etc.; cap. IX: Secundo dictum est, si papa etc. and: Et comperto quod pastores etc. cap. X: Capitur tamquam regula, quod si etc.; and: Revera si vite Cristi sit etc. und: Et indubie, si perseverasset etc.; cap. XI: Quod si moritur sic Christo contrarius etc. and: Quod si pape magis hoc etc. and: Ideo si in vita et doctrina etc.; and: Et quantum ad vitam etc.; and: Nec posset patere etc.; and: Numquid credimus ipsum etc.; cap. XII: Anticristus autem in persona propria etc., cp. with this the following: Sed quis posset esse etc.; cap. XIII: Ideo cum idem sit etc.; and: Ex istis practice declaratis etc. and: Sed cum inequa distribucio etc.; cap. XIV: Papa autem ex tali crebra citacione etc.

³ Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* I, 450, 451; II, 119; *Ypodigma Neustriae* 340, *Fascic. Ziz. passim*, for inst. 2, 108—109.

⁴ What Lechler, on the other hand, brings forward in his review of my edition of *De Christo*, *Theol. Litteratur.Zeitung*, May 22, 1880, No. 11, p. 251—52, seems to me only to confirm what I have asserted; he says p. 251 below: 'It is the fact, that the tractate . . . with regard to the Papacy, only lays down as all important this principle: If the Pope is contrary to Christ in life and doctrine, then he is an Antichrist in a pre-eminent degree.' The essence of the idea remains indeed unchanged, but it is just this conditional statement of the anti-papal idea,

It is true that this nobler mode of controversy does not obtain in all the Tracts. But in none does Wiclif descend, as might appear from the charges laid against him, especially by mediæval writers, to mere abuse, in which the strength of the proof stands in inverse proportion to that of the language. On the contrary he shows in each instance by an exhaustive treatment of the point at issue, that he is justified in his often sharp, and powerfully aimed rebukes: in one word, he grounds his attack. In this modification of what has been hitherto known of him,— if I may so call it, in the toning down of the former somewhat strong colouring, the value of the following Tracts seems to me in part to lie.

That nevertheless the language is full of force and sharpness, will be speedily perceived by those, who have overcome the first difficulties of the Wiclifian idiom. Never before in the Middle Ages had such a voice been lifted up against the mighty Rome, that sought to rule nations body and soul. Neither the energy, nor the many-sidedness of W.'s denunciations was to be found in the opposition of the Cathars and Waldenses, neither in Bernard of Clairvaux nor in Arnold of Brescia, neither in Gerhoh of Reichersberg nor in Joachim of Floris and St. Hildegard, neither in William Ockam, nor in Michael of Cesena, lastly neither in Grosseteste, Richard Armaugh nor Bradwardin. It is in Wiclif, the controversialist, that the oppositional spirit of the Middle Ages finds its ablest and most characteristic exponent. Even the 15th century has no one to place on a par with him in this respect, and only Luther's powerful and thrilling notes of evangelical testimony and burning indignation against the abomination in the sanctuary, as uttered in his great writings of the year 1520, sur-

as made by Wiclif, which is distinctive of his method of controversy. I consider that Wiclif's arguments and charges even gain in persuasiveness with the reader from being couched in this more refined form, because W. leaves it to him to draw the inferences from his hypotheses. It was just in the Pope, as the reader would plainly see, that certain hypotheses were fulfilled: but this involved the conclusions which Wiclif now leads the reader to draw. In the case itself naturally nothing is altered; nor was this asserted in my description of W.'s mode of arguing against the Pope, in De Christo, p. 15.

¹ Cp. for inst. the biblical proof in *De Fundat.* Sect. below, p. 13 ff.

pass in force of expression, intensity of feeling and depth of thought this language of W's. Certainly, W. wrote 150 years earlier than Luther. He had witnessed neither the impotent efforts of the Councils of reform, nor that deepest degradation of the Papacy by the notorious Popes of the 15th century.

The following Tracts, especially the latter half of them, throw also additional light upon Wyclif's controversial labours, inasmuch as they give us his charges against the supreme Head of the Church in their connection with one another. In this respect they afford what is quite new, for we seek in vain in the Latin works hitherto published for a systematic attack upon the Papacy as such, with a thorough statement of the grounds of opposition. In his other works¹ he is engaged in combating the 'Four Sects'. Before this ruling interest, which absorbed all the energies of his later years, his animosity against the Pope fell quite into the background. The Tracts printed p. 442 ff. on the other hand serve in the war against the Vicar of Christ on earth, to the climax of which we are led by the *Cruciata* and *De Christo et suo Adversario Antichristo*. They give us in broad outlines that wholehearted, deliberate opposition of W. to the Pope, to which occasional outbursts in the most various passages of his professedly theological works bear witness. In this respect the following Tracts fill up, I hope, a certain gap. They will lead us by means both of their form and contents, to a view of W.'s contest with the Pope different from that formerly entertained.

III. Contents and Arrangement of the Volume.

The study of the Wyclif Manuscripts has not yet advanced so far, that the question 'What are we to understand by his Polemical Works?' could for the present be fully answered. During a sojourn in Vienna, Shirley gave himself up to the study of the Wyclifiana with extraordinary diligence and self-denying devotion to the subject. It is in the nature of things that, in spite of personal examination of a great number of MSS., which in some cases are very bulky, he sometimes

¹ *Trialog. IV*, cap. 26—28; *Suppl. cap. 4—9.*

failed exactly to hit the mark in characterizing the single Tracts.¹ In the main however, his arrangement of the works is successful. The same may be said of the classification which Lechler, working on Shirley's lines, has given in his great work on Wyclif.²

In the present volume the Polemical Works in the narrower sense of the word, are laid before the public, i. e. those directed against the Pope and the Four Sects, 26 Tracts in all, which are thus nearly identical with those catalogued by Shirley as against the Pope and the Sects.³ Only Tract No. 90, *De Fratribus ad Scholares*, is omitted, as there are strong reasons for doubting of its authenticity. Of the numbers 92—96, which Shirley entitles 'On the Secular Clergy', No. 92, 94 and 95 are only in a very small degree, or not at all, polemical; the two others, *Quatuor Imprecationes* and *De duobus Generibus Hereticorum*, unimportant polemical Tracts, are given here for the sake of completeness.

But besides this I have thought it necessary to add to these polemical Tracts, a whole class of Wyclif's writings, which Shirley gives under the head of 'Systematic Theology', and Lechler as so called 'Catechetical Tracts'. To this class belong *De septem Donis Spiritus Sancti*, *De triplici Vinculo Amoris*, and *De Oratione et Ecclesiae Purgatione*.⁴ It is true that in these works Wyclif starts from Church doctrines, texts of scripture, or from certain popular-religious views, which were much discussed and commented upon at that time, and so far, but in a wider sense than by Luther at a later date,⁵ they may be

¹ In very many respects — dating, table of contents, extent, *Incipit* and *Explicit* of the Tracts etc. — his Catalogue is not reliable. To avoid repeating myself later, I remark this beforehand. I cannot, however, consider that it reflects upon a worker otherwise so thorough, that he should have been mistaken in matters of detail, which was moreover due, in part at least, to his informer.

² J. v. W. II, 559—573.

³ Catal. No. 72—91.

⁴ This, see Shirley (Catal. No. 25, p. 11), is a disputed point. Lechler, J. v. W. II, 568 has placed the Tract amongst the Polemica, to which in fact it belongs, as also *De Diabolo et Membris eius*, the purport of which Shirley has mistaken, cp. Catal. No. 29, p. 12 and below p. 357 ff.

⁵ Cp. Geffcken, *der Bilderkatechismus des XV. Jahrhunderts und die katechetischen Hauptstücke in dieser Zeit bis auf Luther*, 1855, p. 20 ff.

considered as ‘catechetical Tracts’. So at least it would at first sight appear. But if we examine them more carefully, it will become evident that the instruction of the people is not Wyclif’s exclusive, or even his principal object in these Tracts. The commands of the Bible and the Church, and their exposition, are for him only means to an end. They are the mirror, in which he holds up to his adversaries their evil image. And thus his attack in these very Tracts becomes the sharper and the more energetic that the charges are founded on Scripture. The contrast between the ideal and the actual is all the more strikingly brought out. The strongest in this respect is the *De nova Praevaricantia Mandatorum*, p. 116 ff., which I am inclined to call the type of this kind of polemical Tract, and which exactly corresponds in form with those works.¹ If we look upon this Tract as a polemical work, it will involve our regarding the three others also as such. I have not included the Tract *De Pauperate*, classed by Lechler amongst the polemical works, because it does not attack either Pope or Friars directly, and only in a wider sense can be regarded as controversial. Lechler’s No. 12: *De minoribus Fratribus se extollentibus*² has not, as he imagines, been overlooked by Shirley, but is given by him under its correct title: *De Perfectione Statuum*.³ It is printed below p. 449 ff.

With regard lastly to the disposition of our entire material, all the Tracts here printed are arranged according to the two chief objects of attack, the Private Sects and the Pope. Here and there the order adopted will admit of dispute, but my endeavour has been to group the Tracts in accordance with certain points of view, which had certainly to be tolerably general, in order that no violence might be done to the separate Tracts. The attentive reader will find, that the connection between Tracts following one upon another, is often even

¹ *De Fundatione Sectarum* also is written essentially on the same plan. The two shorter Tracts, *De Oratione dominica* and *De Salutatione angelica*, which are likewise assigned to this class, I have not included, because the polemical argument, as a rule, is given in a single concluding sentence in which the antagonism of the Sects towards the ideas expounded in the foregoing sections is brought out.

² Cf. J. v. W. II, 568.

³ Cp. the Incipit: *Cum viantes etc. Catal.* No. 58 p. 26.

closer than I can point out in this place.¹ — The arrangement of the whole is as follows:

A. Polemical Tracts against the Sects.

1. Against the Sects in general.

(a) *They are reprehensible according to the Scripture etc. (Theoretical Argument):*

- (1) *Founded neither on the writings of the Apostles (De Fundat. Sect.),*
- (2) *nor on the teaching of Christ (De Ordinat. Sect.);*
- (3) *they are in opposition to the Commandments, especially to the second table of the Law (De nova Praevar. Mand.),*
- (4) *in opposition to the love which embraces all mankind (De tripl. Vinc. Amor.),*
- (5) *lastly, in opposition to the Holy Ghost, who requires a life well-pleasing to God (De sept. Don. Spir. Sancti).*

(b) *They are reprehensible by reason of their life (Practical Argument):*

(α) *General Charges:*

It is charity herself (cp. above A. I. a, 4) that urges to the attack upon them:

- (1) *they are a burden on the nation, which cannot be tolerated, and for which no reason can be found, general charges (De quattuor Sectis novellis),*
- (2) *therefore exhortation to leave the Sects and to join the Sect of Christ (Purgatorium Sectae Christi).*

(β) *Particular Charges:*

- (1) *their pernicious theory respecting the relation of the misdeed of the individual to the community (De nov. Ordinibus);*
- (2) *their pernicious practices: sale of prayers, their lying (De Orat. et Eel. Purgat.);*

¹ Cp. for inst. *De Daem. merid.* and *De duob. Gener. Haeret.*, also *De Dis-sen. Papar.*, *Cruciata* and *De Christo et s. adv. Antichr.*

- (3) *their lying in detail (De Diabolo et Membris eius);*
- (4) *they destroy the unity of the Church (De Detect. Perf. Ant.), especially by a false doctrine of the Communion;*
- (5) *as servants of the Devil, loosed since the year 1000 (Gog and Magog), they spread false doctrines (De Solutione Sathanae).*
- (6) *and, therefore, forbid the free preaching of the Gospel (De Mendac. Fratr.).*

II. Against particular Sects.

- (1) *Against the Prelates, who by their pursuit of riches sin against God the Father, by their unchristian life and their severity to the poor against the love and humility of the Son, and by the scandal of indulgences (since only temporal goods should be purchased with money) against the Holy Ghost (De Daemonio merid.);*
- (2) *against the Simoniacs (Pope, Bishops) and Apostates (all other clergy), who do not follow in the steps of Christ (De duob. Gener. Haeret.);*
- (3) *against the regular Monks, so far as they by the life of their order, disturb the Church unity intended by Christ (De Relig. vanis Monach.).*

III. Against the whole order of Private Sects.

- (1) *Proof, that the Private Religions are not only altogether unlike the religion of Christ (illustrated by the example of the begging Friars; — De Perfectione Statuum),*
- (2) *but that each of them is in its nature imperfect (De Relig. priv. I),*
- (3) *and that, therefore, the life of the order is not to be regarded as a work of God (De Relig. priv. II).*

B. Polemical Works against the Pope.

- (1) *His assumption of the right of Citation, which means a claim of the spiritual authority even over*

- the secular legislative, is unfounded and to be condemned (De Citat. frivol.).*
- (2) *Above all, the Pope should be deprived of his worldly power; the final cause of the Schism is ambition (De Dissens. Pap.).*
 - (3) *and the Crusade to Flanders in Urban's interest is, if not a work of the Popes (but of the Fratres) against the command of Christ, and, therefore, a work of the Antichrist (eight antitheses to Christ) (Cruciata).*
 - (4) *But in truth the Pope is diametrically opposed to Christ (proved in twelve antitheses) and is, therefore, to be regarded as Antichrist. He is therefore to be set aside, in order that Christendom may not be hindered in the simple following of Christ (De Christo et Advers. suo).*

Conclusion: Thus the Sects and their Head, the Pope, are in opposition to the Law of God; they ought to be avoided by the simple Christian, or wholly be put aside.

IV. The Manuscripts.¹

The Codices which contain the Tracts printed in this volume are to be found in four Libraries:

- (1) *the Imperial and Royal (Court) Library of Vienna,*
- (2) *the University-Library of Prague,*

¹ *Table of contents and (very scattered) notices as to origin, arrangement etc. of the MSS. are to be found in the great bibliographical work of the learned Jesuit Michael Denis, Codd. Manus. Theol. bibl. palat. Vindob. recens. Michael Denis, Vindob. 1593 fol.; table of contents only in the (in part very badly printed) new catalogue of the Vienna MSS., Tabulae Codicum Manuscrr. in bibl. palat. Vindob. asservat. ed. Acad. Caes. Vindob., Vindobonae 1869, (ed. in 8^{vo} in 7 volumes).*

As both works, especially the first, are seldom to be obtained, and, at the same time, as nowhere as yet a more complete description of the Wyclif MSS.

- (3) the Imperial and Royal Studienbibliothek of Olmütz, and in
 (4) Lord Ashburnham's Library.

The Vienna Library contains the greater part of the Manuscripts: ten of the whole number (16), while the University Library of Prague is possessed of four, the Studienbibliothek of Olmütz and Lord Ashburnham's Library of one codex each.

On the following pages a description of the single Codices is given.

The MSS. of the Imperial and Royal Library at Vienna.

I. Codex A, No. 3929 (new library mark), formerly No. 309, ^{cod. A.} then No. DCCCLXXX, with Denis¹ No. CCCLXXXV. — Folio,² paper, 32 cm high, 22 cm broad, in strong wooden binding, covered with parchment now turned very yellow; traces of large knobs and remains (small pegs) of the clasps. On the upper cover, outside: on the upper margin, but almost entirely effaced: „Libereulus“, below this: „No. 309“, lower down: „Liber Wiglef doctoris Ewangelici“. On the inside follows the Index of the works contained in the Codex:

De ecclesia	14 ³
De dominio in communi	127
De dominio divino	166
Suppl. Trial.	184
Super oracione dominica (195)	et salutacione angelica 197
De Solucione sathane	199
De nova prevaricancia mandatorum	
De socio	205

has been given, I hope that I shall be to some extent preparing the way for future students of Wiclif, if I endeavour, so far as my powers and the space allotted to me will permit, to give the necessary bibliographical notes in this volume. It will be seen that the help they afford in determining the nationality, origin and date of the different MSS. is not insignificant.

¹ II, 1453. The copy of this bulky bibliography in the Royal Public Library at Dresden is bound in three volumes, the second of which contains what is referred to here.

² Briefly described by Lechler, Trial. 33.

³ The numbers in every case refer to the folium.

- cod. A.* Conclus. XVII 217
 Sermo Dominus vobiscum 219
 Exortacio doctoris novi Labora sicut bonus mil. Cr. 220
 Epist. Lincoln. et quoddam dubium cum ceteris nota plura
(these two last words in red ink) 221 et 222
 De donis spirit. san. 222
 De citacionibus frivolis 227
 De gradibus clericorum 228
 De condempnacione 19 conclus.
 De dissensione paparum
 Responsio ad 18 argum. Strode 231
 Compilacio metrica de replicacionibus 237
 De quatuor sectis novellis 238
 Cruciatu 246
 De Cristo et suo advers. 253
 Forma iuramenti Arnoldi pape thesaurarii 259
 De graduacionibus scolasticis 261
 Posicio discip. Mag. Johannis de Eucharistia 263
 Argumen. contra posicionem de religion. privatis 257 (*er. out*) 275¹
 Soluciones quarundam questionum 279
 De statu innocencie
 Responsio ad decem questiones 288.

Above on the right there was formerly a shorter Index in another hand; it is now effaced, and except for some de occurring several times at the beginning of a line, hardly anything but De dominio can be deciphered. Under the old Index a new library mark. The Codex contains 289 leaves; 1—13 blank, in consequence of which there is always a difference of 13 between the old and new paging (170—157, last leaf 289—276). — Above on the margin of the fly-leaf (parchment) in the hand of the scribe of the Codex: Tullius de officiis lib^o I dicit omnium autem iniurarum nulla est capitalior quam ea que fit per falsam legis interpretationem. hec ille. Hoc contra Io (i. e.

¹ This number also is incorrect according to the usual reckoning: the Tract begins fol. 274^c.

Iohannem) wy (i. e. Wycleff) et omnem eum sequentem qui scriptu- cod. A.
ram sacram vel scripturam doctorum trahunt pro eisdem frequenter
repugnantem. Lower down are two quotations, alike in sense, from
Chrysostom and Cic. De Offic. — The leaves which next follow have
as water marks the head of an ox reversed, with a double crosslet be-
tween the horns. Leaf 13 cut out; the text begins on leaf 14: Quia
nonnulli eciam illi qui etc. and now follow up to 289 thirty three
longer and shorter Tracts of Wiclid,² in a firm, clear and charac-
teristic hand; each page of the folium in two columns, containing on
an average 48 lines. The initials of the different Tracts and of the
chapters — unilluminated — are in red ink; those of the single sentences
in black ink, but marked by a red line. These lines, the punctuation,
marginal notes etc. belong to one hand, which goes throughout the
entire Codex. De Statu Innocentiae, fol. 274^c ends thus: Plurimum
ociose et sic deus similibus etc. bez. Koncze pohrziechu (i. e. alas:
without end, in modern Bohemian: bez konze pohříchu). Thus far
goes the text-hand described above; there follows in a similar, but
broader and more decided hand, a letter to Magister Stovam on the
question: quid sit proprium,¹ which ends thus: Ut ipsam construat,
illuminet et conservat Amen. hec materia reperta est inter cartas
mag. Roberti Stouam (Stonam?) qui mortuus est² in pisis in con-
cilio Anno MCCCCIX celebratum etc. — fol. 276^c and ^d are blank.
Copied by me in Dresden, Autumn of 1876.

II. Codex B, No. 3933,³ formerly 306, later DCCCLXXXIV, cod. B.
with Denis No. CCCXCI. Folio, paper, 31 cm high, 21¹/₂ cm broad,

² Catalogued Cod. Manusc. Theol. ed. Denis II, 1453 ff. (25 numbers); Tab. Codd. Man. (new Vienna catal.) III, 120 (33 numbers); the new edition is rather more detailed; several works, united under one number in the Index of the MSS. (cp. No. 5 and 12), are here given separately.

¹ This is a subject akin to the Wicilian ideas, cp. Vaughan, Life and op. I, 434—435; Walsingham, Hist. Angl. I, 363; Wilkins, Conc. M. B. III, 501; Joh. v. Wiclid I, 375; II, 314; Gratius, Fascie. Rer. Expet. 190, 240, 244 etc.; Chronic. Angliae 1328—1388, ed. E. M. Thompson 190; Lewis, Hist. of Life and Suff. 318 ff.

² | fol. 276^b.

³ Denis II, 1473.

cod. B. 5 cm thick, appears to be of the same origin as 3929; same paper and binding; the text-hand, if not the same, is very similar. Was the property of Paul de Slawkowicz;¹ this name is on the inside of the cover below the Index, together with old and new library marks. In strong wooden binding; covered with leather, which has turned very yellow. Title on the back in faded red paper: Wicliifi opuscula De officio regis, De Cruciata, De officio pastorali; under this in pencil: 731; below: Cod. MS. Theol. N. DCCCCLXXXIV olim 306.

Outside of the upper cover encased in stamped leather, between the indented diagonal lines, an old library label 06 (apparently from 306). Covered inside with lined paper. Above to the right:

Versa berengarium. fuge Wicleff. cede picardis.

Implicat hic. errat hic. sacramenta retractat.

Below: W. 15 by a very ancient hand (it is probably the oldest library-mark, and we may conclude from it, that there were at least 15 volumes of Wicliif-works in Slawkowicz' collection of books). To the left an old Index in red ink:

In isto volumine continentur infra scripta: De officio regis

De Cruciata id est contra bella clericorum

De Christo et eius adversario

De septem don. spir. san.

De tripl. vinc. amoris a domino Iesu Christo exemplato et

De duplice vinculo infami a diabolo introducto seu adinvento

Exhortacio eiusdem ad quendam doctorem

Do nova prevaricancia mandatorum

De condempnacione 19 conclus.

De vaticinacione seu prophecia

De officio pastor. partes due

De blasphemia cum registro.

Below: liber pauli de Slawkowicz, and below this again several modern library marks in red and black pencil. The Codex (without

¹ cod. DCCCCLXVIII (*Denis II, 1473 and III, 3268*), also had the same owner: *Pertinens ad Paulum de Slavikovitz, qui fuit Art. Baccal. Plebanus D. Aegidii et Corrector Curiae Archiep. Pragensis.*

*fly-leaf) contains 196 leaves, with on an average 50 lines to a page; cod. B. fol. 1^a Table of Contents of De officio regis. The text begins at the end of fol. 2^a; next follow several folia without text (for inst. 26^c, 26^d). Fol. 63^a—70^a contains the Cruciata; next (as in Codex 3929) follows 70^a—76^d De Cristo et s. a. A. — on fol. 185^c De blasphemia — ends thus: limitare Amen Vtyess tye buoh (*i. e.* God comfort thee; in modern Czech: *utěš (tes) te bůh.* — At the end of the Codex fol. 195^c—196^d the Bibliographia Wiclefiana.¹ — The arrangement of the columns is as in 3929; the title of the Tract being written over all four columns. The entire Codex is written by the same hand; for the most part only one corrector seems to have been at work. Written at the beginning of the 15th Century, according to Denis²: Saec. XV; cp. the end of the description Denis II, 1475: Codicem utrinque ambit membrana notis chronologicis multata, tempore tamen Wenceslai Rom. et Bohemiae Regis data a Wenceslao de Olomucz archidiaconi Bechinensi in ecclesia Pragensi Curiae Archiepiscopi Pragensis et apostolicae Sedis Legati offic. in causa Erasmi Matthiae de Obrzienicz Dioecesis Pragensis contra Nicussum Weyner et eius uxorum Petruسام oppidanوس opp. in Luna pro vindicatione quorundam bonorum pr. edicto clerico debitorum. — Copied and collated by me at Dresden in the spring of 1877.*

III. Codex C, No. 4527, formerly 268, them DCCCCVI, with cod. c. Denis No. CCCLXXXIX. This Codex contains a collection of works remarkable in more respects than one. With reference to its Bohemian origin, see the marginal note fol. 209^b referring to vitulamibus of the text: nota vitulamen dicitur in vite ramus infertilis bohemice pazuch.³ Denis, who in these palaeographical matters is

¹ Printed below, p. LIX ff.

² II, 1473.

³ The passage is from the beginning of *De Officio pastorali*, printed by Lechler 1863. It is remarkable that the existence, not only of this second text, but also of the others (cp. Shirley, Catal. p. 18 No. 46) seems to have escaped the careful and observant Lechler; he says, *De Off. past. 2: Verum enimvero tractatus . . . in codice uno invenitur and cum . . . cognovissem tractatum illum in codice vindobonensi asservari (he means Codex 1337).* Shirley, l. l., gives

cod. c. thoroughly competent, assigns to it the same origin: In Bohemia exaratum fuisse manifestum est.¹ Moreover at the end of the Responso ad octodecim argumenta Radulphi Strode, fol. 75^a, we read: Ha ha na mnichy (*i. e.*: ‘Ha, ha so much for the monks’; in modern Czech: ‘Ha ha na mnichu’). Similar short observations are scattered throughout the entire Codex, *cp.* for inst. *De Christo* etc. p. 685.

The following note (*ad calcem* of No. 1) may serve as external evidence of the Wyclifian origin of the Tracts contained in this Codex: Pexlitic responosi Soihanni Giamtris arguadmetan cusiudma liemu tisuetari, for Magister Johannes is just John Wyclif, and this very cryptographical subscription suggests that we have here the work of an author whose name the contemporary copyist had reasons for concealing.

Likewise we have in the Codex an indication of the date of its having been copied. At the end of *De Fundat. Sect.*, after the words: de sua ecclesia sit ablata follows the note: Anno MCCCCIX; this Codex then must have escaped the stake of Archbishop Sbynjek of Prague on the 16th of July 1410,² for it was finished in this year, as appears from the note after the *Explicit* of *De Relig. priv.*, fol. 229^b: hoc opusculum finitum est in Adventu anno domini Millesimo quadringentesimo decimo. The declaration of the Dominican Prior Thomas of Utino, referring to the judgment pronounced upon Wyclif’s

the other sources, but he has fallen into several errors with respect to just this cod. 4527. He writes, *Catal.* p. 30, l. 3: CCCLXXIX, fol. 191—194; but 1) cod. CCCLXXIX has only 141 folia, *cp.* *Denis II*, 1443; 2) the number of the folio (191—194) agrees with our Codex 4527 — CCCLXXIX, but 3) not for *De graduacionibus*, as Shirley gives it, but for the following Tract *De gradibus cleri ecclesie*. — Moreover *De quatuor imprecacionibus* — *Catal.* No. 93 — is also in cod. 4527 fol. 146, which Shirley omits to state; so with *De officio regis* — No. 69 — cod. 4527 fol. 146. So too in No. 24 *De ordinacione* (*not concordacione*) fratrum the list of sources should be given as 75—79^a, not 75—78; and No. 77 *De ordine christ.* fol. 120—124^a, not 120—123, since *De Christo* etc., which follows immediately after begins only at 124^b, *cp.* *New Vienna Catal.* III, 300.

¹ *Denis II*, 1466 under No. III.

² *Lechler, J. v. W. II*, 159—160.

writings, which is inserted between the Tracts, and dated die Mercurii 1410,¹ points also to this year.²

The Codex, Quarto, $22\frac{1}{2}$ cm high, $15\frac{1}{2}$ cm broad, 5 cm thick, is made up from leaves in part of paper (without water marks), in part of parchment (fly-leaf 1, 6, 7, 12, 13, 18, 19, 24, 25, 30, 31, 210, 211, 217, 218, 223, 224, 229 and fly-leaf at the end); it is not arranged in columns, so that only ^a and ^b can be distinguished, written by one hand³ and corrected by three or four hands; about 39 lines to the page.

On the upper side of the front cover, which is covered with faded and worm-eaten leather, are remains of five old knobs and of two clasps; there are also library-marks: olim 268. On the back is written above: Varia opuscula Joannis Wicleff ut videtur, under this in pencil: 4527; below: Codex MS. Theologicus N. DCCCCVI olim 268. On the inside is the following Index contentorum with the Incipits. On the upper margin, in the middle:

Isti tractatus continentur in hoc volumine

Primus Quidam socius, quem suppono esse emulum veritatis.
to the right close to it:

1^a De responsione magistri ad argumenta cuiusdam emuli
veritatis; follows the second line:

Quantum ad obiectum fratrum, quod non oportet,
to the right close to it:

17 De solucione Sathane etc.; I give in the following list only
the titles on the right hand, not the Incipits, thus the third line runs:—

¹ That is to say, not Wednesday, according to the usual terminology, but Tuesday, the 25th of November; it is the day of the martyr Mercurius; according to Grotewald, Handbuch der hist. Chronol. Table 2, p. 53, the Sunday letter (E) of the year 1410 gives a Tuesday.

² The chief part of it printed by me in the Zeitschrift für hist. Theologie 1874, III, 297.

³ Except the declaration of the Prior, mentioned above, fol. 156^a lin. 21—156^b; on fol. 144^a and ^b the hand becomes smaller, but, I believe, it is still the text-hand.

⁴ These numbers in red ink, opposite to the titles, on the left hand, give the page numbers of the Codex.

- cod. c.*
- 19 De fundacione sectarum
 - 34 De quat. sect. nov.
 - 46 Respons. ad 44 argucias monachales
 - 66 Epist. missa ad Episc. Nortwie.
 - 67 Resp. ad 18 argum. Strode
 - 75 De ordinacione fratrum
 - 79 De citac. friv. et al. versue.
 - 83 Questio cuiusdam verit. emulatoris
 - 84 Dictum de gradibus ecclesie
 - 85 Expos. Matth. 23ⁱ cap.
 - 98 Expos. Matth. 24ⁱ cap.
 - 104 De confessionibus
 - 110 De Ecclesia
 - 120 De ordine cristianorum
 - 124 De Cristo et suo adversario
 - 134 Cruciatu
 - 134 Ep. missa ad Archiep. Cantuar.
- a blank space follows; then:*
- 145 Ep. missa ad simplices sacerdotes
 - 146 Conclusio de off. regis
 - Quattuor imprecaciones
 - Dubium contra cavilantes, quod presciti sunt ecclesia
 - Ep. missa ad Urban. VI.
 - 147 Ep. ad quendam consortem Rad. Strode
 - Ep. ad Episc. Lincoln.
 - Questio quintuplex
 - 148 De fratribus et 14 (*this number in another hand*)
 - 156 De non comburend. libr. W. (*in another hand*)
 - 157 De septem don. spir. s.
 - 162 De triplici vinc. amor.
 - 169 Verbum communiter dicendum clero, dominis et regni nostri populo
 - 171 De nov. prev. mand.
 - 181 De dyabolo et membr. eius
 - 184 De relig. priv.
 - 191 De grad. cleri ecclesie

194 De eukaristia

cod. C.

209 Pastorale

222 Questio de relig. priv., an sit datum optimum.

On the title page, upper margin: Tanta enim est erga omnes
 bonitas dei ut nostra velit esse merita que sunt ipsius dona, hec Criso-
 stom. in sermone de Adam etc. — *Below are library marks in black
 ink, in red and black pencil; the other side is blank.* Text from 1^a
 to 229^b. *On the inside of the back cover is a registrum utriusque
 libelli amici, above is written:*

Perfidus aspiciat petrum predaque latronem,
 Crudelis paulum, quem stringit culpa Matheum,
 Zacheum cupidus, immundus carne Mariam.

Non desperetis vos, qui peccare soletis

Exemplaque meo vos preparate deo. *The registrum is for us
 of no value.* — *Copied and collated by me in Dresden, during the
 Autumn of 1877.*

IV. Codex D, No. 3930, formerly 369, then DCCCLXXXI, *cod. D.*
 Denis CCCIV, folio, 32 cm high, 22 cm broad, 8 cm thick. The
 wooden binding, covered with stamped leather, shows remains of knobs
 and clasps. There is an old library mark: Theologia No. 369, 157,
 still legible, between the indented diagonals (the impression is the same
 as on cod. B, both must therefore have belonged to the same library).
 The back is pasted over with the faded red paper, and bears the
 following inscriptions on white paper shields: Above: Varii Dialogi
 Wiceli et Sermones et Quaestiones, underneath this label, which
 easily can be removed, stood formerly: Cod. MSt. Theol. Lat. N. 254;
 below the label: Codex Theologicus N. DCCCLXXXI olim 369. —
 On the inside of the upper cover is a tasteful mono-
 gram MW (Magister Wicliif); above this on the left a
 scarcely legible inscription: liber iste est Amudis (?)
 domini etc. I. VI. etc. Above it on the right in red
 ink: O homo quid dormis et non vigilas, below in black ink: Vigila
 et noli dormire, and beneath this again in black ink the beginning of



¹ Denis II, 1499; New Vienna Catalogue III, 120; cp. also Trial. 22.

cod. D. an Index, which being incomplete it will not be necessary to give here.
Under the monogram is the following Index contentorum in red ink:

- Dialogus 1
- Trialogus 21
- Expos. ca. 23 Matth. 125
- Mag. Joh. Hus de corp. Cristi 150
- Mag. J. Hus utrum omnem sangwinem etc. 156
- De triplici vinc. 169
- De minoribus fratribus se extollentibus 178
- Utr. licet clerum corrigere 187
- De sectis monach. 192
- De cura rei familiaris 196
- Utr. relig. priv. sit donum 197
- Serm. Mg. Jacobelli de beata Maria 202
- Sermo Mg. Joh. Hus Abiciamus opera 208
- Ser. Mgi. Jacobelli Hec omnia dabo 212
- De confessione 217
- De ecclesia 221

below:

- 230 De papa, *then:*
- De cruciata 240
- De fundac. sect. 250
- De nov. prevar. mand. 264
- De scriptoribus vet. et nove legis 271
- De nominibus dei 287
- De hereticis

below this: heresibus 291, under these two last lines:

De Interpretacionibus diversorum nominum;

further:

- De don. spir. s. 300
- Sermones ad clerum (*underlined a title as being the principal title*) Vos estis sal terre 304
- Tres sunt qui testimonium 307
- Accipiebant spirit. sanctum 311
- Dilexerunt homines magis tenebr. 318

Dixit Martha ad Iesum 326

cod. D.

Solliciti servare unitatem 335

Diligas dominum deum, Querite primum regnum dei, *below this in red ink:* MJ Roky (*i. e. Magistri Joh. Rokycana*).

There follow two fly-leaves (parchment, not paged), upon them a registrum Trialogi und Dialogi.

The paging¹ does not begin till the third leaf, where the paper also begins (water marks of cod. A, ep. above p. XXXI); there are 368 leaves, paper, 1—355 paged in red ink, 356—359 in pencil. The text ends with 359 verso, then follow six blank leaves, loosely fastened in.

The same hand (John of Turnow) goes from 1—304; a somewhat later hand² from this point to the close. Each page of the folium has two columns, I therefore distinguish a-b-c-d; about 39 lines to a column.

*The Codex contains a collection of writings by Wielif,³ Hus, Jac. of Misa, John Rokycana. It was written in the year 1412; see first on this point the note at the end of the Dialogus, fol. 20^d: Correctus est Anno dom. M⁰CCCC⁰XIV⁰ post festum Georgii⁴ feria sexta, *i. e. Friday, the 24th of April 1414.* Cp. also fol. 124^b the concluding note of the Trialogus: Correxi anno dom. MCCCCXIV finivi (*i. e. the correction*) post ascensionem domini⁵ sabbato die ante horam XVIII, *therefore Saturday, May 19th, between five and six in the evening.* The correction therefore took place in May 1414. Lastly, the date of the copy appears also from the note fol. 196: Expl. tract.*

¹ Carelessly done; the following: 176, 177, 200, 244, 333, 344 are wanting, 253 and 283 are given twice.

² Denis II, 1506: tardius adscriptus.

³ Several marginalia and other indications point clearly to this, for inst. the Explicit of De Sect. Monachorum, fol. 197 verso: posicio ewangelici doctoris; fol. 217 verso: editus a Magistro Johanne (*evidently Wiclid*).

⁴ St. Georgesday, generally the 23th of April, was kept at Salzburg, Aquileja, Prague, Gnesen, Cracow and Augsburg on the 24th, cf. Grotewald, Handbuch der hist. Chron. 109 and 154.

⁵ Ascension-Day fell in 1414 on the 17th of May, cf. Grotewald 196 and 154.

cod. D. de cor. na. condi fratum,¹ editus a magistro Johanne sacre pagine professore. Finitus Anno dom. MCCCCXII. In Collegio pauperum.² In die sancte Agne hora quasi 20, *i. e. Thursday*,³ Jan. 21th, 1412, *about eight o' clock in the evening; cp. further fol. 264^b the concluding note of De Fund. Sect.*: Anno domini Millesimo CCCCCXII sexta feria proxima ante Conductum Pasche⁴ hora quasi vicesima, *i. e. Fridag, the 8th of April 1412, towards eight in the evening.* These notes, especially by the bohemian way of giving the hour, shew its Bohemian origin.⁵ — The writer of the Codex, at least as far as fol. 304, is also known; in fol. 239^d below the Explicit of *De Christo etc.* he adds his name Johannes de Turnow.⁶ The Tracts by Wiclf have been corrected by a small dark hand; besides this a hand similar in character, but pale, comes in in several of the Tracts, for inst. *De Relig. priv. II.* There is also a third hand to be distinguished, in thick, blotted, red ink. Whether one of the correcting hands was Turnow's, I have not been able to decide. — Copied and collated by me in Dresden, Autumn of 1877.

cod. E. V. Codex E, No. 1337, formerly 292, then DCCCCHC, with Denis CCCLXXVIII. As to this Codex, cp. Lechler's description in

¹ So Denis II, 1502; it is probably a false reading for *De concordancia* (perhaps it was transposed *cor aca condi*) *fratum*; for on fol. 196^a ends *De Sectis Monachorum*, New Vienna Catalogue III, 121, which according to Shirleg, Catal. No. 84 is also called *De concordancia fratrum cum simplici secta Christi*. — Agne, which follows in Denis, is probably an abbreviation of Agnetis.

² Near St. Valentine's Church, Prague; founded Aug. 7th, 1377 by Vincenz Nydek of Görilitz; it is also called *Domus Pauperum Studentium*, and is often mentioned later (cp. Tomek, Geschichte der Prager Universität, Prague 1849, p. 25).

³ Grotfend, *l. l.* p. 144.

⁴ According to the Bohemian Calendar (cp. Voigt, Dissert. germ. de Calendario Slavorum III, 113; also Grotfend 82) the *Conductus Pasche* is the Sunday *Dominica in Albis* (cp. Denis II, 1504), *i. e. the Sunday after Easter.* In 1412, Easter fell on the 3^d of April, cf. Grotfend, 196 and 144.

⁵ Denis II, 1500 No. II.

⁶ Denis II, 1504, and after him Lechler, Trial. 22 reads Turnow. Cp. also *De Christo* cap. XV note 44. For more particulars on the Codex, see Trial. 22—23.

De Officio pastorali, Whitsun Programme of the Leipzig University, cod. E. 1863, p. 3.¹

To this description I would add the following, which appears to me not without interest: At the end of the Codex fol. 258^c is found an indication of its Bohemian origin: 2 Sky; above on the margin of the front cover is written: Tractatus wiclivii doctoris ewangelici, below: Nr. 292, both in a very ancient hand. Quarto, 23 cm high, 15 cm broad, parchment, 258 leaves. On the inside of the front cover old and modern library marks, the same on the first fly-leaf: 1337, below: VIII. J. 19. D(enis) v(ol) I p. 1437. Theolog. Lat. MS. N. 292, DCCCIIC. Second fly-leaf follows, its first page contains theological quotations, below these the library mark: 332 N. DCCCIIC ol. 292; on its back page is the following Index in red ink:

In isto volumine continentur infra scripta.

De officio pastorali	30	Incipit sic Cum duplex debet
De vaticinacione	2	„ „ Cum secundum sanctos
De purgatorio	1	„ „ Unde quidam and so on
De triplici vinculo am.	10	with the Incipit, which I do not
De novis ordin.	3	set down further.
De detecione perfid. antier.	1	
De gradibus cleri	3	
De demon. merid.	3	
De concordacione fratrum cum secta simpl. Cristi	4	
De ord. cristiano	5	
Litera missa ad papam	1	
Lit. m. Archiep. Cantuar.	1	
Lit. m. Episc. Lincol.	1	
Lit. ad simpl. sacerd.	1	
De amore questio	1	
De peccato in spir. sanc.	1	
De citac. friv.	1	
De Cruciatu sive cont. bella cleri.	10	
De dissens. pap.	1	
De orac. et eccles. purgac.	5	

¹ cp. also Denis II, 1437.

<i>cod. E.</i>	De exortac. cuiusd. doctor. 1
	De perfec. statuum 6
	De quat. sect. nov. 12
	Sermo pulcer Dom. vob. 1
	De oracione domin. 8
	De salut. angel. 3
	De soluc. Sathane 1
	De septem don. spir. s. 8
	De graduacionibus 3
	De octo question. 8
	De iuramento collectoris pape 1
	De nova prevaric. mand. 8
	De Cristo et suo adv. ant. 15
	De fundacione sect. 16
	De fide cathol. 8
	De sex iugis 6
	De triplici ecclesia 1
	De prelatis contenc. 1
	De semine verb. dei 1
	De clavibus ecclesie 1
	De quest. utrum lic. thesaur. retinere 1
	De condempnac. 10 conclus. 1
	De duob. generib. heretic. 1
	De trinitate 6
	De ydeis 5
	De quat. imprecacionibus 1.

Under this Index below to the left: Lymburg in pale ink. The whole Codex is paged above to the right, and at the same time there is an independent paging of the quaterniones, sometimes above on the right, sometimes below on the left, in an old hand. Each folium is written in four columns, with an average of 44 lines to a column. — The back of the Codex is pasted over with the faded red paper; above on a white label: Varia opuscula Wicliſi ut in pagina prima adnotandum est; below: Codex MS. Theolog. M. DCCCIIC olim 292. — Copied and collated by me in Dresden, Winter 1876/77.

VI. Codex F, No. 3927, formerly No. 325, then Theol. ^{cod. F.} No. DCCCXC, later with Denis CCCLXXXVI. Folio, paper, $31\frac{1}{2}$ cm high, 23 cm broad, 3 cm thick. 124 leaves. Paged throughout on the upper right corner by a later hand, but the separate Tracts have an independent old paging, and at the same time Gothic letters a, b, c, d, over each of the columns (two to a page); over the open space between the columns the proper number is given.

Strong pasteboard binding, covered with beautiful parchment. On the back, above: Wiclefi Opuscula, in the middle: 3927 in pencil, below on a red label as above: Cod. MS. Theolog. N. DCCCXC. ol. 325. On the upper cover, outside, in gold stamping: E. A. B. C. V. (i. e. Ex Augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi), below the two-headed eagle of Austria, below again: 17 G. L. B. V. S. B. 53. (i. e. Gerardus Liber Baro Van Swieten Bibliothecarius 1753). Inside: above, on the left two new library labels, below in red pencil: VIII. J. 2.,¹ below in black pencil: D(enis) v(ol). I p. 1459. A blank fly-leaf follows, water-mark no longer the head of an ox, but apparently the Austrian two-headed eagle, below some writing, which, owing to the stitching of the pages, is illegible. The text follows. At the end of fol. 124 (verso) in pencil: 890, in the right hand corner below: 120. The last leaf is blank, so too the inside of the back cover; on the outside the eagle in gold stamping is repeated.

The text of the Tracts is written by two hands, a larger, angular hand, with on an average 54 lines to a column, and about 6 words to a line (fol. 1^a—51^a; 61^a—74^b; 122^a—123^b) and a smaller, round hand, which keeps the lines further apart, with on an average 48 lines of about 8 words per column (fol. 53^a—90^a and 77—122^a); it uses abbreviations much more freely than the angular hand. The hands of the correctors are also distinguishable; a small clear hand, a rather larger, confused hand, and a thick, very dark one; sometimes one, sometimes two, sometimes all three hands have been at work upon the separate Tracts. Of the date of composition, of the name of the copier, or former possessors of the Codex there

¹ Cp. cod. 1337, first fly-leaf above S. XLI,

cod. F. is no direct indication.¹ According to Denis² of the 15th Century. — Collated by me in Dresden, Spring of 1877.

cod. G. VII. Codex G, No. 4536, formerly 56, then Theol. No. DCCCCXXXVIII, with Denis DLIII. Quarto, paper. 21 cm high, 16 cm broad, 8 cm thick. 253 leaves with about 29 lines to a column; paged throughout on the right by a later hand (on fol. 80 only the 8 remains), below by an ancient hand. — The back pasted with the faded, red paper, upon a label: Matthaei de Cracovia Praxis Curiae Romanae et Opuseula Varia Wicleff; on the lower label: Codex MS. Theolog. N. DCCCCXXXVIII olim 256. — Binding of beech-wood covered with parchment, on the upper cover traces of knobs, above to the left is written: St Hussii tractatus, near it on the right: No. 256, lower down: H. 7. (? 5). The inside is covered with paper, very worm-eaten. Above:

Versa Berengarium. fuge Vicleff. cede picardis.

Implicat hic. errat hic. sacramenta retractat.³ Here follows the table of contents: Isti tractatus continentur in ho (here worm-eaten) bello (hoc libello):

Primo tractatus Mgri Matthaei de Cracovia, de praxi curie Romane prim. foliis,
 Item dyalogus Mgri Joh. Wickleff doct. ewangelici 33^{fo}
 Item Pastorale eiusdem Mgri Joh. Wickleff 67^{fo}
 Item de fundac. fratrum eiusdem Mgri Joh. 98
 Item de Symonia eiusdem Mgri Joh. Wickleff 133^{fo}
 Item Respons. ipsius M. Joh. Wickleff ad argum. cuiusdam
 Socii emuli verit. 193^{fo}

¹ cp. Denis II, 1461: Toto Codice Wiclefi nomen non comparet, ita vel cauti vel ignorantes erant librarii bohemii.

² II, 1459; cp. also the conclusion of the description by Denis 1462: Ad compendium adhibita est membrana, in qua Barnim dux Stetynensis . . . procuratorem constituit in Curia Rom. Ulricum Rudigerum de Sultzpath . . . ad litem, quam habet cum nobil. viris Wilhelmo de Hazmburg etc. anno 1390 indict. 13. die 21 Jun. Pontif. Bonifacii IX anno primo.

³ cp. above cod. 3933, inside the upper cover, p. XXXII.

Item Replic. Mgri Joh. Hus contra intimacionem Mgri Mau- *cod. G.*
ricii Monachi 217

It. tr. prenotati Mgri J. Wickleff contra Cruciatam pape 237

De nova prevaricancia mandat. 122^{fo};

below the Index: H. 5. K., near this in pencil: 4536; a label with the same library mark below it on the left, near this: 34 in red pencil, below on the margin in pencil: D(enis) v(ol.) 1 pg. 2103. There follows a leaf of parchment, of about a third of the size of the other leaves, on which are written some Latin verses of an older poetical piece. The text then begins on folio 1, above this: Theol. lat. MS. Nro. 256, under the last line in pencil: 214 N. DCCCCXXXIIX ol. 256. The text continues as far as 253^a, 253^b blank, then comes the back leaf of parchment. Inside of the lower cover, which is also much worm-eaten, we find:

N. 4026.

The outside has traces of knobs

and clasps. I am not clear about the different hands. A fresh hand, flourishing and hard to decipher, certainly appears from fol. 239^b—253^a. If one and the same hand wrote from fol. 1—239^b, the varieties in its outward appearance can only be explained by the change of calamus, paper and ink, and it is remarkable that the writing of fol. 119—132^b is very easily obliterated, even by the touch of the fingers.¹ — On the owner of this first, somewhat variable hand, we have several notices in the Codex itself. In folio 33^a, at the end of the first Tract, we find the following, underlined with red:

Explicit tractatus de praxi Romane Curie.

Mos est Romanis in caussis cottidianis

Si sonat ante fores, bona vita, sciencia, mores

Non exauditur, nisi nummus mox apperitur.

Adiu tonummo, quasi viso principe summo,

Dissiliunt value, nil auditur nisi salve,

Nummus procedit, loquitur pater, audit, obedit,

¹ fol. 1—132^b; fol. 133^a—187^b; fol. 188^b—191^b; fol. 193^a—239^b may perhaps be ascribed throughout to the same hand. The hand of the Cruciatam fol. 237 ff. bears an extraordinary resemblance to the first hand of cod. 3927, even to the ductus of the d.

cod. G. Omnia concedit, sine testibus omnia credit.
 Qui scripsit dicta nomen eius vocatur paliczka.

*Besides this in fol. 67^a after a long *Explicit*: . . . ad patriam anhelare. Anakonczy. Paliczka przietel.¹ Lastly, in fol. 216^a after the *Explicit* of the *Responsiones Magistri Joh. Wykleff* ad argumenta cuiusdam socii emuli veritatis: Andreas paliczka, vester in omnibus. A writer of the same name wrote in *cod. γ* fol. 133^a the *Responsio doctorum* ad 2 quasdam replicaciones: Mgr. R. Palecz, who took part in the Council of Constance.² Of the date of the copy there is no direct proof, but we shall not err in assigning the Codex to the years 1415—20. — Collated by me in Dresden, Spring of 1878.*

cod. H. VIII. Codex H, No. 4515, formerly 255, then Theol. No. DCCCCIV, with Denis CCCCII. Quarto, paper, 13 cm high, 16 cm. broad, 6 cm. thick. 148 leaves with an average of 42 lines to a column. The volume contains a collection of the most various works; there is also a great variety of handwritings and kinds of paper. About 11 hands are distinguishable, several correctors have also been more or less at work, always according to the importance of the Tract. Tucofold paging, an old one in the lower right hand corner,

¹ i. e. Et in fine Palieka amicus.

² He took a prominent part in the Husite wars. At first a friend of Hus, he became his enemy from the year 1412, placed himself at the disposal of the papal party, and from the very beginning of the Council of Constance he joined with Michael de Causis in labouring for the ruin of Hus. He formulated the charges against him, and, by unwearyed exertions, brought together an alliance of influential men, cardinals, prelates and doctors of theology in opposition to him. Cp. Palacky, *Documenta Mag. J. Hus rit. doctr. caus. illustr.* Prague 1869. No. 77; No. 79. Also Mladenovitz, *Relatio* (ap. Palacky, Doc.) p. 246. In particular he was active in procuring Hus' illegal imprisonment in the Episcopal Palace of Constance on the 28th of November 1414. Cp. Mladenovitz, l. l. 247—252. — In Codex 4515 (Imperial Library of Vienna) fol. 209 there is a Posicio Mag. Stephani Palecz Utrum de necessitate salutis sit hominem confiteri solis presbiteris omnia sua peccata tam mortalia quam venialia. Denis adds with reference to this: Tam de Andrea de Broda quam de Steph. Palecz dictum est sepius et haec utriusque *Dissertatio catholica* est.

beginning with the first (parchment) fly-leaf and ending with the concluding ^{cod. II.} fly-leaf, from 1—247; a later one on the upper right hand corner, beginning on fol. 4 simultaneously with the first Tract, contains the numbers 1—237 (216 and 217 have never been cut open above, and have therefore been passed over in the paging; the last leaves are also not paged). — The back pasted with the faded red paper of the other codd.; above on a label: Wiclef de veritate et mendacit. et de Simonia; below on the red paper: Codex MS. Theologicus N. DCCCCIV olim 255. — Front cover of beech-wood is encased in thick parchment, on which are traced double indented diagonals.¹ Remains of (5) knobs. Upon a piece of parchment pasted on: DW (sic); above on the right: N. 255. Inside: on the parchment covering in soft, easily erased pencil: 4515, below in red pencil: VIII. J. 25,² upon which the new library mark: 4515 is fastened; below in black pencil: D(enis) v(ol.) I p. 1448, below in ink: Nro. 12. — The fly-leaf (parchment) follows, with above a quotation from Gregorius in Reg., under this a table of contents, which has no special interest for us at present; on the lower margin in pencil: 337 N. DCCCCIV ol. 255. The back page of the fly-leaf is blank, as also the two following leaves. The text follows; a great number of pages are either blank, or only half covered. On the last (parchment) leaf below to the right: 247, on the back page:

M tria c ter X cessabunt pax simul et lex 1330

M quater c semel I redibunt omnia cum v 1401

Veritas vite quatenus deficiat homo in semet ipso — vite quoad se ipsum

Veritas doctrine ne deficiat in fide et veritate — doctrine quoad deum

Veritas iusticie ne deficiat in equitate et racione — iusticie quoad proximum (?)

¹ cp. Cod. 3933 and 3930, above p. XXXII and XXXVII.

² cp. inside of G (H. 5. K.), above p. XLIV and F (VIII. J. 2.), above p. XLIII, E (VIII. J. 19.), above p. XL1.

cod. H.

Mors tua mors Cristi fraus mundi gaudia celi
 Et dolor inferni sunt meditanda tibi
 Mendax mendicus non est veritatis amicus
 Gen. 3: Non in mendicacione vestieris alieno cibario sed in
 sudore vestrorum
 Presbiter aut demon aut angelus est manifestus
 Angelus est teste domino si vivit honeste
 Si vivit inceste satan et Paulo michi teste.

Below the numbers: 902 und: M. [3893]. On the inside of

*the back cover the wood is partly visible, upon it a quotation: Jero-
 nymus, Erubescant, qui dicunt Cristum salvatorem timuisse mor-
 tem etc., under this another: Berengaris, Omnis, qui alium iudi-
 cat etc. Below: Sluzba ma naprzy,¹ below on the left a label:*

[Quanto fiet istud]; below this a longer quotation from the Canon.

*Law. Below is repeated the old library mark: M [3893]. Of the
 writer of the Codex nothing is known; the Bohemian origin of the
 MS. is indicated by the words Sluzba etc. quoted above.² Neither
 have I found any clue to the date of composition. Contents and hand-
 writing point to the beginning of the 15th Century. — Collated by me
 in Dresden, Jan. and Febr. 1878.*

cod. J.

IX. Codex J, No. 1338, formerly 269, then DCCCIC, with
 Denis CCCLXXIX, 23 cm high, $15\frac{1}{2}$ cm broad, $4\frac{1}{2}$ cm thick, newly
 bound in leather. On the upper binding which is covered with yellow
 paper above to the left: J. W. doctoris ewangelici, below: No. 269,
 below: Theolog. Lat. MS. The inner side of the front cover pasted with
 paper; blank; above to the left the new library mark: 1338. Fly-leaf
 of white paper, blank. Four parchment leaves follow, not paged; on

¹ properly: *naprzyed*, i. e.: *My service beforehand.*

² Denis II, 1492: Codex . . . ad Bohemiam pertinens.

³ The new Catalogue of the Vienna Library III, 295, ascribes it to the XVth century, cp. also Denis II, 1492.

the first in an old library hand: Theolog. Lat. MS. Nro. 269, below ^{cod. J.} in red pencil: VIII. J. 20,¹ below in black pencil: D(enis) v(ol.) I p. 1443, underneath in the margin in pencil: 333 N. DCCCIC ol. 269. The back page and three following leaves blank. It contains 141 leaves, each page in two columns, 45 lines on an average to each column. Without an old Index. Written by one hand, with beautiful illuminated initials and other decorations; the same ancient, regular hand, the same arrangement and execution as cod. 1337, therefore apparently like this belonging to the Lymburg library.² The paging above on the right in a later hand; also below on the right an old one for every 12 leaves. Contains from fol. 1^a—141^b nothing but Wicliifiana. At the end follow 44 blank parchment leaves.³ Like cod. 1337 it is of Bohemian origin, and seems to have been written as its immediate successor,⁴ therefore soon after 1415.⁵ According to a letter, which Denis found in the Codex, without date a quodam Simone opificio Victore (Beczwarz) and addressed to the Dean of Lymburg (who is not named), the Codex appears, with four others, to have been in the private possession of this prelate.⁶ — Collected by me in Vienna, Christmas 1881.

X. Codex K, No. 1387, formerly 873, then with Denis ^{cod. K.} CCCLXXXIV,⁷ Folio, parchment, 40 cm high, 29 cm broad, 7 cm thick, written in two columns; part of it with great care and artistic

¹ cp. cod. E, above p. XLII; also F, p. XLIII and G, p. XLIV.

² cp. Lechler, *De Offic. pastor.* p. 3.

³ With ref. to this cp. Lechler, *Trial.* p. 33.

⁴ Denis, *Codd. Theol. MSS. II*, 1443: olim Lymburgum sive Nimburgum pertinens, ut praecedens (*i. e.* No. 1337) cuius pars altera videri potest. As to the connection of both, cp. the two library marks VIII. J. 19. and VIII. J. 20., above p. XLI.

⁵ cp. Lechler, *De Off. past.* p. 3; Denis, *II*, 1443, assigns the compilation of cod. 1337 to this date: Codicis aetatem ex ora fol. 127 aliquatenus conicias: Joh. papa XXIII fuit in concilio Constancensi condemnatus anno MCCCCXV.

⁶ cp. Denis, *II*, 1445—1446.

⁷ Denis *II*, 1794.

Wicliif, *Polemical Works.*

cod. K. skill, dark ink, according to Lechler¹ written in Bohemia about the year 1400, has on the fly-leaf the following note in a later hand: Doctor Martinus Luter (*sic*); but whether we are justified in concluding from these words that the Codex has been in the hands of Luther, who certainly came into closer connection with the Moravian brethren immediately after his first public appearance,² there is not sufficient evidence to show. Contains on 215 leaves fourteen works of Wicklif's; in each column about 63 lines. Written by several hands. Without the name of the scribe and of the author of the separate Tracts. The Codex is valuable both intrinsically and on account of its careful workmanship; it was perhaps penned by order of a rich and distinguished Bohemian gentleman. It is of less importance for the Works printed in this volume, since it only offers five short Tracts for collation: De Mendaciis Fratrum, Descripcio Fratris, De Solucione Sathane, De quat. Imprecacionibus and De Purgatorio (last chapter of De nova Prevaric. Mandat.). — Collated by me in Vienna, Christmas 1881. —

The MSS. of the University Library at Prague.

cod. II. I. Codex X. E. 9. (α), Quarto, paper, $21\frac{1}{2}$ cm high, 16 cm broad, 5 cm thick; the wooden binding covered with leather, which is damaged and turned yellow; on both covers the remains of knobs and clasps, the back overspread with white oil-paint, upon this in red paint: Y. III., below: 15, above this a paper label with the new mark: E. 9; this mark

repeated on the inside of the upper cover: X.
E. 9.. Between fly-leaf

and cover a quite new leaf of paper with table of contents of the Codex in the hand of a modern librarian.³ The fly-leaf then following (parchment) was formerly written over on the upper page, traces

¹ *Trialog. 21: saeculo ineunte XV, circa annum 1400 scriptus, ut videtur in Bohemia.*

² cp. Köstlin, *Luther* 2, 287; Gindely, *Hist. of the Bohem. Brethren*, 2, 162.

³ In a foot note reference is made to Lechler's edition of the *Offic. Pastorale*, Leipzig 1863.

of a very ancient hand are still in existence; over the erasure a table ^{cod. u.} of contents of the Codex:

P	hole in the parchment	rale Ewangelici
He		dicta
Ewangelici de Symonia		
De septem donis spir. s.		
De triplici vinculo amoris		
Responsio Ewangelici ad argum. cuiusd. emuli verit.		
De fund. sect.		
De Religione privat.		
Racio. cuiusd. disc. Wikleph quibus probat licere secul. ma-		
gistratui clerum delinquentem punire (<i>this last title in a</i>		
<i>later hand</i>)		
De dissens. paparum		
Tract. de ymaginibus. ¹		

There is also writing in the ancient hand on the back page (by a dominus Tasso of Bohemia). — The text begins on the fourth leaf, with the Pastor Herme in a very beautiful, firm, and large hand, with rich coloured decorations (initials and arabesques). This hand goes down to fol. 120^b (32 lines to the page), then it becomes smaller (36 lines to a page) to fol. 180^a below; with fol. 180^b the larger hand begins again, continuing to the end. — The paging, in pencil, by a later hand, is very defective; often leaves are passed over etc. The page is written straight across, not in two columns. — No clue to the time of composition; from the writing it is apparent that the Codex is of the same date as the Vienna MSS. Written in Bohemia. Collated by me in Dresden in the Autumn of 1881.

II. Codex III. G. 11. (β), Quarto, paper, 22 cm high, 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ cm ^{cod. β.} broad, 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ cm thick. Wooden binding, covered with leather, which is

¹ This old index is incomplete; there are besides the following Tracts in the Codex fol. 146^b—150^a De ordine cristiano; 150^b—151^b De ordinib. eccl.; 151^b—156^b De citac. frivilis; fol. 209^a—209^b Epist. m. ad episcop. Cantuar. The Tract De Rel. priv. given in the Index, contains the two parts printed below under I and II, cp. below p. 491 and 524.

cod. β. turned brown, and partly damaged; on the covers traces of former knobs, clasps and nails. On the upper cover is stamped on the leather: A 2º. The back (like X. E. 9.) painted with white oil-colour, on this in red paint: Y. II. 3., below: 68, above this a modern paper label: G. 11. The mark is repeated in the middle of the inside of the upper cover: III. G. 11. There is besides on the inside of this cover an (inaccurate) table of the contents of the volume, which also fills the first fly-leaf. Then follows the original fly-leaf (parchment), upon it above in an ancient hand:

Que continentur in isto volumine

Item pastorale Johannes Wykleff et incipit: Cum debet esse officium

Idem Conclusiones 33 de paupertate Cristi

Conclus. de vita clericorum

Ep. Origenis

Chrysost. de reparac. lapsi

J. W. Sermones

J. W. De detecc. perf. ant.

Idem de nov. ordin.

Script. de fratr. ad schol.

J. W. Specul. secul. dom.

J. W. de incarc. fidel.

J. W. Questio ad fratr. de sacr. alt.

Resp. ad tria dubia

Gesta cum Rych. Wyez presb. in Anglia

Sermones

Tercium dubium

Sermo incip.: O curas homini

Episc. venator arguitur

J. Hus contra Joh. Stokes (*below is written:*

Explicit hoc totum, cuius est, non sit tibi notum)

(*Back side of the fly-leaf:*) J. W. de sept. don. spir. s.

J. W. Argum. contra Strode

- J. W. de dyab. et memb. eius cod. β.
 Idem Tract. de magisterio
 Idem Sermones
 Idem de relig. priv. I
 Idem de apostasia
 Idem de soluc. Sathane
 Idem de vaticinac.
 Idem de condempn. 19 conclus.
 Forma iuram. Arnoldi
 J. W. de confessionibus
 Idem de fide cathol.
 Idem de perf. stat.
 De apocalypsi
 Questio de absolucione
 Sermones
 Respon. ad argum. cuiusd. verit. amiei (*is not the Wielifian*
Tract often mentioned in the earlier Indices)¹
 Sermo.

Upon this back page above in the margin: Jam alterius scripture tractatus sequuntur, Item de septem donis spir. et incipit: Cum spir. sit tercia persona etc. — *Fol. 1 follows with the text of the Pastorale. The paging by a later hand. Three hands at work, the first fol. 1—153^b, the second 154^a (beginning with De septem don. spir. sanc., cp. back page of the second fly-leaf) to 285^a; from thence a third, which wrote only the short sermon (285^a—286^a), the last five leaves blank. Next comes an old, dirty and torn leaf of parchment. Inside of the back cover now blank, at least an erasure makes illegible the words formerly there. The volume contains a collection of writings by Wielif, Hus, Origen, and Chrysostom. Contains an interesting account of the end of Richard Whyche (fol. 89^b—99^b: Gesta cum Rychardo Wyce presbitero in Anglia). — Of Bohemian origin (as, for example, the form Wycz for Wyche indicates). No clue to*

¹ *Incipit: Quia predicando ewangel. Expl.: sed non ex proprietatibus persona, cp. with Shirley, Catal. No. 58 p. 21.*

cod. β. the date of composition, but doubtless belonging to the early part of the 15th century. — Collated by me in Dresden, Autumn of 1881.

cod. γ. III. Codex XI. E. 3. (γ), Quarto, paper, 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ cm high, 16 cm broad, 4 cm thick, 139 leaves; wooden binding, half covered with soiled, yellowish leather. Traces of knobs and clasps. Back painted with white oil-paint; upon it in red paint: XII. 3. (cp. cod. α and β, back), below in red paint: 64, above this the later library-mark:

E. 3. *. Inside of the upper cover lined with paper, on which is a table of contents by a later hand, including the writings down to fol. 119; this table is continued on the inside of the back cover. Fly-leaf follows, a piece of parchment from a theological Codex of the 12th Century, written in 2 columns; between these the more recent library-mark:*

XI.
E. 3. *Upon the back page above the text: Rex est vicarius deitatis, Episcopus vicarius Iesu Cristi etc., in the hand of the Oxford letter (which follows afterwards fol. 1^a), between the two columns a longer quotation from Augustine, de Civ. Dei in the hand of the corrector of the Tract De novis ord. which comes from fol. 12^b—13^b. Fol. 1^a follows, on which is written in a firm hand the letter of the University of Oxford to that of Prague,¹ below is the stamp of the Prague University library. Back page blank. Then begins on fol. 1 (so paged, but really 2) the characteristic, very small, pearl-like hand,² which (with the exception of fol. 13^a and ^b) continues to fol. 54^a,³ about 66 lines in the column. Here begins another hand, also small, but very distinct in character from the first,*

¹ Often printed, cf. Wilkins, *Conc. Magn. Brit.* III, 302; John Hus et Hieron. *Hist. et Monum.* Nürnberg 1558, II, 366²; Lewis, *Hist.* (ed. 1820) Append. 343 ff.; Höfler, *Concil. Prag.* 1862, 53 ff.

² See the phototype preceding the title page of this vol., under I.

³ By it are written: 1^a—5^b de quatuor Sect. nov.; 5^b—11^b de Fund. Sect.; 11^b—12^a de Dem. merid.; 12^b—13^b de nov. Ord.; 14^a—54^a Wiclit Tract. de Eukaristia maior with the Prologue.

which goes as far as 65^b.¹ After this comes different paper, dirty ^{cod. γ.} and in bad preservation, and a third, totally distinct hand, which resembles the hands of codd. α and β, also some of the Vienna MSS. The Codex contains almost exclusively *Husitica (Hus, Jacobellus)* in Latin, also a Bohemian work fol. 96^a—97^b: Petri de Uniczova revocatio dictorum contra Hus, a German one 98^a—99^b: Dy Wyderrufung des Meisters Petrus, predegrs der deutzen Zu Sant Clementenin der Stat zu Prag. Vor euch Ersamen mannen vnd herrn Meistern etc. This German work in a new (4th) hand; on fol. 100^a the former one reappears, and gives writings by, and extracts from various authors, also letters and judgments, having reference to the Husite movement, and e. g. fol. 107 a letter of King Wlatislaus of Poland, under which: Anno milleno quadringeno quoque deno, Ense polonorum cecidit gens putinorum (?); 112^b—113^a Epist. ad Hus de Anglia; 113^a—113^b Resp. ad Angliam Mgri Hus; 114^a—116^a Concil. theolog. facult. studii Pragensis contra Wiciflistas; 116^a—119^a Conc. domin. doctorum fac. theolog. pro expurgacione terre; 119^a—119^b Conc. Mgri Hus cum sibi adherent.; 119^b—122^a Replic. falsa etc. contra consil. doct. ut dicitur Gessenicz; 122^a—123^a Replic. ut dic. Hus garrulla et inutilis, but above in another hand: multum grata et utilis; 123^a—124^b Cons. fac. theolog. aliud de expurg. terre; 124^b—133^a Resp. doct. ad duas quasd. replic.; 133^a—134^b Bulla Ioh. XXIII² pro adiut. adv. Ladislaus reg. Apulie (translata Pragam 1412); 134^a—137^a Excerpta ex eiusdem bulla de indulg.; 137^a—139^a Probacio et fundacio doctorum defendens indulgencias, scil. falsa et insulsa. The two following, last leaves are blank. A parchment leaf follows, corresponding to the first fly-leaf, lastly on a loose slip of paper a new list of the Wicifiana contained in the Codex. That the Codex is of Bohemian origin appears from the observations already given

¹ By it fol. 54^b—58^a de Eukaristia Tract. minor.; 58^a—59^a Protestaciones multiplices Mgri. Joh. Wicif (*a collection of the protestations to be found in his works*); fol. 59^a Concl. de Off. Regis, Concl. de triplici Causa Paupert.; 59^b—61^a Protestacio laudab. 18 Conclus.; 61^b Errare in Materia Fidei.

² Close to the first line with reference to episcop. servus serv. dei is added in margin in red ink by a new hand: qui anno 1415 est condempnatus pro dyabolo incarnato in Constancia.

*cod. γ. on the separate works, which point to Bohemia, and to Prague in particular. For fixing the time of its composition (1416), we are helped by the conclusion of the Tract De corp. Cristi, Mgri Joh. Hus fol. 68^b: anno domini 1401 scriptus (*sic*) hic tractatus a sancto viro Mgro Joh. Hus combusto in causa veritatis Iesu Cristi in Constancia anno dom. 1415, die 6 mens. Iuli; especially by the conclusion of the Tractatulus Mgri Iacobelli de suffocatis fol. 95^b: anno dom. millesimo CCCCXVI⁰ currente ista currebant, propter que et collecta sunt, ne iusti decipientur et scandalizentur per Iacobellum de Miza, baccal. sacre pag. pro consolacione et fide catholica. Lastly, we read at the end of the Respons. doctorum ad 2 quasd. replic. fol. 133^a: Mgr. S. Palecz,¹ scriptum Constancie an. dom. mill. CCCCXV⁰ circa vel prope festum Sceti Viti.² — Collated by me in Dresden, Spring 1882.*

od. δ. IV. Codex III. G. 16. (δ), Quarto, 22 cm high, 16 cm broad, 5 cm thick, a collection of very different works, mostly however bearing on the Husite movement;³ only the collated four last capp. of De Christo etc. and the judgment upon the oath of Arnold de Granario are by Wiclit. A recent hand has paged the Codex throughout, and written an Index (incomplete, only going as far as fol. 40) on the inside of the upper cover; continued on the inside of the lower cover, but only from fol. 126, so that fol. 41—125 are wanting). An earlier Index, corresponding with the later one in import, but not verbally, and likewise incomplete, covers the upper page of the fly-leaf. On its back page begins a very beautiful hand: Regnum celorum presentis temporis super terram bipharie scissum est etc. — The XIth cap. of De Christo etc. begins fol. 36^a; above on the margin there were formerly about 5 more lines, now only marked by the quite illegible remains of an erasure. Upon the erasure the present title: Capitulum XI^m ex tractatu wikleff etc., cp. below De Christo cap. XI note 1.

¹ cp. above p. XLVI, cod. G.

² i. e. Saturday, June 15th, 1415, cp. Grotfend, Chronol. 139 and 117.

³ Husite Sermons, polemical writings against the followers of Wiclit, Letter of Pope John XIII. and the like.

The Manuscript in the Imperial and Royal Students Library at Olmütz. cod. ot.

Codex I. V. 34. (Ol) contains only two of the less important of the Tracts printed below. It is of small value: so that the few remarks which follow may suffice. It is in quarto, paper, and contains a collection of a great number of writings, mostly having reference to the Husite movement (by Hus, Jacob of Misa, a report of the Council of Basel etc.), all in the most various forms, handwriting and ink. The five Wyclif Tracts¹ form the number 25 (the Codex is not paged) and are written in a very careless hand, with no divisions by spaces, and one title written within another. Both, contents and place of discovery, point to its Bohemian origin; of the date of composition there is no nearer indication. To judge from the handwriting, the Wyclif Tracts belong to the beginning of the 15th Century.
 Collated by me in Olmütz, January 13th, 1882.

Lord Ashburnham's MS.

Ashburnham XXVII (Ash), on this MS. see Matthew, E. W. h. u. VIII.

V. The present Edition.

I have adhered in the main to the general principles laid down by distinguished historians,² during the last ten years, for the editing of mediaeval texts. To the guiding principles represented by Theodor Sickel for the publication of the *Monumenta Germaniae*, and by Julius Weizsäcker for editing the 'Akten' of the German Reichstag, I am especially indebted. At the same time the fact that it is here a question of editing texts, not diplomas and documents in the narrower sense,

¹ 1) De Officio pastorali, 2) Epist. ad simplic. Sacerd., 3) Dialogus sive Speculum milit. Eccles., 4) De Officio Regis Concl and 5) De Relig. vanis Monach. sive De Fundatore Relig.

² Böhmer in Friedmanns Zeitschr. für Archiv. Deutschl. II, 135 Art. 4; G. Waitz, Wie soll man Urkunden edieren, in H. v. Sybels Hist. Zeitschrift IV, 442. Th. Sickel, Mon. Germ., Diplom. Part I, Vol. I, New Series, 1879, p. VI ff., and Jul. Weizsäcker, Deutsche Reichstagsakten, München 1867, I. Part LXII ff.

has necessitated some departures from the regulations of Sickel, who is, I believe, too strict as to the requirements of the critical apparatus.

(a) The outer page-title of the single Tracts is printed in modern spelling, but in the other cases the title is always given in the form found in the best MS. In the case of the few Tracts, where, on account of their small extent, there has been no critical enquiry as to the original MS., I have followed the tradition.¹

After the heading, and before proceeding to the text, follow explanatory remarks in six divisions.

(b) In the first division a general survey is given of the arrangement of the Tract, so far as its extent allows of such a thing. Short headings, which give the inner reason of the foregoing outline, are put over the separate parts.

(c) The second division gives in the form of short summaries, and adhering as closely as possible to the language of the author, the contents of the Tract following strictly the separate chapters, so far as there is a division into chapters. Special care has been taken to make clear the train of thought. In no one of the Tracts is a disposition of the whole to be found, and turns of speech such as Relicta ista abstracta materia etc. p. 663; Scrutata mat. fund. etc. p. 308; Et sic dictum est leviter etc. p. 354; ut brev. comp. etc. p. 602, which at least form a landmark in the course of thought, are of extremely rare occurrence. I fear therefore that I have not in all cases hit the mark correctly. For often secondary matters are treated at great length, and the return to the leading thought is so slightly indicated, that it is no easy matter, especially where one has also to contend with the difficulties of the language, to hold fast the clue.

This summary of contents is intended as a substitute for the editorial marginal notes so popular in English, and after their example, in German editions of Latin texts,² in which form they do not give a general view of the whole, convey a wrong impression of the text of the MS. and unnecessarily overload and extend the body of the text.

¹ According to Shirley, Cat. and Denis, II, 1437 ff.; Bale, Summarium, fol. 154 ff. and lastly according to the Wyclif-Catal. of the Vienna MSS. which follow p. LIX ff.

² e. g. in Lechler's Edition of the Trialogus.

(d) The question of the date of authorship follows in the third division. In the case of most of the Tracts the time of their origin has been fixed with more or less certainty; only in that of a few are the *termini a quo* and *ad quem* given with hesitation. Particulars must be looked for in the passages concerning them.

(e) Fourthly, the question of genuineness is treated. The external testimonies are given first. These can be traced back in a direct line to the very ancient tradition, which in the 30 years immediately succeeding Wyclif's death, attributed a whole series of works to the Pre-reformer. These works are specified in four extensive catalogues, which may be found in the Vienna MSS., No. 3933 fol. 195^b—196^b, No. 3935 fol. 223^b—224^b, No. 4514 fol. 102^b—104^b, No. 7980 fol. 5^a—8^a. The first and third of these catalogues have been printed by Shirley, Catal. 56—69.¹ These Indices lay no claim to completeness; they simply give the title of the Wyclifiana belonging to the libraries, the contents of which the catalogues registered. In fact below some of the titles there are library marks, which indicate the place which the Tract in question held in the library; for inst. De Salut. angel. quere in Q., p. LX; Liber tertius de sermone Domini in monte super Matt. Quere in l. 74, p. LXI; De responsione etc. quere in j. q. Spfʒ p. LXI and many more. It would be extremely interesting, but only possible to one closely acquainted with the Imperial Library of Vienna to reconstruct by the light of these library notes the contents of this old library, the home of the Wyclif MSS.²

The Wyclif-Catalogues of the Vienna MSS.

I. Cod. 3933 (B) fol. 195 ff.

De ordine Christiano. capp. 7.

Ad declarandam veritatem. *finis.* et libere accipienda. capp. 2.

Amice preclare ex scriptis. *finis.* fidei lucem veram.

¹ For the sake of completeness, I repeat in this place these two 'unaltered' from Shirley's edition, together with the two new ones.

² The library marks still to be found in the codd. would afford great help in the matter, see above p. XLVII note 1.

Littera parua.

Amice karissime.

De octo questionibus propositis discipulo.

Amice preclare ex scriptis vestris. *finis.* insensibiliter introducunt.

Dialogus, et intitulatur speculum ecclesie militantis.

Cum ydemptitas sit mater. *finis.* facilius cognoscantur. 39.

Trialogus. Supplementum ejus quere in V.

Cum locucio ad personam. *finis.* secundum quemlibet beatorum. 100.¹

De officio pastorali libri duo.

Cum duplex debet esse officium. *finis.* Domini regis regum.

De noua preuaricancia mandatorum. capp. 8.

Cum secundum veritatis testimonium. *finis.* a bonis homines spoliantes.

De duodecim legibus. capp. 8.

Cum philosophi pseudo apostoli so. *finis.* in clericis iam peruersis.

De oratione Dominica. capp. 8.

Cum heresi (*sic*) diebus istis. *finis.* laude dignum.

De salutatione angelica Quere in Q.**De perfectione statuum. capp. 6.**

Cum viantes et specialiter fratres. *finis.* populo predicantes.

De seruitute ciuili et dominio seculari. capp. 6.

Cum secundum philosophos sit relativorum. *finis.* multiplici atque grani.

Contra bella clericorum et vocatur cruciata. capp. 10.

Cum secundum fidem catholicam, 13. 8. *finis.* sacerdotibus deputandum.

De speculo secularium dominorum. capp. 7.

Cum veritas fidei eo plus. *finis.* concorditer invehendum.

De quodam periculo mendacio nouiter practisato. capp. 7.

Cum paruu error et missibilis. *finis.* alijs modicum deleantur.

De materia et forma. capp. . . .

Cum materia et forma sint universalia. *finis.* animam essenciam preter Deum.

De concordacione fratrum. capp. 4.

Cum Christus sit primus et novissimus. *finis.* mendacio sit fundatum.

De septem donis Spiritus Sancti. capp. 8.

Cum Spiritus Sanctus sit tertia persona Trinitatis. *finis.* multipliciter prophetat.

Expositio textus, Matt. xxiii. capp. 12.

Cum sapientia Dei Patris. *finis.* in istis perfidis sine fine.

¹ 100] The two zeros are barred across. The number refers, no doubt, to the chapters.

De vaticinacione. capp. 2.

Cum secundum sanctos spectat ad of. *finis.* ecclesie est sedata.

De condemnacione 19 conclusionum.

Cum secundum apostolum Heb. xi. *finis.* et pie in euangelica paupertate.

Cum autem Spiritui Sancto appropriatur. *finis.* in Anglia germinare.

Epistola.

Cum prelati contentionum. *finis.* suos acucius puniendi.

Liber tertius de sermone Domini in monte super Matt. Quere in l. 74.

Completo tractatu primo ewangelium. *finis.* appetent se non esse.

Sermones de tempore per circulum anni super ewangelia.

Cum Deus vndiquaque plenus abhor.

Triginta tres conclusiones.

Cristus Deus noster caput universalis ecclesie. *finis.* compendiosius dabit pacem.

De confessione siue de Eukaristia et penitentia. capp. 6.

Duo sunt sacramenta precipua. *finis.* constancius confiteri.

De oracione et ecclesie purgacione. capp. 7.

Dicturus de oratione. *finis.* quomodo sunt ab ecclesia expellenda.

Dictum est de gradibus ecclesie. *finis.*

De comodis convenientibus ex reductione cleri ad ordinem Christi.

Dictum est in solutione cujusdam argumenti. *finis.*

Quartus liber de sermone Domini in monte super Matt. 14.¹

Dictum est superius quod tercarius tractatus. *finis.* sed²

Duo sunt genera hereticorum. *finis.* obseruanciam faciendo.

Recommendacio assumencium gradus.

Dominus vobiscum, Ruth ii. *finis.* cum corpore resumendum.

De quadam questione pro thesauris retinendis in regno. Quere in h. forma³ juramenti.

Dubium est vtrum regnum Anglie. *finis.* regni impedit in futurum.

De responsione cujusdam doctoris. capp. 8. Quere in j. q. Spfa⁴ sermones.

Doctor quidam veritatis catholice. *finis.* aut cesseret finaliter altibore.

¹ 14] So MS.

² MS. illegible (*perhaps:* disserere potestates).

³ forma] Read *formam.*

⁴ Spfa³] So MS. Probably for S, p, f. alios.

**Responsiones ad argumenta cujusdam monachi Quere in q.
S. et j.**

Doctor meus reverendus et magister. *finis.* et subtilia argumenta.

**Responsiones 6 utrum licet seculari clerum delinquentem
castigare.**

Discipulus quidam venerabilis doctoris. *finis.* laicos moraliter practicantes.

De diabolo et membris ejus.

Fertur quendam fratrem inflatum. *finis.* de ecclesia Jesu Christi.

De demonio meridiano. In C. et v. habes fere talem.

Frons meretricis facta est populo. *finis.* in Anglia germinare.

Epistola missa pape. In h. et v. plures epistole.

Gaudeo plane. *finis.* patens condicio antichristi.

**XL sermones compositi dum stetit in scolis. Quere XX ser-
mones in R. Rogate etc.**

Hora est iam nos de sompno. *finis.*

Epistolarum sermones de tempore per circulum anni.

Hora est jam nos de sompno. *finis.*

Epistola missa Lincolniensi episcopo. In t.¹ et v. plures quere.

Humilis servus Chr. et devotus. *finis.* et testimonio confirmetur.

**Forma juramenti Arnoldi de Granario collectoris Domini pape.
Quere in D. quoniam.**

Hec est forma juramenti. *finis.* fuit gracius repetita.

De necessitate futurorum.

Impugnante quodam ingenioso. *finis.* in veritate poterit defensare.

De universalibus. capp. 17.

Impungnando errores circa universalia. *finis.* aperit agressuros.

De tempore.

In tractando de tempore. *finis.* pro quibus modo instat orationis suf-
fragium.

De responsione. Quere in D. et v.

Inter alia doctor meus reuerendus. *finis.* rationali et honesta.

De dissensione facta in Romana ecclesia.

Jam incidit tractare de ista.

Exhortacio cujusdam doctoris.

Labora sicud bonus miles. *finis.* concedat Dominus veritatis.

¹ t] h, possibly; the letter is doubtful.

De 8 beatitudinibus. capp. 21.

Licet totum evangeliū. *finis.* quasi vna sit anima.

De sermone Domini in monte super Matt. et dividitur in quatuor libros.

Licet totum ewangelium. *finis prime partis.* sufficiunt pro presenti. 62.

Secunda pars sic incipit.

Sequitur in textu ewangelii. *finis.* ex Dei gracia surgere.

Explicit tratatus de sermone Domini in monte divisus in duos libros ad similem¹ scripti Augustini.

Tercius liber sic incipit.

Completo tractatu primo ewangelii. *finis.* non appetent se non esse.

Quartus liber sic incipit.

Dictum est superius quod tertius tractatus est. *finis.* potius disputator.

Hec Augustinus.

De fundacione sectarum. capp. 16.

Motus sum per quosdam veritatis a. *finis.* ecclesia sit ablata.

De eo qui contra Spiritum Sanctum peccat.

Non peccat in Spiritum Sanctum ad sensum e. *finis.* cuius² huiusmodi sunt prelati.

Deteccio perfidie sectarum antichristi.

Paulus docet Eph. iv. *finis.* est questio ventilata.

De mendacio fratrum.

Pseudo-fratres putant quod non licet. *finis.* Gregorii omelia sexta³ in fine.

De incarnatione Verbi prologus.

Prelibato tractatu incipit.⁴

Quia autem spiritualiter viantibus. *finis.* eiusdem Domini nostri Iesu Christi.

Decem et octo conclusiones.

Protestor publice ut sepe alias. *finis.* stare pro ewangelica paupertate.

Responsiones ad argumenta cujusdam emuli veritatis. capp. 18.

Quidam socius quem suppono esse e. *finis.* regulariter cleri talem legem.

Responsio ad argucias monachales contra 44 conclusiones.

Quidam doctor vtinam veritatis. *finis.* mendacii nequicia dominetur.

¹ similem] Read *similitudinem*.

² cujus] C⁹. MS. Read *cum*. The error has arisen from the *huius* immediately following..

³ Gregorii omelia] Gregio *ocla*, MS.

⁴ incipit] This word should perhaps have followed *prologus*.

Responsiones ad argumenta Radulphi de Strode.

Quia secundum philosophum sanctum est prehonorare. *finis.* tocius ecclesie causatiui.¹

De amore. Quere plures responsiones in d. j. et s.

Quidam fidelis in Domino querit. *finis.* miserie dirumpamus.

De salutatione angelica que sequitur sanctam oracionem Dominicam.

Quamvis autem salutacio angelica. *finis.* rose proprietatibus senciendum.

De gradibus cleri.

Quidam secularis probus zel. *finis.* multipliciter illum mundum.

De dissensione paparum. Et est alius parvus, qui eciam sic incipit.

Quia ista monstruosa dis. *finis.* est in clericis iam peruersis.

De versucijs antichristi.

Quamvis diabolus ex naturali.

Exposicio textus, Matt. xxiv.

Quia ewangelium istud. *finis.* sit melius intellecta.

Quia cleru regni Anglie. *finis.* rationabilis ex fide scripture.

Sermones XX compositi in fine vite sue. Et debent stare post XL sermones: quere in h.

Rogate que ad pacem s. *finis.*

Differencia inter peccatum mortale et veniale.

Restat nunc discutere. *finis.* sine discrimin'e nesciut (*sic*).

Contra religiones priuatas, et intitulatur purgatorium secte Christi.

Sepe assumptum est vt fides. *finis.* irremissibile multis regnis.

De quatuor sectis nouellis et eorum erroribus XII.

Secundum tres virtutes theologicas. *finis.* ad ecclesie prodessendum.

De Christo et suo aduersario antichristo.

Secundum catholicos ecclesia est. *finis.* a Christi vestigiis deviare.

De nouis ordinibus.

Secundum apostolum Eph. vi. *finis.* in parte cognoscere ex scripture.

Responsiones ad alium doctorem.

Secundus doctor meus Willelmus Rynnan. *finis.* libro secundo partis 2. capp. 7.

¹ causativi] catiu, MS.

De corpore Christi. Quere in c. alium maiorem tractatum.

Sepe confessus sum et adhuc. *finis.* quantum in episcopis est.

De contrarietate duorum dominorum suarum partium ac eciā rerum.

Sicut est unus verus et summus. *finis.* triumphante ecclesia extante.

De citacionibus friuolis et alijs versucijs antechristi.

Si papa uel eius vicarius. *finis.* sive seruat libertate.

De fide catholica. capp. 8.

Suppositis dictis de fide ca. *finis.* Christi et diaboli stabilire.

De Trinitate.

Superest est investigare de distinccione. *finis.* per quamē essenciam qualitationem (?) essencie.

De Eukaristia. Quere parvum tractatum in S.

Tractando de Eukaristia *finis.* in Christo Iesu finaliter obseruare.

De ydeis.

Tractando de ydeis. *finis.* habet ideam propriam in Deo.

De composicione hominis. capp. 8.

Tria mouent me ad tractandum. *finis.* alibi satis sepe.

De triplici vinculo amoris.

Tria sunt vincula amoris. *finis.* regulam legis Dei.

De sex iugis.¹

Vt simplices sacerdotes zelo a. *finis.* huiusmodi nouitates.

Epistola missa episcopo Cantuariensi.

Venerabilis in Christo pater et domine. *finis.* legislator.

Epistola missa ad simplices sacerdotes.

Videtur meritorium bonos colligere. *finis.* taliter operando.

De gradibus cleri et ecclesie militantis.

Videtur autem sanctis doctoribus. *finis.* multipliciter istum mundum.

Supplementum trialogi id est de dotacione ecclesie et debet stare inmediate post trialogum. capp. 10.

Vtrum clerus debuit dotacionem. *finis.* adiutorio postulando.

De s.² capp. 10.

Vt supra dicta magis. *finis.* de dominio clericorum.

¹ De sex iugis] Inserted by a later hand in the margin.

² s.] The rest of the title illegible. It should be *statu innocencie.*

Nota multi sunt alij libri Magistri Johannis Wicilif, videlicet proprium sanctorum, commune sanctorum, et epistolarum dominicalium. Eciam est summa in theologia que in Boemia habetur, summa in logica, tres tractatus, postilla super totam bibliam que hocce non habetur, et quam plures alii libri. Summa ejusdem in theologia continet duodecim libros in se. Primus est liber mandatorum, presupponens tres libros de dominio divino, quorum prologus sic incipit.

Cum quilibet Christianus.

Primus liber sic incipit et habet 19 capp.

In tractando de dominio.

Secundus sic incipit et habet 7 capp.

Jam vterius restat.

Tercius sic incipit et habet 6 capp.

Reddeundo iam tercio ad materiam. *finis.* habentur hic.

Liber primus de mandatis sic incipit et habet capp. 30.

Premissa sentencia de dominio in quibus. *finis.* dicitur aliena.

Secundus de statu innocentie. capp. 10.

Vt supra dicta magis ap. *finis.* de dominio clericorum.

Tercius de dominio civili, et continet in se tres libros. **Primus sic incipit.** 44 capp.

Tractando de ciuali dominio. *finis.* conferat liber vite.

Secundus sic incipit, et est quartus in ordine, habens 18 capp.

Licet capitulo 37^o. rogarem obnixius. *finis.* adversarios crucis Christi.

Tercius sic incipit, et est quintus in ordine, continens 27 capp.

Vt supra dicta de lege Christi. *finis.* procuratorie sic orare.

Sextus de veritate sacre Scripture. 31 capp.

Restat parumper discutere. *finis.* diffusius pertractare.

Septimus de ecclesia. 23 capp.

Quia nonnulli eciam illi. *finis.* de isto alibi.

Octavus de officio regis. 12 capp.

Consequenter ad ordinem clericalem. *finis.* partem suam.

Nonus de potestate pape. 13 capp.

Jam ultimo restat. *finis.* membris diaboli ad infernum.

Decimus de Symonia. 8 capp.

Post generalem sermonem. *finis.* totam ecclesiam semper regnat.

Undecimus de apostasia. 18 capp.

Restat vterius ponere aliud principium. *finis.* hoc venerabili sacramento.

Duodecimus de blasfemia. 18 capp.

Restat succincte de blas. *finis.* ministerium limitare.

II. Cod. 3935 fol. 223^c ff.¹

De ordine cristiano capitula 7.

Ad declarandam ueritatem. *finis.* et litere acceptanda.

ca 2

Amice preclare ex scriptis. *finis.* fidei lucem ueram.

Littera parua

Amice carissime. *finis.*

De octo questionibus propositis discipulo.

Amice preclare ex scriptis. *finis.* insensibiliter introducunt.

Dyalogus et intitulatur speculum ecclesie militantis 39.

Cum ydentitas sit mater. *finis.* facilius cognoscatur.

Trialogus Supplementum eius quere in littera 7.

Cum locucio ad personam. *finis.* secundum quemlibet beatorum. 100.

De officio pastorali libri duo.

Cum duplex debet esse officium. *finis.* domini regis regum.

De noua preuaricancia mandatorum ca 8.

Cum secundum ueritatis testimonium. *finis.* a bonis homines spoliare.

De duodecim legibus ca 8.

Cum philosophi pseudo apostoli. *finis.* in dictis iam peruersis.

De oracione dominica cap^ala 8. De angelica salutacione, quere in littera A.

Cum heresi diebus istis. *finis.* laude dignum.

De perfeccione statuum.

Cum uiantes et specialiter fratres. *finis.* proprio predicare.

De seruitute ciuili et dominio seculari caa 6.

Cum secundum philosophos sit relacionum. *finis.* multiplici atque graui.

Contra bella clericorum et uocatur cruciata ca 10.

Cum secundum fidem catholicam Ro. 8. *finis.* sacerdotibus deputandus.

¹ For the copy of the following Catalogue, which in the main agrees with the Index of cod. 3933, I am indebted to the kindness of Herr Studiosus R. Beer in Vienna. I must add, however, that a number of readings of the Catalogue, some of which are difficult reading, appear to me very doubtful.

De speculo secularium dominorum capitula 5.

Cum ueritas fidei eo plus. *finis.* concorditer inuehendum
dilactantur (?).

De quodam periculoso mendacio nouiter peccati (?) sato ca 5.

Cum paruuus error et in. *finis.* insensibiliter modicum.

De materia et forma capitula.

Cum materia et forma sint universalia. *finis.* aliam essenciam preter deum.

De concordacione fratrum. ca 4.

Cum christus sit primus et nouissimus. *finis.* mendacio sit fundatum.

De septem donis spiritus sancti. ca 8.

Cum spiritus sanctus sit tercia persona trinitatis. *finis.* multiplicitate prophetat.

Exposicio textus Mt 23 ca 12.

Cum sapiencia dei patris. *finis.* in istis perfidis sine fine.

De uaticinacione ca 2.

Cum secundum sanctos spectat ad off. *finis.* ecclesie est sedata.

De condemnacione 19 conclusionum.

Cum secundum apostolum Hebr. 11. *finis.* et pie in euangelica paupertate.

Cum autem spiritui sancto appropriatur. *finis.* in Angliam geminare (?).

Epistola.

Cum prelati contencionum. *finis.* suos acucius puniendi.

**Liber tercius de sermone domini in monte sec. Mt. quere in 1.
caa 4.**

Completo tractatu primo ewangelii. *finis.* repeteret se non esse.

Sermones de tempore per circulum anni secundum ewangelia.

Cum deus undiqueaque plenus. *finis.*

33 conclusiones.

Cr̄istus deus noster capit (?) uniuersalis esse. *finis.* compendiosius dabit pacem.

De confessione siue de eucharistia et prima (?) ca 6.

Duo sunt sacramenta precipua. *finis.* constancius confiteri.

De oracione et ecclesie purgacione ca 7.

Dicturus de oracione et. *finis.* quomodo sunt ab ecclesia expellenda.

(*Colon vacat.*)

Dictum est de gradibus ecclesie. *finis.*

De commodis conuenientibus ex reduccione dei ad oracionem (?).

Dictum est in solucione cuiusdam argumenti. *finis.*

Quartus liber de sermone domini in monte secundum Mattheum ca 14.

Dictum est superius quod tertius tractatus. *finis.* sed disserere potestas.

(*Colon vacat.*)

Duo sunt genera hereticorum. *finis.* observanciam faciendo.

Recomendacio assumencium gradus.

Dominus vobiscum Ruth et (?). *finis.* cum corpore resumendum.

De quadam questione pro thesauris retinendis in regno quere in h. forma.

Dubium est utrum regnum Anglie. *finis.* regi impedit in futurum.

De responsione cuiusdam doctoris quere in g. s. plenus dominaciones (?)

Doctor quidam ueritatis catholice. *finis.* alius casset finaliter a labore.

Responsiones ad argumenta cuiusdam monachi quere in q. s. et f.

Doctor meus reuerendus et magister. *finis.* et subtilia argumenti.

Raciones sex utrum licet secularem clerum delinquentem castigare.

Discipulus quidam venerabilis doctoris. *finis.* laicos morientem peccatur (?).

(*Cola vacant.*)

De dyabolo et membris eius.

Fertur quidam (?) fratrem inflatum. *finis.* de ecclesia iesu christi.

De demonio meridiano in c et v habemus fere tale.

Frons meretricis facta est populo. *finis.* in anglia germinare.

(*Colon vacat.*)

Epistula missa pape in h. et v plures epistule.

Gaudeo plane. *finis.* patens condicio antichristi.

Quadraginta sermones compositi dum stetit quere 20.

Sermones in r Rogate VII etc.

Hora est iam nos de somno (?) *finis.*

Epistularum sermones de tempore circulum anni (?)

Hora est iam nos de somno (?) *finis.*

Epistola missa lincoln. episcopo.

Humilis seruus christi et deuotus. *finis.* et testacio (?) confirmatur.

Forma iuramenti arnoldi de granario collectoris domini pape . . .

Hec est forma iuramenti. *finis.* fuit gracius repetita d. questionem.

De necessitate futurorum.

Impugnant quodam ingenioso (?) *finis.* in ueritate poterit defen. . . .

Responsiones ad argumenta cuiusdam emuli ueritatis 18.

Quidam socius quem suppono esse. *finis.* regulariter cleri talem legem.

Responsio ad argucias monachales 44 conclusiones.

Quidam doctor utinam. *finis.* mendacii nequicia dominetur.

Responsiones ad argumenta Rudolfi de strode.

Quod secundum philosophum sanctum est philosophari (?). *finis.* tocius esse causatiui.

De amore quere plures responsiones in d. et in s.

Quidam fidelis in domino querit. *finis.* miserie dirumpamus.

De salutacione angelica, que sequitur statim oracionem dominicam.

Quamuis autem salutacio angelica. *finis.* rose proprietatibus senciendis.

De gradibus cleri.

Quidam secularis probus zelat. *finis.* multipliciter illum mundum.

De dissensione paparum et est alius paruuus, qui eciam sic incipit.

Quia ista monstruosa dis. *finis.* est in dictis (?) iam peruersis.

De uersuciis anticristi.

Quamuis dyabolus ex naturali. *finis.*

De exposicione textus Mt. 24.

Quia ewangelium istud. *finis.* sit melius intellecta.

Quod cleru regni Anglie. (*lacuna*) ex fide scripture.

**Sermones 20 compositi in fine uite sue et debet stare post
40 sermones quere in h.**

Rogate quam ad pacem sunt. *finis.*

Differencia inter peccatum mortale et ueniale.

Restat nunc discutere. *finis.* Sine discrimine nesciunt.

Contra religiones priuatas et intitulatur purgatorium secte christi.

Sepe assumptum est, ut fidendum (?) *finis.* irremissibile multis regnis.

De quattuor sectis nouellis et eorum erroribus ca 12.

Secundum tres uirtutes theologicas. *finis.* ad ecclesie prodessendum.

De cristo et suo adversario anticristo.

Secundum catholicos ecclesia est. *finis.* a Christi uestigiis deuiare.

De nouis ordinibus.

Secundum apostol. Eph. *finis.* in parte cognoscere ex scriptura.

Responsiones ad alium doctorem.

Secundus doctor meus et uillereus (?). *finis.* libro 2 partis et capitulo 7.

De corpore christi quere in c maiorem tractatum de eucharistia.

Sepe confessus sum. *finis.* quantum in episcopis est.

De contrarietate duorum dominorum suarum parcium ac eciam rerum.

Sicut est unus uerus et summus. *finis.* triumphante ecclesia exemplate (?).

De citationibus friuolis et aliis uersuciis antichristi.

Si papa uel eius uicarius. *finis.* sibi seruat libertate.

De fide catholica capitola octo.

Suppositis dictis de fide catholica. *finis.* christi et diaboli stabilire.

(*Colon vacat.*)

Superest investigare de dis. *finis.* per communem aliis communicacionem essencie (?).

(*Colon vacat.*)

De eucharistia magnus tractatus parvum quere in s.

Tractandum (?) de eucharistia. *finis.* in christo iesu finaliter obseruare.

De ydeis.

Tractando de ydeis. *finis.* habet ydeam propriam in deo.

De composizione dominis cao 8.

Tria mouent me ad tractandum. *finis.* alibi satis sepe.

De triplici uinculo amoris.

Tria sunt uincula amoris. *finis.* regulam legis dei.

De sex iugis.

Ut simplices sacerdotes zelo. *finis.* huiusmodi nouitates.

Epistula missa episcopo Cantuariensi.

Venerabilis in Christo pater et dne. *finis.* legislator.

.
Videtur meritiorum bonos colligere. *finis.* taliter operando.

Epistula missa ad simplices sacerdotes.

Videtur autem sanctis doctoribus. *finis.* multipliciter istum mundum.

De gradibus cleri et ecclesie militantis.

Utrum clerus debuit dotacionem. *finis.* adiutores postulando.

Supplementa trialogi in de dotacione ecclesie et de stare immediate post (?).

Ut supra dicta magis. *finis.* de dominio clericorum capitula X.

Notandum summa Wiclis in theologia continet 12^{cim} libros in se primus est liber mandator. presupponens tres libros de dominio domino (?) quorum prologus sic incipit.

Cum quilibet christianus.

Primus liber cap. 19.

In tractando de dominio.

Secundus ca 7.

Jam ulterius restat. *finis.*

Tercius 6 cap.

Redeundo iam tercio ad materiam. *finis.* habentur hic.

Liber primus etc. de mandatis incipit ca 30.

Premissa sentencia de dominio in communi. *finis.* de aliena (?).

Secundus de statu innocencie ca 10.

Ut supradicta magis ap. *finis.* de dominio clericorum.

Tercius de dominio ciuali et continet in se tres libros primus 44 ca.

Tractando de ciuali dominio. *finis.* conferat liber uite.

Secundus sic incipit et est quartus in ordine habens 18 ca.

Licet capitulo tercia (?) rogarem ob. *finis.* adversarios crucis christi.

Tercius incipit et est quintus in ordine continens 27 ca.

Ut supradicta de lege christi. *finis.* procuratorie sic orare.

Sextus de ueritate sacre scripture 31 ca.

Restat parumper discutere. *finis.* diffusius pertractare.

Septimus de ecclesia 23 capitula.

Quia nonnulli eciam illi. *finis.* de isto alibi.

Octauus de officio regis 12 a.

Consequenter ad ordinem clericalem. *finis.* partem suam.

Nonus de potestate pape 13 capitola.

Jam ultimo restat. *finis.* membrum (?) dyaboli ad infernum.

Decimus de Simonia continens 8 ca.

Post generalem sermonem. *finis.* totam ecclesiam semper regnat.

Undecimus de Apostasia 18 ca.

Restat ulterius ponere aliud princip. *finis.* hoc uenerabili sacramento.

Duodecimus de Blasphemia 18 capitula.

Restat succincte de blasphemia. *finis.* ministerium limitare.

Nota sunt multi sunt (?) alii libri magistri Johannis doctoris ewangelii scilicet proprium sanctorum Commune sanctos rum et epistolarum dominicalium. Summa in logica tres tractatus. De Exponendis propositionibus. Postilla super totam bibliam et alii plures libri eiusdem uiri catholici 1473 (?) assumptionis.

III. Cod. 4514. fol. 102 ff.

INCIPIUNT NOMINA LIBRORUM MAGISTRI JOHANNIS WYCLEFF
JUXTA ORDINEM ALPHABETI.¹

De ordine Christiano sic incipit.

Ad declarandum veritatem. *finis.* et libere accipienda. capp. 3.
Amice preclare ex scriptis. *finis.* fidei lucem veram. capp. 3.
Amice karissime. Epistola prima est.

De octo questionibus propositis discipulo.

Amice preclare ex scriptis vestris. *finis.* imsensibiliter introducunt.

Dialogus seu speculum ecclesie militantis. capp. 39.

Cum ydemptitas sit mater. *finis.* facilius cognoscantur.

Trialogus habet capp. 100.

Cum locutio ad personam. *finis.* secundum quemlibet beatorum.

De officio pastorali libro duo. cap.

Cum duplex debet esse officium. *finis.* domini regis regum.

De noua preuaricancia mandatorum. capp. 8.

Cum secundum veritatis testimonium. *finis.* a bonis homines spoliantes.

De duodecim legibus. capp. 8.

Cum pharisei pseudo-apostoli. *finis.* in clericis iam peruersis.

De oracione dominica. capp. 8.

Cum heresis diebus istis. *finis.* laude dignum.

De perfeccione statuum. capp. 6.

Cum viantes et specialiter fratres. *finis.* populo predicantes.

De servitute civili et dominio seculari. capp. 6.

Cum secundum philosophos sit relativorum. *finis.* multiplici atque gravi.

Cruciata seu contra bella clericorum. capp. 10.

Cum secundum fidem catholicam. *finis.* sacerdotibus deputandum.

Speculum secularium dominorum. capp. 5.

Cum veritas fidei eo plus. *finis.* concorditer invehendum.

De quodam periculoso mendacio noviter practisato. capp. 7.

Cum parvus error et missensibilis. *finis.* alijs modicum delectatur.

¹ The following Index has been collated with the MS. by Dr. O. Stange, of Dresden. The MS. offers a number of readings differing from Shirley's; I have given above only the more significant ones which will easily be ascertained by a comparison with Shirley's print.

De materia et forma, capp. . . .

Cum materia et forma sunt universalia. *finis.* animam essenciam prete deum.

De concordacione fratrum. capp. 4.

Cum Christus sit primus et novissimus. *finis.* mendacio sit fundatum.

De septem donis Spiritus Sancti. capp. 8.

Cum Spiritus Sanctus sit tercia persona. *finis.* multipliciter prophetat.

Expositio textus, Matt. xxiii. capp. 12.

Cum sapiencia Dei patris. *finis.* in istis perfidis sine fine.

De vaticinacione. capp. 2.

Cum secundum sanctos spectat. *finis.* ecclesie est sedata.

De condempnacione 19 conclusionum.

Cum secundum apostolum Heb. xi. *finis.* et pie in ewangelica paupertate.

Cum autem Spiritui Sancto appropriatur. *finis.* in Anglia germinare.

Epistola.

Cum prelati contencionum. *finis.* suos accucius puniendi.

Liber tertius sermonis Domini in monte. capp. 74.

Completo tractatu primo ewangelii. *finis.* appetent se non esse.

Sermones de tempore per circulum anni super ewangelium.

Cum Deus vndiquaque plenus.

XXXIII conclusiones.

Cristus deus noster caput. *finis.* compendiosius dabit pacem.

De confessione sive de eukaristia et penitentia. capp. 6.

Duo sunt sacramenta precipua. *finis.* constantius confiteri.

De oracione et ecclesie purgacione. capp. 5.

Dicturus de oracione quomodo. *finis.* quomodo sunt ab ecclesia expel.

Dictum est de gradibus ecclesie. *finis.*

De commodis convenientibus ex reduccione cleri ad ordine Cristi.

Dictum est in solucione cujusdam. *finis.*

Quartus de sermone Domini in monte. capp. 14.

Dictum est superius quod tertius. *finis.*

Duo sunt genera hereticorum. *finis.* obseruancia faciendo.

Recomendacio assumencium gradus.

Dominus vobiscum. Ruth. ii. *finis.* cum corpore resumendum.

De quadam questione pro thesauris retinendis.

Dubium est utrum regnum. *finis.* regni inpediat in futurum.

De responsione cuiusdam doctoris.

Doctor quidam veritatis. *finis.* aut cesser finaliter altiborus (?).

Responsiones ad argumenta cuiusdam monachi.

Doctor nimis reverendus. *finis.* et subtilia argumenta.

Responsiones sex utrum licet seculari clerum deliquentem castigare.

Discipulus quidam venerabilis. *finis.* laicos mortaliter peccantes.

De diabolo et membris ejus.

Fertur qvendam fratrem. *finis.* de ecclesia Jesu Christi.

De demonio meridiano.

Frons meretricis facta est. *finis.* in Anglia germinare.

Epistola missa pape.

Gaudeo plane. *finis.* patens condicio antichristi.

Quadragesima sermones compositi dum stetit in scolis.

Hora est iam nos. *finis.*

Epistola missa Lincolnensi.

Humilis servus Christi et de. *finis.* et testimonio confirmetur.

Forma juramenti Arnoldi de Granario.

Hec est forma juramenti. *finis.* fuit gracius repetita.

De necessitate futurorum.

Impugnante quondam. *finis.* in veritate poterit defensare.

De universalibus. capp. 15.

Impugnando errores. *finis.* apperit agressurus.

De tempore.

In tractando de tempore. *finis.* per consequens modo instat oracionis suffragium.

De responsione.

Inter alia doctor nimis. *finis.* rationali et honesta.

Dissensione facta in romana curia.

Iam incidit tractare. *finis.*

Exhortacio cujusdam doctoris.

Labora siend bonus. *finis.* concedit deus veritatis.

De octo beatitudinibus. capp. 12.

Licet totum ewangelinm. *finis.* quasi una sit anima.

De Sermone domini in monte. Habet quatuor libros. capp. 62.

Licet totum ewangelium. *finis.* prime partis sufficient pro presenti.

Secundus liber sic incipit.

Sequitur in textu ewangelii. *finis.*

Tertius tractatus sic incipit.

Completo tractatu primo. *finis.* non appetent se non esse.

Quartus liber sic incipit.

Dictum est superius.

De fundacione sectarum. capp. 6.

Motus sum per quosdam. *finis.* ecclesia sit ablata.

De eo qui contra Spiritum Sanctum peccant.

Non peccat in Spiritum. *finis.* cuius huiusmodi sunt prelati.

Deteccio perfidie sectarum antichristi.

Paulus docet Eph. iv. *finis.* est questio ventilata.

De mendacio fratrum.

Pseudo fratres. *finis.* Gregorii omelia¹ sexta in fine.

De incarnacione verbi prologus.

Prelibato tractatu. *finis.* eiuis Domini nostri Jesu Christi.

XVIII conclusiones.

Protestor publice. *finis.* stare pro ewangelica paupertate.

Responsiones ad argumenta cujusdam emuli veritatis. capp. 18.

Quia socius quoniam supp. *finis.* regulariter talem legem.

Responsio ad argucias monachales et 44 conclusiones.

Quidam doctor vtinam. *finis.* mendacii nequicia dominetur.

Responsiones ad argumenta Rudolphi et strode.

Quia secundum philosophum. *finis.* tocius ecclesie cautiu (*sic*).

De Amore.

Quidam fidelis in Domino. *finis.* miserie dirrumpamus.

De salutacione angelica.

Quamvis autem salutacio. *finis.* rose proprietatibus senciendum.

De gradibus cleri.

Quibus secularis probus. *finis.* multipliciter illum mundum.

De dissensione paparum.

Quia ista monstruosa dis. *finis.* est in clericis iam peruersis.

De versucijs antichristi.

Quamuis diabolus ex naturali. *finis.*

¹ Gregorii omelia] gregis oclā, MS.

Exposicio textus, Matt. xxiv.

Quia ewangelium istud. *finis.* sit melius intellecta.

Quod clerus regni anglie. *finis.* racionabilitas ex fide scripture.

Sermones XX compositi in fine vite sue.

Rogate que ad pacem. *finis.*

Differencia inter peccatum mortale et veniale.

Restat nunc discutere. *finis.* sine discrimin'e nesciunt.

Contra religiones priuatas et intitulatur purgatorium secte Christi.

Sepe assumptum est ut. *finis.* irremissibile multis regnis.

De quatuor sectis nouellis. capp. 12.

Secundum tres virtutes theologicas. *finis.* in parte cognoscitur ex scriptura.

Responsiones ad aliquem doctorem.

Secundus doctor nimis. *finis.* quantum in episopis est.

De contrarietate duorum dominorum.

Sicut est unus verus et summus. *finis.* triumphante ecclesia exemplate (?).

De citacionibus friuolis et alijs versucijs anticristi.

Si papa uel eius vicarius. *finis.* sibi seruat libertate.

De fide catholica. capp. 8.

Suppositis dictis de fide. *finis.* Christi et diaboli stabilire.

Superest investigare de dis. *finis.* per consequentem essenciam communacionem essencie.

De Eukaristia.

Tractando de Eukaristia. *finis.* in Christo Jesu finaliter obseruare.

De ydeis.

Tractando de ydeis. *finis.* habet ideam propriam in deo.

De compositione hominis. capp. 8.

Tria movent me ad. *finis.* alibi satis sepe.

De triplici amoris vinculo.

Tria sunt vincula amoris. *finis.* regulam legis dei.

De sex iugis.

Vt simplices sacerdotes ze. *finis.* huiusmodi nouitates.

Epistola missa episcopo Cantuariensi.

Venerabilis in Christo pater et domine. *finis.* legislator.

Epistola missa ad simplices sacerdotes.

Videtur meritiorum bonos col. *finis.* taliter operando.

De dotacione ecclesie seu supplementum triologi.

Vtrum clerus debuit do. *finis.* adiutorio postulando. capp. 10.

Vt supra dicta magis. *finis.* de dominio clericorum. capp. 10.

Summa theologie hec est et continet in se duodecim libros presupponens librum de dominio qui habet in se tres libros. Primus sic incipit. Prologus sic.

Cum quilibet Christianus.

Primus liber incipit.

Tractando de dominio. Habet capp. 29.

Secundus liber habet 5 capp.

Jam vltterius restat. *finis.*

Tercius sic, et habet 6 capp.

Reddeundo iam tercio ad. *finis.* habentur hic.

Primus liber de mandatis habet capp. 30.

Premissa sentencia de dominio. *finis.* dicitur aliena.

Secundus de statu jnnocentie. capp. 10.

Vt supra dicta magis ap. *finis.* de dominio clericorum.

Tercius de¹ dominio civili et continet tres libros. Primus sic incipit.

Tractando de civili dominio. *finis.* conferat liber vite. capp. 44.

Secundus sic incipit, et est quartus in ordine. Habet capp. 18.

Licet capitulo 37⁰² rogarem. *finis.* adversarios crucis Christi.

Tercius sic incipit, et est quintus in ordine. capp. 27.

Vt supra dicta de lege Christi. *finis.* procuratorie sic orare.

Sextus de veritate sacre Scripture. capp. 31.

Restat paruper discutere. *finis.* diffusius pertractare.

Septimus de ecclesia 23 capp. habet.

Quia nonulli eciam illi. *finis.* de isto allibi.

Octavus de officio regis capp. 12 habet.

Consequenter ad ordinem cleri. *finis.* partem suam.

Nonus de potestate pape capp. 13 habet.

Jam vltimo restat. *finis.* membrum diaboli ad infernum.

¹ de] om. MS.

² capitulo 37⁰] ca⁰ 37⁰, MS.

Decimus de Symonia capp. habet 8.

Post generacionem¹ sermonum. *finis.* totam ecclesiam semper regnat.

Undecimus de apostasia capp. habet 18.

Restat vltterius ponere. *finis.* hoc venerabili sacramento.

Duodecimus de blasfemia capp. 18 habet.

Restat succincte de v. *finis.* ministerium limitare.

Sciendum quod multi sunt alii libri, quorum hic nec nomina nec principia ponuntur, ut Postilla super Biblia, Proprium Sanctorum, Comune Sanctorum et Epistolarum Dominicalium, De probandis propositionibus tres tractatus, et quam plures alij libri.

IV. Cod. 7980. fol. 5 ff.

EX DUOBUS LIBRIS MANUSCRIPTIS.

No. II:

INCIPIUNT NOMINA LIBRORUM M. JOAN WYCLEFF IUXTA
ORDINEM ALPHABETI.**De ordine Christiano sic incipit.**

Ad declarandam veritatem. *finis.* et libere accipiendi. cap. 3.

Amice preclare ex scriptis. *finis.* fidei lucem veram. cap. 3.

Amice christiane epistola prima est. *finis.*

De octo questionibus propositis populo.

Amice preclare ex scriptis vestris. *finis.* misericorditer introducunt.

Dialogus seu speculum ecclesie militantis. cap. 39.

Cum ydemptitas sit mater. *finis.* facilius cognoscantur.

Trialogus habet capitula 100.

Cum locucio ad personam. *finis.* secundum quemlibet beatorum.

De officio pastorali libri duo.

Cum duplex debet esse officium. *finis.* Domini regis regum.

De noua preuaricancia mandatorum. cap. 8.

Cum secundum veritatis testimonium. *finis.* a bonis homines spoliantes.

De duodecim legibus. cap. 8.

Cum pharisei pseudo apostoli. *finis.* in clericis iam peruersis.

¹ generalem] gn'acom, MS.

De oracione Dominica. cap. 8.

Cum iesus diebus istis. *finis.* laude digni.

De perfeccione statuum. cap. 6.

Cum viantes et specialiter fratres. *finis.* populo predicantes.

De seruitute animali et dominio seculari. cap. 6.

Cum secundum philosophos sit relativorum. *finis.* multiplici atque graui.

Cruciata seu contra bella clericorum. cap. 10.

Cum secundum fidem catholicam. *finis.* sacerdotibus deputandum.

Speculum secularium dominorum. cap. 7.

Cum ius fidei eo plus. *finis.* concorditer invehendum.

De quodam periculo mendacio nouiter practisato. cap. 7.

Cum parvus error et miserabilis. *finis.* aliis modicum debeantur.

De materia et forma.

Cum materia et forma sunt universalia. *finis.* aliam essenciam preter Deum.

De concordacione fratrum cap. 4.

Cum Cristus sit primus et novissimus. *finis.* mendacio sit fundatum.

De septem donis Spiritus Sancti. cap. 8.

Cum Spiritus Sanctus sit tercia persona. *finis.* multipliciter prophetavit.

Exposicio textus Matt. XIII cap. 12.

Cum sapientia Dei Patris. *finis.* in istis perfidis sine fine.

De vaticinacione. cap. 2.

Cum secundum sanctos spectat. *finis.* ecclesie est sedata.

De condemnatione 19 conclusionum.

Cum secundum apostolum Heb. XI. *finis.* et pie in ewangelica paupertate.

Cum autem Spiritui Sancto appropriatur. *finis.* in Anglia germinare.

Epistola.

Cum prelati contencionum. *finis.* suos acucius premendi.

Liber tercius sermonum Domini in monte. cap. 74.

Completo tractatu super ewangelium. *finis.* appetent se non esse.

Sermones de tempore per circulum anni super ewangelium.

Cum Deus vndeique plenus.

XXXIII conclusiones.

Cristus Deus noster caput. *finis.* compendiosius dabit pacem.

De confessione siue Eukaristia et paenitencia. cap. 6.

Duo sunt sacramenta precipua. *finis.* constancius confiteri.

De oracione et ecclesie purgacione. cap. 7.

Dicturus de oracione. *finis.* quomodo sunt ab ecclesia expellendi.

Dictum est de gradibus ecclesie.

De comodis convenientibus ex reduccione cleri ad ordinem Christi.

Dictum est in solutione cujusdam. *finis.*

Quartus de sermone Domini in monte. cap. 14.

Dictum est superius quod tertius. *finis.*

Duo sunt genera hereticorum. *finis.* observancia faciendo.

Recommendacio assumencium gradus.

Dominus vobiscum, Ruth II. *finis.* cum corpore resumendo.

De quadam questione pro thesauris retinendis.

Dubium est utrum regnum. *finis.* regni impediat in futurum.

De responsione cujusdam doctoris.

Doctor quidam veritatis. *finis.* accessit finaliter ulli bonorum.

Responsiones ad argumenta cujusdam monachi.

Doctor nimis reverendus. *finis.* et subtilia argumenta.

Responsiones 6 utrum licet delinquentem clerum seculari castigare.

Discipulus quidam venerabilis. *finis.* laicos moraliter peccantes.

De diabolo et membris ejus.

Fertur quendam fratrem. *finis.* de ecclesia Jesu Christi.

De demonio meridiano.

Frons meretricis facta est. *finis.* in Anglia germinare.

Epistola missa pape.

Gaudeo plane. *finis.* patens condicio antichristi.

XL sermones compositi dum stetit in scolis.

Hora est iam nos. *finis.*

Epistola missa licentiato (?).

Humilis servus Christi et de. *finis.* et testimonio confirmetur.

Forma iuramenti Arnoldi de Granuario.

Hec est forma iuramenti. *finis.* fuit gracius repetita.

De necessitate futurorum.

Impugnante quondam. *finis.* in veritate poterit defensare.

De universalibus. cap. 17.

Impugnando errores. *finis.* aperit agressurus.

De tempore.

In tractando de tempore. *finis.* per consequens modo instat oracionis suffragium.

De responsione.

Inter alia Doctor nimis. *finis.* rationali et honesta.

Dispensatione (*sic*) facta in Romana curia.

Jam incidit tractare.

Exhortacio cuiusdam doctoris.

Labora siend bonus. *finis.* concedet Deus veritatis.

De VIII beatitudinibus. cap. 12.

Licet totum ewangelium. *finis.* quia vna sit anima.

De sermone Domini in monte habet IV libros. cap. 62.

Licet totum ewangelium. *finis primae partis.* sufficient.

Secundus liber sic incipit.

Sequitur in textu ewangelii. *finis.*

Tercius tractatus sic incipit.

Completo tractatu primo. *finis.* non appetent se non esse.

Quartus liber sic incipit.

Dictum est superius.

De fundacione sectarum. cap. 6.

Motus sum per quosdam. *finis.* ecclesia sic ablata.

De eo qui contra Spiritum Sanctum peccauit.

Non peccant in Spiritum. *finis.* cuius huiusmodi sunt prelati.

Deteccio perfidie sectarum antichristi.

Paulus docet Eph. IV. *finis.* est questio ventilata.

De mendacio fratrum.

Pseudofratres. *finis.* Greg. omelia 6. in fine.

De incarnatione Verbi prologus.

Praelibato tractatu. *finis.* eius Domini mei Jesu Christi 18. Conclusiones.

Here follows fol. 7, containing a register of some unimportant Polemica against Hus and his followers. After this follows fol. 8^a where stands at the top:

i
Johann. Wiclef (*sic*);

to the left, at the side:

Ex registris universitatis v* restitutis et collegii
Caroli IVⁱ.

Then follows:

Uniuersalia.

Exposicio c. 23 Mathei

De improbacione fratrum

De papa

De Christo et eius aduersario

- De cruciata
 Dialogus
 Pastorale
 Due epistole
 De quinque questionibus
 De septem donis spiritus sancti
 De uerbo communiter dicendo clero et dominis
 De prevaricacione decem mandatorum
 Item de cantate
 Trialogus
 Hec omnia uno libro signato 16 et theologia 31.
 Item de officio regis 18
 Wiklef de Ecclesia
 De ueritate sacre scripture 18
 Registrum supra libros Wiklef penes ordinem alphabeticu-
 19
 De Universalibus
 De ydeis
 De materia et de forma
 De tempore
 De compositione hominis
 De ente in communi & predicantis
 Item de attributis
 Item de ampliacionibus huius uerbi et
 Idem de pro materia et de modis Z
 De uero et falso
 Responsiones ad occultum.
-

In the second place we must consider the evidence to be gathered from the incidental remarks contained in some of the Manuscripts,

these being sometimes in the form of a monogram, as



(see e. g. cod. 3930, on the inner side of the front cover), sometimes of initials, or the first syllables of Wielif's name, such as J. W., Jo. Wy., J. Wig. and occasionally his title: doctoris ewangelici, magistri ewangelici. Particulars are given in their proper place.

Here we must especially note the cryptographic subscriptio, for which cod. 4527 is remarkable, and which was at that time the well-known mark of many a pamphlet of heretical origin, though it at the same time effectually hinted at, and concealed its author. — On one occasion we have the Czech form of Wyclif's name, ep. cod. III. G. 16. fol. 39^a, at the conclusion of *De Christo*, see p. 692.

Further reference is made to Wyclif's works in the writings of his opponents. The most valuable in this respect are Thomas Netter's *Doctrinale Fidei* and *Fasciculi Zixianiorum*, Wilkins, *Concil. Magn. Brit. and Orth. Grat. Fasciculus Rerum Expet.*¹ the latter of which contains an extensive controversial treatise of Woodford against Wyclif; evidence of one kind or other may be gleaned also from Walsingham's *Historia Anglicana* and Tycysden, *Hist. Anglic. Scriptores X.* — The works of Hus and his followers are important as affording us further proofs of the authenticity of those of Wyclif. In a much lower scale however we must place evidence obtained from second hand sources, such as Leland,² who establishes the authenticity of a small number of works, Bale,³ whose extensive catalogue is not always reliable in smaller details, the learned Jesuit Michael Denis in his large bibliographical work on the Vienna Library⁴ and, among modern Wyclif scholars, Shirley⁵ and Lechler.⁶

As internal evidence of authenticity are adduced, in addition to many chance proofs, (a) any reference made by the Author himself to the treatises in question as being his, (b) the accordance of thought on the same subjects as are contained in writings undoubtedly genuine, (c) the kind of words employed, and (d) the general style.

As to Wyclif's language, it bears such a peculiar stamp, that for experts a doubt as to origin can scarcely exist, when pamphlets of

¹ *Ort. Gratius, Fascic. Rerum Expet.* ed. Edw. Brown, London 1690, fol. 190—195.

² *Comment. de Script. Britann. Auct. J. Leland, Oxonii 1709, tom. I.* p. 378 to 387.

³ *Illustr. Mag. Brit. Script. Summarium* fol. 154 ff.

⁴ *Codices Manuscrit. Theolog. Biblioth. Vindobon.* Vindob. 1794. 3 voll.

⁵ *Catalogue of the orig. Works of J. W.*

⁶ *Joh. v. W. II,* 559—573.

not to small a compass are concerned. Wyclif writes a heavy and not easily intelligible style. Being in his choice of words and construction of sentences the son of a far-off scholastic century, he cannot of course be judged by the same standard we now set up for classical Latin. For this standpoint he would be utterly unintelligible in spite of the unity of his absorbing thoughts, his masterly dialectic art and the keenness of his criticism. Even the reader who approaches him without such expectations needs to think deeply over the sentences and constructions in order to become master of the strange idiom. Wyclif has a clear and forcible manner of presenting his ideas, but his formation of sentences, more especially their great length is remarkable and, at first, apt to confuse. To the latter the reader soon becomes accustomed, but what still more renders his perusal difficult is the writer's habit of following the construction of his mother language in the rules of syntax and in his general mode of expressing his thoughts (see e. g. p. 313, l. 9; 13; 25; p. 143, l. 6; 135, 11; eorum 174, 9, etc.; also mensum, incolia, legiancie 256, 1; rehabeant 283, 5; erronee 335, 1; intim. 344, 16 etc.). This is quite apart from the peculiarities and unevenness which render the language of the writers of the latter part of the Middle Ages so intricate and difficult. It requires at first some mental effort to arrive at a full understanding of his arguments, but then Wyclif is recognisable from the singularity of certain turns of expression, which are peculiar to him. For transitions of thought he has certain regularly recurring forms; see e. g. racione cuius etc. p. 311, 1; 9; 313, 9 etc.; certain terms for persons and things which are constant with him: vas elecciónis p. 18, 1; doctor gencium and apostolorum princeps p. 30, 5; sol iusticie p. 302, 13; veritas 333, 9; Cristus omnipotens, omnisciens, omnivolens p. 94, 3; 90, 4 and others; he is especially rich in such terms of expressions as the following, which occur over and over again in all his Tracts: nisi ut loquar yronice, ad sui prodessendum, per sui puleritudinem, further nec est color etc., p. 139; et sic racio etc., p. 302, 8; 21; secundum quod deus 285, 30; 286, 16; omnes de istis sectis 277, 8; unde prob. cred. 464, 6; ficio caret ra. col. 324, 18; absit fid. cred. 595, 20; ut loq. sens. 383, 1; et vel oport. etc. 313, 6; 585, 18; 703, 27; 712, 12; also 277, 20.

So much for the language. On the other hand, the arguments circle round certain favourite ideas, affording unmistakeable evidence of these pamphlets having originated from the pen of the same author. I can here mention but a few instances: nearly in all the Tracts mention is made of the novi ordines, the quattuor secte, the quattuor secte novelle, ordines moderni, the single parts of which are the clerus cesareus, monachi, canonici and fratres. These Four Sects, if fully mentioned, always follow each other in the same order; if one or two only are discussed, those omitted are presupposed even in the same order, see, e. g., p. 341; 348; also 101, 1 ff. The Friars (fratres) always receive the severest and most emphatic rebuke. The reproaches hurled at them, appear repeatedly if not the same in form, at least in substance. The papal Schism and its consequences are always placed in the foreground. The Crusade to Flanders is a favourite theme. English relations with the Pope and Friars are constantly introduced, and these local allusions are in themselves sufficient proof of the birth of these writings on English soil, even if they did not proceed directly from the pen of the great early Reformer. Finally I must call attention to the various indications of W.'s peculiar view of the Holy Communion, or as he terms it the hostia consecrata quid sit, of the accidentis sine subiecto.

These general examples must suffice for the present. I am of opinion that in all these instances, if taken as a whole, we have the most conclusive evidence, that the Tracts in question proceeded from the pen of a man, whose general style and mode of thought in his undoubtedly genuine compositions invariably flow in the same direction.

(f) After having treated of these more material questions some notices follow concerning such, or parts of such Tracts, as have appeared in print.

(g) All the MSS. and their present place are enumerated, the folia¹ marked, and to spare time and trouble the respective 'Siglen' of the various codices noted (cod. A, cod. α), as well as the correctors and glos-

¹ fol. rectum is to be understood when ^a, fol. versum when ^b is placed to the right of the number of the folium; if the page contains two columns, which is often the case with the Bohemian manuscripts, those of the fol. rect. are given by ^a and ^b, those of fol. vers. by ^c and ^d.

sers (or scholiasts) of each MSS. with the addition of short characteristic notes. — To come to a conclusion as to how many revisers, if there were any at all, have been at work, and to which extent they corrected is an exceedingly difficult matter. To me at any rate it has proved so. — Whether the scribe of the text was at the same time the corrector, whether the corrections in black, red or blue ink belong to the same hand, these and similar questions cannot be answered with certainty, even after the most careful examination of the various inks, ductus of letters, general mode of writing and other orthographical peculiarities. Not till our bibliographical study of the Bohemian libraries, to which the Vienna MSS. belonged, will be, by the addition of fresh materials for investigation, further advanced than at present, will it be possible for certainty to take the place of mere conjecture. Therefore I give the correctors in several of the Tracts with all necessary reserve. On the whole, I hope to have hit upon the right, but in the consciousness of the limits of my knowledge and experience I cannot claim absolute accuracy on every point throughout in this direction. I did not, in the face of the expectations attendant on the First Edition of a Fifteenth Century MS., deem it necessary to examine more closely into the relation of the several correctors, who were at work in the single consecutive treatises, to each other, this being of no fundamental importance. — On the other hand, I have in the critical examination of the MSS. taken pains as far as lay in my power to show which of the Manuscripts the reviser must have had before him as his authority for corrections, and from which to form his glosses and summaries of contents etc.

(h) In the following division the critical examination of the Manuscripts I had access to is given. In this part of my labour I have bestowed special pains. Whether I have always chosen wisely those must decide who are intimately acquainted with the peculiarities of Fifteenth Century MSS. and with the no small difficulties connected with a critical examination of them. *Si male quid feci, veniam peto, si male, grates,* I say with the scribe of a prettily written Bible of the Fourteenth Century.¹ I can only state my intentions and endeavours.

¹ Czerny, Bibl. von St. Florian, 247; Wattenbach, Schriftwesen des Mittelalters, p. 427.

The splendid collection of Manuscripts contained in the Royal Library at Vienna to which belong the Wielisiana require to be critically examined. What has as yet been accomplished in this direction is hardly worth mentioning. The questions as to which copy is the most perfect and reliable, and how the various MSS. stand in connection with each other, must naturally be first considered in the attempt at a production of the text in print.¹ To be enabled to answer these, it is not sufficient to read carefully simply the first chapters of a Tract, at the same time comparing the readings of the Manuscripts where they differ from each other, and from the result thus obtained arbitrarily to determine their comparative merits. This standpoint of the ‘naïve critic’ beyond which most editors of Wiclif literature have not proceeded, must be abandoned. That it has not been given up yet is the more surprising, since we have in the *Monumenta Germ.* and the *Corpus Script. Ecclesiast.* (of the Vienna Academy of Science) excellent models after which to work. If the method I have adopted should not be the correct one I have at least endeavoured that it should be thorough; I have spent a great deal of time in the critical examination of the various texts.

I. As a first step, all such readings as were at variance with each other were extracted from each Tract and noted on separate sheets; three or four columns were formed in which were placed in order (a) such as might possibly be correct (e. g. readings like seu—sive—vel, et—ac, intraverunt—intrarunt, illis—istis, ecclesia militans—militans ecclesia etc.), (b) those (undoubtedly) correct, (c) those (undoubtedly) wrong. If a doubt existed as to which of the two latter divisions a reading should be counted to, it was assigned a place in the first division (a). In every case, after having proceeded thus far, it became evident, that a certain relation, more or less intimate, existed between the several MSS., between the correctors and their original, and sometimes even between all the single groups of the manuscripts. By a more particular comparison of the differing readings, their

¹ Perhaps the most naïve are certain English scholars when they say in their printed programs that the text ‘will be copied from the best codices extant’, but do not discuss the difficult question which codex is in fact the best.

connection and numbers, more especially by the common omissions, should these consist of words only or whole sentences, it became more and more apparent in the case of nearly each Tract, that its various copies stood in close relationship, or were at least to be traced back to a common archetype, however remote it was. In many cases it was even possible to determine many of the peculiarities of the latter.

In the second place, the accordance of the marginals, especially when written by the *texthand*, throws great light on the mutual relationship of the texts, the accordance of the various glosses with reference to their arrangement and position being of special value for determining the critical question.

As a rule there was no lack of proofs to show that the numerous members of these single related groups had in some measure depended on each other. If a less perfect codex or its correctors were traced to a source still extant and being of greater value than the copies, it was not thought necessary to include its own peculiar readings in the *lectio variorum*; they were only then specified when it was thought, they would serve to characterize the codex and its correctors in their peculiarities. The relation of the single revisers to each other or to their original text has in some cases also been examined, but the materials were sometimes so slender, that the questions pending could not be brought to an issue.

II. This previous enquiry having been prosecuted thus far, the next critical question to be considered, as to which codex should receive preference from its greater correctness, was entered into.

(1) For this purpose the various readings of the above three divisions were added up and noted in round numbers,¹ as it was impossible in most cases to return the exact sum of the relative figures.

The codex that was able to show the highest figure in the second division won for itself a prejudice in its favour.

¹ that is to say, for instance, instead of 591 and 592 I give 590, instead of 593, 594, 596, I note down 595.

(2) More regard was then paid to the inner nature of the readings, whether or not they were merely marks of haste, or slips of the pen, such as missing compendiums, insignificant words placed in their wrong order or entirely omitted etc. If the number of suchlike mistakes was comparatively large, the prejudice in favour of the codex was strengthened; on the other hand, at this stage already it often happened that the candidature of the codex, which stood nearest to the manuscript just described, came forward in the foreground.

(3) In the third place, the original readings of such codices as came in question as the eventual basis of the text were compared with the readings of its principal correctors. If they were found not to affect the results which had been arrived at with reference to the original manuscript, this was considered a further proof in its favour.

(4) Fourthly attention was directed to any special text-peculiarities of the codex competing for preference. It was noted whether, for example, its readings in corrupted passages were reliable, whether from it alone it was possible to supply the omissions occurring in other copies; regard was also paid to the form in which it presented an unusual word or less known name (e. g. *contrata* p. 350; Iesselini p. 419; Teut. 168, 13).

(5) Finally such passages were enumerated where in opposition to all the rest it alone gave the correct reading.

Not till after the application of all these various tests was a codex employed as the basis of the text in question.

It became, however, often evident that not every codex, that safely stood the first test, underwent the following with equal success. This was the cause of many new and great difficulties arising to the editor. It was then necessary to return to codices of the second class, to examine, if their chances were not greater in the end, or if it were not possible to find a codex of the same group which should be able to supply the deficiencies of the first. Only in a few cases, however, was it necessary to employ, on account of lack of critical material, two manuscripts for the formation of the text (see No. VIII, XI, XX, XXI).

After a judgment had been arrived at as to the comparative merits of the codices, the one chosen as best was almost exclusively followed,

except in such passages as were undoubtedly and absolutely wrong. In doubtful passages the text-codex had always the preference, and its readings were retained, even where in corresponding places some, or all of the others contained a more nicely turned expression, a better choice of words, or a smoother construction (subjunctive or indicative after a certain conjunction, the plural following collective nouns, construction *ζατὰ σύνεσιν* etc.).

For the better understanding of this, see e. g. *De Perf. Stat. cap. II*, p. 451, 15, where I have even retained the et of the textcodex.¹

Only in manifestly corrupt passages it became necessary to depart from the model and, where there was not a reliable corrector to fall back upon, to look to the next best manuscript for help.

In some instances it was necessary to modify these tests and to consult the editor's discretion as to the niceties of language. Those who are acquainted with critical research of this kind must determine whether the time and trouble I deemed it necessary to expend on this work is in proportion to the attained result, in other words, whether I have succeeded in most cases, if not in all, in procuring a readable text.

With the help of the results attendant on this critical examination, I have endeavoured to draw a diagram in the case of the many Tracts which possessed from the diversity of their readings sufficient material for the purpose. This diagram is intended to show the relation which exists between the various manuscripts. I give however these figures with all necessary reserve.

I may at the same time state that all the labours of my predecessors and my own point to Czechish (frequently Prague), but never to English originals as having been employed as texts for the later copies.

In such cases, where it was not possible to trace back the single texts to the archetype, the missing branch or branches have been intimated in the diagram by a mark of interrogation.

¹ See also *De Fund. Sect. p. 53, l. 7*, where I have, even against the consensus of all the rest, omitted the non which very likely stood in the original text; cp. reput. also p. 461, 22; ra. 467, 16; illi 517, 16.

The waved lines denote the dependence of the manuscript or of its correctors on some other existing original.

I think I ought not to add that the 'best' codex is the most nearly related to the original text, while the most corrupt is the furthest removed. It has been endeavoured to make this clearly manifest in these diagrams.

(i) After these precursory preparations the text of the manuscript as well as everything which originally formed part of the codex, is reproduced in Roman type, whereas anything not found in the MS., such as additions made by the editor, the General and Special Introductions, critical and explanatory notes, were according to the now usual custom printed in Italics.¹

An attempt has been made in the text given below to afford the reader as faithful a copy as was possible of the manuscript, chosen as the basis for the text.

For this reason nothing heterogeneous will strike the eye with the exception of a few insignificancies.² Even the marginal glosses have been given, not in their proper place, but below the text, although they are sometimes of but little value; in no case however are they entirely without interest.

On the other hand I have not included the hand-marks, numbers, asterisks, notabenes etc. which very frequently appear in the margins of the original, see p. 645, note 1.

The titles of the various Tracts rest for the most part on well established tradition. In doubtful cases, that e. g. of *De Ordinatione Fratrum* p. 81 ff., the most perfect codex was followed. In nonpareil follow the *Explicit* or *Incipit*, when they are in the MS., and, when they were contained in the original text, also the numbers of the chapters. In the case of certain Tracts which have come down to us without the division into chapters (as e. g. *Purg.*, *Sectae Chr.*, *De quatt. Sect. nov. cap. II*, 1 etc.), I have myself supplied the want, in

¹ Words or letters of the text printed in Italics and closed in brackets signify that, though being intrinsically indispensable, they are not always actually contained in the MS., but were supplemented or conjectured by the editor.

² for instance, occasional brackets, the marks which signify the end of each column and the like.

such a manner as to enable a better understanding of the sequence of thought. Where this step was necessary, mention is made of it in the notes.

The pages (and lines) of the text-codex have been given on the outer margin, the first pages of the other texts are marked in the beginning of the *lectio variorum*. To retain the unbroken aspect of the text, I have made no attempt at noting in the text the progress of the pages of the various codices. — All the marginals of the main codex have been reproduced in their proper places among the critical notes, and they appear with their proper corrector's mark, as far as it was possible to determine the difference of handwritings.

Then the text itself follows. — It was, apart from the division into chapters, written with one exception (*De Relig. priv. I cod. a*) in the *scriptio continua* in the manuscripts.

I have thought proper to deviate from this course, chiefly on practical grounds. The reader will find that W.'s style is fraught with difficulty, both as to matter and to form. This difficulty would be increased, were the text continued without break, thus affording no point of rest either to the eye or to the mental conception,¹ the punctuation at the same time being arbitrary and very often meaningless. I have, therefore, made a free use of full stops, dashes and breaks to separate the parts logically, thus lessening the difficulties of perusal. The representation of the original may have suffered a little in consequence, but this was a consideration which it appeared to me must give way to the other, the greater facility in perusal. Whether I have gone too far or not far enough in my endeavour to attain this end may be a matter of doubt. I have at all events done my best to prevent it being the latter.

All abbreviations have been solved. In the few instances when the first syllables only of the words of a Bible quotation were cited, the whole passage has been given according to the Vulgate, see e. g. p. 342, 12; 472, 21 etc. — In many instances it was difficult to

¹ The small Tract *De vanis Relig. Monach.* p. 437 ff. has been printed exactly according to the original, so that the reader has an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the inconsistencies of the codices.

discover the correct meaning of the abbreviations, and in some it proved even to those who have skill and experience in deciphering MSS. of the Middle Ages to be totally impossible. In cases where the scribes themselves did not understand their originals, they evidently intentionally left riddles for their readers to discover for themselves, and, instead of transcribing simply the forms of their original, allowed themselves perfect liberty of the pen. For examples see p. 15 no. 37; 94, 43; 187, 5; 188, 8; 19; 191, 28; 606, 26. The solution — in the generality of cases — was then usually supplied by a parallel text,¹ but occasionally had to be conjectured according to the style of the Author, to the general rules of abbreviation, or to the *ductus* oft he scribe. In many other cases, the mistakes were often caused by the scribe's carelessness in reading and writing. The abbreviations for consequenter — communiter, cum — tum — tamen, quum — quoniam, tam — causa, mortalis — moralis, vel — ut — nichil, aliud — aliquod — aliquid, manifestum — mandatum, fratri — fieri, fratris — sanctis — factis, habent — hunc, verum — bene — unde, questio — conclusio, domini — dei, assumptum — argumentum, debemus — deus, debent — dent, istorum — illorum² etc. are in many cases, as far as the eye can judge, impossible of solution, because the form of the letters either requires a solution quite at variance with the clear sense of the passage, or the same forms are used indiscriminately for the different words.

This part of my work in particular cost me much time and thought: εἰδώς λέγω. I have honestly striven to discover the solutions by minutely comparing the forms in question with those to which no doubt as to their meaning was attached, or where this was not possible, to conjecture the right sense.³ All undoubtedly in-

¹ In most cases it became evident, that the form in question as far as it was possible to decipher it was against all palaeographical rules and, therefore, incorrectly written.

² Cp., for instance, on the phototype tables which are given after the flyleaf of this volume: tam in the first text l. 13 from above, and tria third text l. 5 from above, also frater third text l. 8 from above with the abbreviation of super.

³ Schönenmann, *Handbuch der Diplomatik*, vol. I, p. 588 says: Man wird leicht einsehen, dass bei den Abbreviaturen des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts oft bloss

correct forms were banished to the notes, for I am, with Wattenbach,¹ of the opinion that it is due to a sort of superstition ‘that editors of the writings of the Middle Ages think to perform their duty the more thoroughly by renouncing all independent thought’. — Often little abbreviated forms, such as neuter—neutri, derivatur—divinatur, dei—divini—domini etc. cannot be solved with absolute certainty, and it became necessary for the editor to consult his own judgment in many of these cases.

The general rule of giving the equivalents for all abbreviations was not followed, when the latter are, or were, in general and universal use, e. g. lib. cap. fol. col. qu. (*quaestio*), dist. (*distinctio*), c. (*causa* in the Corp. iur. canon.).

I have finally a few words to say concerning the orthography of the printed texts. In this matter I am not able to follow Theodor Sickel in his consequences.² It must be taken into consideration that we have not here to do with (Imperial) diplomas which, I admit, may require to be treated more cautiously. To go so far in the reproduction of the original text ‘that even faults should be faithfully transcribed, because the habit, hitherto in vogue, of amending the text has led to so many inconsistencies, which afford to readers a false conception of the nature and condition of the original’, cannot surely be required of an editor. For of the inconsistencies of an exact reproduction of the text there would still be a considerable number.³ On the one hand, an accurate reproduction of the original with all the apparent faults² of the scribes, with the various peculiarities of the manuscripts is merely impossible as long as the photographic art is not made use

Raten gilt. Nur die anhaltende Übung kann es zu einiger Fertigkeit bringen, und nie darf man derselben trauen, ohne erst den besonderen Charakter der vorliegenden geprüft zu haben. Wahr ist es allerdings, dass die Buchhandschriften ungleich mehr damit angefüllt sind als die Urkunden.

¹ Cp. his review of F. Tadra's *Cancellaria Arnesti* in the *Deutsche Litt.-Ztg.* 1881, June 10th (No. 23), p. 826.

² Cp. *Mon. Germ. Diplom. Part I.*, tom. I., New Series 1879, Hanover, p. VI ff.

³ Cp. them even in Sickel, l. l. p. VII.

⁴ Sickel even prints such forms as archiepcapellani, archiarchicapellani, archipellani, archicapellarii.

of for reproducing the single pages,¹ on the other it is of interest neither to the student of history, theology or law, but merely to the palaeographical scholar, and even to him only to a certain degree.

Moreover, evident mistakes of the copyist afford no help towards characterizing writings of a certain period. For this reason I have not admitted the mistakes of the MSS. into the text, and have only given them sometimes in the notes, as being occasionally of undoubted use in characterizing the single MSS.: for, in order to judge conclusively of the copyist, the consideration, how often his errors occur, over what words, and in what connection, is not without importance; cf. especially on this point the readings of the very poor MS. 1337 (E.)

Capital letters have been used in the texts only for the names of persons and places, and for the beginning of the sentences. I have doubted whether to confine their use to the beginning of the alinea, according to Weizsäcker's view.² Certainly the advantage of the capitals, as distinguishing the proper names, is somewhat diminished by my arrangement; on the other hand, it must be remembered that personal and local allusions are in the nature of things of more importance in the decrees of a Diet than in theological texts, and also that the capital at the beginning of a sentence is no small help towards the understanding of the text. Even such words as dominus, deus, eucharistia, the names of the months, the festivals etc., retain therefore the small letter.

As to the orthographical reproduction of the MSS. in my texts, it seems to me that all considerations of language, construction, nomenclature and verbal accuracy directly forbid our suffering an author of the latter part of the 14th century to appear in the garb of the Augustan age. The English Rolls Series, in which Shirley has published the *Fasciculi Zixaniorum*, has fallen back upon the confessedly variable standard of classical Latinity:³ the Oxford Delegates also have retained

¹ Even photography cannot in all cases give an exact picture of the MS., for instance in the reproduction of the paper, the painted initials, of words repeatedly corrected etc.

² Cf. *Reichstagsakten*, p. LXX.

³ H. Maunde Thompson still keeps to this fashion in printing his *Chronicon Wyclif, Polemical Works.*

this usage in their edition of Wyclif's 'Select Works English and Latin', in the only latin volume they have printed. Lechler therefore, in his critical edition of the *Triologus*, had to deprive Wyclif's thoughts of their mediæval clothing.¹ He draws attention to the fact that the orthography varies, and that inconsistencies occur even within a single Codex. This is certainly true in the highest degree. Inconsistencies are not only to be found within the same MS., but within the same Tracts, the same chapters, the same folia, the same pages, even the same line. The sense of inconsistency has long since departed from the copyists — there is bare, unbounded license. In all the MSS. — in some more, in some less — they make free use with the *h* and *qu*, the *v* and *u*, the *i* and *y*, the *s*, *f* and *x*, the double consonants, the large and small initial letters, with names and their derivatives, with the Greek and Oriental words etc. I give here a few glaring instances, which might easily be increased. You may find, often in the same line, or in two or three immediately following one another, *ipocrite*, *ypocritas*, *ippocitarum*, *yppocrate*, *ipoeryte*, *ypokrite*, *yppokrisis*; *simoniam*, *Symonia*, *simonyare*, *symonyacis*, *siimoniam*; *syrum*, *sirum*, *Siro*; *apocriphus*, *apoeryphum*, *apocryfam*, *apokryfis*, *apokryfam*, once even *appogriffus* and *ypogrypha*; *disiniciones*, *diffinicie*, *definicio*, *difniciones*, *deffinicioni*, *dyffiniciones* etc.; *ypostatice*, *ypostatice*, *ipostatice*; *ierarchie*, *eremo*, *edus* (= *haedus*) *armonia*, but *heresis*; then *appreciatur*, *apreciatur*; *verumtamen*, *veruntamen*, *verumptamen*; *numquam*, *nunquam*, *nuncquam*; *hee beside he*; *communi*, *conmuni*, *comuni*; *cottidianum*, *cotidianum*, *quottidianum*, *qottidianus*; *elemosine*, *eleemosine*, *helemosine*, *elemosyne*, *eleemosyne*; *wlt*, *wult*, *vult*; *wlgariter*, *vulgarem*, *wulgari*; *sanguinem*, *sangwis*, *sagwini*; *equus*, *equus*, *eqwus*, *eqwm*; the more usual *secuntur* (*locuntur*) beside *sequuntur*, *seqwuntur* and *sequntur*; *solicitudinem*, *sollicitudini*; *erreccione*, *ereccionem*, *erecione*; *tollerarent*, *tolerarunt*; *voluntatis*, *woluntate*, *volumptatis*; *auctorisat*, *autorisando*, *auctorizaverit*; *blasphemare*, *blasfemaret*, *blazphemando*,

Angliae, but in his recent *Chronicon Adae de Usk* he gives the mediæval spelling of the original; cf. *Chronicon A. de Usk*, London 1878, p. XIII.

¹ In his edition of the *Off. pastoral.*, published in Leipzig, he rightly retains the mediæval form.

blazfemiam; exupplevit; orrenda; efundendo; ffratres; llicet; cismarinis, tcismarinos and many more. To preserve to posterity these vagaries¹ of the mediæval copyist cannot be the duty of an editor. Just as little has he the right to perpetuate misconceptions and ignorance. To reproduce these corrupt forms in the text is, I believe, nothing else than to share in the carelessness or ignorance of the old scribe. I have therefore, without special remark in the notes, at once given correctly in my text those forms which differ from the universal usage of the MSS.

For, despite all the license with which we must charge them, the copyists keep within certain fixed limits. These have been observed in the printing. I can here only indicate a few.

The letters *u* and *v*, which in the text are used interchangeably — their employment is not entirely arbitrary — have been printed according to their consonantal or vocal power: this is not strictly an orthographical question, but rather a graphical or alphabetical one. For there is no reason for preserving the varying usage of the mediæval scribe, which is often very inconvenient for the modern reader: *vue* — *vve* for *uvae*; *uiuimus* — *viuimus* — *uivimus* for *vivimus* (cf. *inuuuuuuus* = *innuimus*; cf. also *uuuuuum* = *innuimini* (*nummum*); *ue* = *vae*; *vngwium* = *unguium*. *J* (*j*) hardly ever occurs in these MSS.; I therefore always print *i* for *j*. The distinction of the scribe between *s* and *f*, being a graphical one, has not been retained in print, but *s* has always been chosen. In the MSS. *æ* and *œ* are always, without exception, replaced by *e*; *ci* when followed by a vowel is throughout written for *ti*;² between *m* and a consonant following, *p* invariably appears (*presumpcio*, also *verumptamen*); *Christus* and its derivatives are almost always given in the customary abbreviations; where it is written at length, the *h* disappears, and only in very few

¹ Still more contemptible is it, if what Weizsäcker says of the transcribers of the decrees of the Diet applies to these Bohemian scribes, viz. that this troublesome multiplication of letters (*erczbisschoff*) owed its frequent occurrence partly to the fact that the copyists of that time (1376—87) were paid by the line. Cf. Wattenbach, *Schriftwesen*, 2. ed., p. 406 ff.

² The only exception is *instruentium* in cod. 3933, cf. *De Christo* cap. I, note 11 and p. 649; and a *Tract* in cod. C fol. 226^b ff., cf. below p. 523.

instances have I come across Christus; dyabolus is the rule, and diabolus the very rare exception; michil, nichil, ewangelium, wlgaris, communis are the usual forms.

Proper names and foreign words, which often occur in a corrupt form in all the MSS., — for inst. Endoxum for Eudoxium, ermo-froditis for hermaphroditis etc., — are always printed in the text in the form at present received, generally with the forms of the MS. noted below the text.

Lastly, such forms as dirumperit p. 280 l. 11; poterint p. 284 l. 25; 277 l. 5; relinquarat p. 288 l. 26; consuleris p. 216 l. 8; dyaconibus p. 268 l. 1, cf. p. 267 l. 25; perhaps also exiunt p. 281 l. 3 show, that grammar as well as spelling have suffered much during the fourteenth century.

I have had recourse to conjectures only in the most urgent cases; wherever one of the existing readings could possibly be retained, I have done so. My few proposed readings are distinguished by brackets () and Italics. How far I have been happy in my suggestions, those more skilled in these matters must decide.

A.

JOHN WICLIF'S
POLEMICAL TRACTS AGAINST THE SECTS.

I.

DE FUNDATIONE SECTORUM.

DE FUNDATIONE SECTARUM.

I. Division of the Tract.

A. *Introduction:* Motive that led to the composition of the Tract. — The controversy considered as to matter and form; the severity of the attack explained, chap. I.

B. *Argument:* The Four Sects are superfluous, hurtful to both Church and State, chap. II—XV.

(a) *Historical proof:* chap. II—V. The Sects, what they are, and what they do.

(b) *Biblical proof:* chap. V—XV. The pernicious tendency of the Sects proved by

(α) St. Peter, chap. V,

(β) St. Paul, chap. V—VIII,

(γ) the four Canonical Epistles,

(1) St. James, chap. IX—X,

(2) St. Peter, chap. XI,

(3) St. John, chap. XII—XIII,

(4) St. Jude, chap. XIV—XV.

(c) Answer of the author to an objection raised against W.'s method of argument, chap. XVI.

Conclusion. The Sects should be abolished, chap. XVI.

II. Summary of its Contents.

Chap. I. The following Tract is compiled at the request of lovers of truth, p. 13. The author first deals with his Polemics as to their matter: love to the Church should lead to opposition to the Sects; it is false love not to take notice of them (John XIII), p. 14. As to the form, p. 15: strong measures should be resorted to against them, p. 15; for Christ himself in just anger denounced them (proved by Matth. XXIII; Marc. VIII; I John II and V; John VI; Matth. XVI and XV), p. 16.

Chap. II. In regarding their existence and practises, it is evident they have no foundation in Scripture, p. 17. They are in exact opposition to what Paul says, Acts XX: they are not ‘pure from the blood of all men’, p. 18 (Crusade); they incite to wars, p. 19—20; deprive the people of the Gospel, p. 20; enrich themselves at the cost of the country, and, more especially, of the poor, p. 21.

Chap. III. *There is but One true Sect (definition and etymology of secta, p. 21—22); that is, the Sect of Christ, p. 22, while the other known Four are not authorised by God, and are hurtful to the first, p. 22—23 (statement of their errors, p. 23—25).*

Chap. IV. *Their deviation from the simple Sect of Christ proved, p. 25—28; on account of their great numbers (4,000), and the many tithes they compel the country annually to pay (£ 40,000, p. 28), they are burdensome without bringing any advantage to the country, p. 29. They should therefore be done away with. Why God should have permitted them is a difficult question to answer, p. 29.*

Chap. V. *On looking into Scripture for their foundation, the first passage bearing on them occurs in II Peter II, 1—3, p. 29—30 (the author here protests against the imputation that he is arbitrarily expounding the Scriptures, p. 31). According to these verses, Sects (1) 'bring in damnable heresies', p. 31; (2) 'deny the Lord', p. 31; (3) 'bring upon themselves swift destruction', p. 32; (4) 'through covetousness with feigned words make merchandise' of the people in that they (especially the Pope and his priests) oppress both individuals and the country with heavy burdens, p. 32—33; (5) 'their judgement lingereth not, and their damnation slumbereth not', p. 33.*

Chap. VI. *Paul also says I Tim. IV, 1: (1) 'they depart from the faith', because they place their religion above that of Christ, which should be the model of every true sect, p. 34—35; (2) they are 'seducing spirits', because they introduce new doctrines, p. 35; (3) 'they speak lies in hypocrisy', for they spread lies and seduce virtuous women etc., p. 36; (4) 'their conscience is seared with a hot iron', in as much as their heart burns for worldly possessions, p. 36; (5) 'they forbid marriage', yet are themselves within their communities highly immoral, p. 36; (6) 'they abstain from meats' far beyond the commands of the Apostles and Evangelists, p. 36—37. It is, therefore, wrong to suppose that the Apostle's term 'brethren' refers to them, except in such a passage as II Cor. XI, 26: 'in perils among false brethren', p. 37—38.*

Chap. VII. *Again, Paul: II Tim. III, 1—9. First part, p. 38—41: (1) they are the originators of 'perilous times', p. 38; destroying the peace of the Church, p. 38—39; (2) 'they are lovers of selves: looking only for their own gain in temporal possessions, p. 39; (3) 'lovers of money': robbing both rich and poor, p. 39; (4) 'boasters': ranking their order above the apostolic, p. 39; (5) 'haughty': refusing to*

be taught by the Scriptures and the Apostles, p. 39; (6) ‘blasphemers’: placing Christ’s Sect below their own, p. 39; (7) ‘disobedient to parents’: robbing them of their children to take Orders, p. 39; (8) ‘unthankful’, p. 40; (9—10) ‘unholy, without natural affection’: for they will not part with their gold, even to help their suffering brethren, p. 40; (11) ‘implacable’, p. 40; (12) ‘slanderers’: accusing others of heresy, p. 40; (13) ‘incontinent’: their bodily incontinence is well known to the people, but worse still is their spiritual fornication with the Word of God, p. 40—41; (14) ‘fierce’ among themselves and against their brethren, the welfare of whose souls they ignore, p. 41.

Chap. VIII. Second part, p. 41—45: (1) they are ‘despisers of those that are good’: exciting envy by the heaping up of riches, p. 42; (2) ‘traitors’ to the Church and State, which they harm by their love of temporal things, p. 42; (3) ‘headstrong’: they attempt the overthrowal of their superiors and worldly masters, p. 42—43; (4) ‘puffed up’: one order trying to exclude the other, p. 43; (5) ‘lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God’: seeking a luxurious life, p. 43; (6) ‘having a form of godliness’ before Christ as well as the Church, which they destroy instead of building up, p. 43—44. — Conclusion: on account of these and many other moral defects, p. 44—45, they should be avoided, p. 45—46.

Chap. IX. The four Canonical Epistles. First James I, 27 alludes to them as visiting widows and orphans, not to render them spiritual or bodily help, but to rob them, p. 46—48. In like manner chap. I, 26 (cp. Matth. XV) because they allow their parents to want, making idle and false excuses as to their own apparent poverty, p. 49; their religion is therefore empty, p. 50.

Chap. X. Neither are their Rules founded in Scripture, p. 50; they are not inspired by God, but invented by human and diabolical cunning, p. 51—52; according to James chap. II they are guilty of judging from appearances, p. 52—53. In like manner, chap. III, 1; V, 1; IV, 1 refer to them, p. 53—54.

Chap. XI. St. Peter IV, 9: they are hospitable not to their own brethren, but to rich lords, women of rank and their maids, p. 54—55; for which reason Matth. XXV, 43; I Peter IV, 9—11 apply to them, p. 56; they preach God’s word, but for the sake of gain, I Peter, V, 8 p. 56; in every particular, therefore, this Apostle’s words bear witness against them, p. 57—58.

Chap. XII. Especially St. John, the Apostle of love, condemns

them, because out of selfish jealousy they guard the privileges of their Order, p. 58—61.

Chap. XIII. *They are without true love, p. 62, I John I, 6: (a) have no communion with Christ, p. 63; (b) despise his Sect, p. 63, and because they love neither God nor Christ, they can have no love (c) for their brethren, p. 63—65; proved by I John III, 15; IV, 3; II, 15; II John 10.*

Chap. XIV. *Jude v. 19: (1) ‘these are murmurers, complainers’ of their (feigned) poverty, p. 66; (2) ‘walking after their own lusts’, because they beg for gifts, wherewith they satisfy their guilty desires, p. 66; (3) ‘their mouth speaketh great swelling words’, saying they are the most perfect of men, p. 66; (4) ‘they have men’s persons in admiration’, paying regard to others for the sake of their money, p. 66. Likewise v. 18 applies to them: (1) ‘mockers’ who falsify Christ’s religion, p. 68; (2) ‘walk after their own ungodly lusts’: they contend, the bishops have no authority over them, p. 69—70.*

Chap. XV. *Lastly they are reproached in v. 12, on many accounts, more especially as they, for the sake of a luxurious life, either make friends of the rich or indulge in excesses in their own couvents at the expense of the plundered poor, p. 70—74. — In this way the Scripture very frequently reproaches and rejects them, p. 74.*

Chap. XVI. *Objection of the Orders to the above as being a exposition of the Scriptures, not taught by any of the Fathers, and in itself false p. 74. Reply: (1) let them first prove their foundation in Scripture, then they will be credited, p. 75—76; (2) many a doctrine of the old Fathers must be set aside, or, in consequence of the experience and progress of the Church, developed, p. 74; (3) Christ, of purpose, but hints at them, hoping by his slight terms to touch them, p. 77. The writer’s present exposition of the Bible was not made through malice, but for the honour of God, and the good of the brethren, p. 78—79.*

Conclusion: The above may, perhaps, give occasion to the Sects to state anew their position as founded in the Bible, p. 79—80. Their entire extirpation would, assuredly, be a gain for the Church, p. 80.

III. Date of Composition

may be inferred (1) from the notice taken of the hostia consecrata, chap. IV, p. 28, which is mentioned in such a manner as presupposes W.’s opposition to the Romish transubstantiation theory — sun-

mer of 1381;¹ — to have taken place already; and (2) from the allusion made to the Crusade to Flanders undertaken by Bishop Spenser in the interest of Urban VI, ep. ad istam pugn. chap. II, p. 19; in isto bello etc., chap. VI, p. 35, and the passage de nostro exere. etc., chap. II, p. 19, which unmistakeably refers to this campaign. The Crusade lasted from May to October 1383. The first news of the success of it was extremely favourable. It allured about 60,000 volunteers² across the Channel, who arrived in Flanders during the dog-days.³ Now we may conclude from the hint ut probabiliter creditur, chap. II, p. 19, that an authentic information of the real losses in Flanders — ep. multi eorum mortui *ibid.* — had not yet reached England. W. mentions only the first bad tidings of the change of fortune,⁴ which reached home about the beginning of August. On the return of Spenser, at the beginning of October, but not later, came the first definite news of the disaster. The date of Composition must, therefore, lie between the end of July, and, at the very latest, Michaelmas 1383.

IV. Genuineness.

(a) External evidence:

- (1) *Wyclif-Catal.* in cod. B fol. 195 ff., cod. 4514 (Vienna) fol. 102 ff., cod. 3935 fol. 23^c ff. and cod. 7980 fol. 5.⁵
- (2) *Bale, Illust. Script. Summ.* 156 (It is however uncertain,⁶ if Bale, under his title, alludes to the present Tract; he gives it but one chap.: but to understand the worth of these notices, ep. Bale's remarks on the number of the chapters of *De 4 Sect. Nov.* fol. 156; of *De Ordine Christiano* fol. 157 and many others.
- (3) *De 7 Donis Spir. Sancti*, chap. IX. Conclusion, see below p. 230.
- (4) Notice on the front cover of cod. E.
- (5) Index on the inner side of the front cover of cod. G.

¹ ep. *Shirley*, *Fasc. Ziz.* 104.

² See *Walsingham, Hist. Angl.* II, 96.

³ „Fervore dierum“ *Walsingham, Hist. Angl.* II, 98.

⁴ See *Hist. Ric. II Mon. Evesh.* ed. Hearne II, 46, 47; *Pauli, Gesch. Engl.* IV, 546.

⁵ Shirley has printed the two first mentioned catalogues, see *Catal.* 56 ff. For the last mentioned, see above, General Introduction V, e.

⁶ According to Shirley, *Catal.* Nr. 91 ‘it is the same ‘no doubt’ with Bale’s *De Origine Seclarum?*’

(6) *Index on the fly-leaf of cod. α.*

As to 4, 5 and 6 see General Introduction IV, Description of the codices.

(7) *Lewis, Hist. of Life & Suff. No. 68 p. 153; his reference is taken from No. 2 above.*

(8) *Shirley, Catal. No. 91.*

(9) *Lechler, J. v. W. II, 568.*

(b) *Internal evidence:*

(1) *see above General Introduction V, c.*

(2) *the repeated allusions to English affairs.*

(3) *W.'s well-known attacks against the Sects in his genuine writings, which are to a great extent repeated here.*

(4) *the great conformity in words, and, more especially, in matter, with W.'s other undoubtedly genuine works, e.g. chap. I not. e; p. III, a; e; e; f; k; l; IV, a; d; f; m; n; VI, e; d; g; h; k; l; etc.*

V. Not yet printed.

VI. Extant in

cod. 4527 = C fol. 19 ^a —34 ^a	$\begin{cases} C^1 = \text{Corrector} \\ C^2 = \text{Chief-Glosser} \\ C^3 = \text{Corrector} \\ C^4 = \text{Glosser} \end{cases}$
cod. 3930 = D fol. 250 ^c —264 ^d	$\begin{cases} D^1 = \text{Gloss. (small black hand)} \\ D^2 = \text{Gloss. (thin pale hand)} \\ D^3 = \text{Gloss. (thick red hand)} \end{cases}$
cod. 1337 = E fol. 134 ^d —150 ^c	$\begin{cases} E^1 = \text{Corrector (pale hand)} \\ E^2 = \text{Chief-Corrector (dark hand)} \end{cases}$
cod. 3927 = F fol. 25 ^a —36 ^b	F ¹ = Corrector
cod. 4536 = G fol. 98 ^a —122 ^a	G ¹ = Glosser and Corrector (all in the Imperial Library at Vienna)
cod. X. E. 9. = α fol. 174 ^b —194 ^a	$\begin{cases} \alpha^1 = \text{Corrector (pale hand)} \\ \alpha^2 = \text{Glosser} \end{cases}$
cod. XI. E. 3. = γ fol. 5 ^b —11 ^b	$\begin{cases} \gamma^1 = \text{Correctors} \\ \gamma^2 = \text{Correctors} \end{cases}$ (these in the Univ.-Library at Prague).

VII. The Manuscripts.

A. Their relationship 1) Class E-F. Both codds., by about 1080 different readings of the text, in about 745 cases concur.

This number becomes, as an evidence of their connection, the more important, as E is copied very carelessly, for inst. words being left out here and there. In the following tract I have counted no fewer than 50 such omissions, and these independently of those made in F, that is to say, a larger number than any of the other codd. in any degree approach to. Closest akin to E follows F which does not fall far short of E's negligence, with 23 omissions of this kind, so that the 69% of the conforming readings would still increase. — As an additional evidence observe (2) that in the whole of the readings, E-F read the same in 196 instances, while, at the same time, differing from the consensus of the rest; and it is characteristic to note that (a) neither cod. gives in any case the lectio vera against the consensus of the rest (this, of course, only in the 690 conclusive readings) and that they both (b) in very many instances offer, in common, the wrong reading. (3) As a conclusive evidence of their connection, ep. the following passages: De Cristo et suis apost. cap. II, note 24, paul. ampl. faciem meam II, 25, an order of words which can only be explained by E having copied from F (or vice versa, or both having made use of the same original); ep. further: beneficio III, 31; viduarum (om.) VII, 10; sed VII, 42; alie (om.) XII, 14; est ex etc. XIII, 4; en. ere. sanct. XIV, 27; bis mor. ex. XV, 53; also mort. XV, 80, where, in the original, the word was indistinctly written; int. mat. XVI, 38; hu. verb. V, 11.

Notwithstanding that these latter readings are all important as proving the connection between E-F, they prove nothing as to a mutual dependence of these MSS on each other; on the other hand, because in many places they differ, it must not be concluded that they were not of the same family, because their dissensus consists chiefly in slips of the pen. The very numerous passages, however, in which E gives an order of words, differing from all the other MSS (F included), but, at the same time, irrelevant in itself, may serve as proof that both codd. do not immediately depend on each other (e. g. that either has been copied from the other) ep. for instance a. s. m. XVI, 29; l. d. v. XVI, 59; n. e. i. XVI, 63; i. in. XVI 67; e. e. i. XVI, 75; v. d. s. XVI, 99; p. s. c. XVI, 118; s. d. etc. XVI, 120 and so on; the number may easily be increased.¹

¹ In the following critical list of readings, only the most important variations are given.

To prove that E was not copied from F, ep. et de ind. etc. IV, 7; suffr. dic. en. IX, 56; eccl. ille e. XII, 33; pred. et suis XIV, 50; nost. fidem et XVI, 5; especially prepar. XV, 39.

That F was not copied from E, cp. di. beat. qui. VIII, 29; rea. nec qu. XII, 70; F has also in many instances correct readings, where E at first wrote the wrong word, and afterwards had it altered into the correct one (in most cases by E²), cp. e. g. sed verit. piet. VIII, 34; decal. pl. lab. VIII, 55; est VIII, 68; sectis VIII, 71; illor. VIII, 72 and in many other cases.

Conclusion: E and F are of the same family, but are not derived one from the other.

As to the original of the corrector E² (beside whom none of the others are of special value), I have arrived at no certain conclusion; from the marginals ponunt XIV, 21; mortis XV, 80 it is evident that none of the codd. I have used here was copied from by the corrector.

II C is of the same family with α. This may be concluded from the following: (1) Among the 390 irrelevant readings, C and α conform with each other in 303 instances; the 86 differing passages are, mostly, insignificant errors in the sense, nec — et non, vel — aut, domini — dei and such like, or mistakes in writing, such as sint — sunt, et (om.). — (2) Still more favourable to the acceptance of the connection is their consensus in the 690 conclusive readings; in about 600 instances they read the same (in some chapp. they agree word for word with the exception of a few small orthographical slips, e. g. in chap. XII), the remaining 90 differing passages being nearly all to be traced to α's errors in copying. — (3) see as decisive evidence, the extraordinary conclusion of chap. I, which in α reads thus: in suis org. sic vocavit. Pseudofrater degens etc. — machinatus, as to which α¹ remarks in mar: vacat. This is an entirely heterogeneous fragment that does not belong at all to De Fund. Sect.; it is the opening of the Descriptio Fratris, see Shirley, Cat. No. 89 (it is also printed below). Now this same foreign passage appears, incorporated into De Fund. Sect. a few lines further down fol. (196^b below in mar.) in the same place in C, whereas in none of the other codd. before us does it exist. If the codd. were not copied one from the other, the original must be held responsible for this heterogeneous piece. — (4) ep. et cum ap. doc. II, 60 with the parallel recension as given by the other codd.; secte naamet V, 34 where, even in orthographical conformity, the nonsense mabuiet, afterwards macometis

has been added. — (5) *cp. inhabilitabant V, 69; suspecta with its marginal note suscepta II, 64; mimie. III, 30; fugere IV, 25, emit V, 5; fertil. VIII, 46.*

It is possible that α was copied from C, when this had already been corrected, cp. roset. IV, 29 and secundum VIII, 65; and α¹ afterwards added his corrections to the text. For that C and α are not derived immediately from the same source is to be concluded from passages such as eos V, 27; ceci XV, 30; d. e. XIII, 60; quam XIII, 56; esse XIV, 11; voc. I, 49; m. q. dei VIII, 24; sic. IX, 33; ep. XIII, 64; freq. XIV, 17; vol. XIV, 54; per XVI, 71 and others, for these lacunae cannot originate in oversights and carelessness, as probably did beat. VI, 26; diue. VIII, 53; ergo VI, 60 and a few others, because the remaining codd. contain these omissions in the very same place.

Conclusion: C and α are connected, but have not originated immediately one from the other.

*III) There still remain the codd. D, G and γ. Of these, D and G appear to me to be also connected, but less closely. (1) Of the 1080 readd. in question, not less than 883 in both codd. agree. The importance of this consensus is increased by the circumstance, that neither D nor G was copied carefully,¹ and so each cod. has for itself a number of independent readings of its own (insignificant omissions and such like). (2) *cp. prestare VI, 47; paup. XI, 4, edif. XI, 9; in particular immund. XVI, 52; ergo V, 65, where D and G differ from the consensus of the others, and give a reading of the text peculiar to them alone. (3) cp. the very characteristic monstrosity beneficia III, 31, which can only be traced to a common original. — (Compare also below the relative numbers of the text-readings in both codd.)**

D (and G?) appear also to be kindred with α; but I have arrived at no certain conclusion on this matter.

B. The best Codex. Class E—F is the most corrupt, as even a hurried glance will show. E was most carelessly copied: among 690 readings, not less than 346 are false ones, making 50%.² F follows with 270, γ with 105: and here it is to be noted that γ alone, in no fewer than 74 passages, gives, independently from the rest of the MSS which all agree, a wrong reading (α and G with only 33 such cor-

¹ It is worthy of note that G omitted passages difficult to read, *cp. IV, 8; VII, 7,*

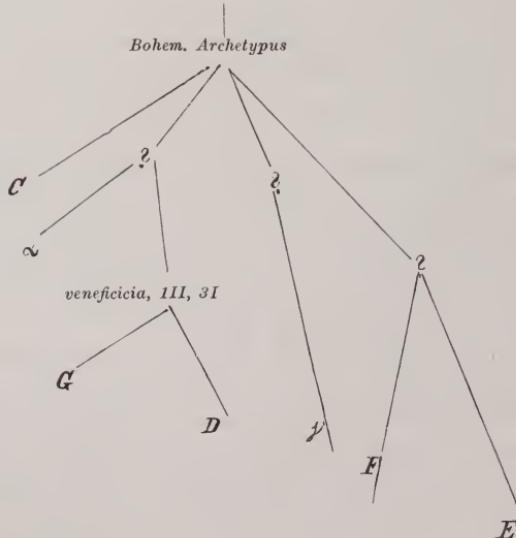
² Its corrector E² is likewise not worth much, *cp. deo in isto XII, 41,*

ruptions approach nearest to it); *D* follows with 91, *G* with 89, α with 77, and *C*, which has the least corrupted text, with 53.¹

From the preceding it appears, that *C* is the best MS as the basis of the text. Its false readings are, with two exceptions unimportant in themselves — *minucia III, 30*; *corripi IX, 34* — to be traced to mistakes of reading and writing, or are marks of haste (omissions). Among the 690 decisive readings, *C* has only 6 false ones peculiar to itself, whereas α , which approaches nearest to *C*, has as many as 33, *D* 29, *G* 33 and γ 74. — It almost appears that the text-hand of *C* is preferable to that of corrector *C³*, whose corrections are not always happy; once, indeed, *tamen X, 40* *C³* is right against the consensus of the rest; but, on the other hand, in no fewer than 9 passages *C³* altered the correct reading of the text into a false one; esp. especially *verius VI, 25*; also *moluntur VI, 32*; further *VIII, 19; 20; 21; 28*.

For these reasons I conclude that *C* must be taken as the basis of our text.

From the above the following diagram as pedigree of the MSS may be drawn:



¹ These relative numbers also are characteristic for the inner connection of the groups of *E-F*, *G-D* and *C-α*.

JOHANNIS WICLIF

DE FUNDACIONE SECTARUM.

Plexitie de Sanetha Enciosolu.¹

CAP. I.

² Motus sum per quosdam veritatis amicos originaliter detegere | || C fol. 19^a
fundacionem fratrum vel verba contra ipsos, si inveniri poterint | lin. 20
ex scriptura.

Non enim valet, ut dicunt, vocare ipsos falsos | fratres, pseudo-
fratres, ypocritas, anticristos, dyabulos vel aliquo nomine tali facti,
sed ex caritate Christi et sue ecclesie micius³ est loquendum.

Hic dicendum est, quod caritas Christi et sue ecclesie urgeret⁴
fideles loqui⁵ acute^a contra vicia in hiis sectis.

^a see Matthew, E. W. h. u. 313

¹ i. e. Explicit de Sathane Solucione Explicit Crucianta etc. *D* Explicit
de Christo et suo adversario antieristo Incipit de fundacione sectarum *E* De
fundacione sectarum Christo in oppositum (*om.*: introductarum *cp. title of γ*) *F*
without Expl., *Inc. and title G*, an index to W's *Pastorale* here precedes this
tract Explicit responsio ad argumenta cuiusdam emuli veritatis (*fol. 174^a*
end) de fundacione sectarum above col. 174^b in a by α¹ de fundacione sectarum
Christo in oppositum introductarum γ²cod. *D* fol. 250^c lin. 16 cod. *E* fol.
134^d lin. 41 cod. *F* fol. 25^a lin. 29 cod. *G* fol. 98^a lin. 10 cod. a fol. 174^b
lin. 1 cod. γ fol. 5^b lin. 33, opposite this line: Nro. 2 modern hand³ micius
CDFGαγ inicio *E* ⁴ urgeret *CDGαγ* urget *EF* ⁵ loqui *CDFGαγ*, *E^t* in
margin qui (crossed out) *E*

Et sunt duo fundamenta fidei, ex quibus fideles in ista materia sic procedunt. Assumunt autem ut fundamentum summe necessarium, quod Cristus sit verus deus et verus homo et sic omnipotens, omnisciens⁶ et omnivolens⁷ sue ecclesie prodesse. Assumunt secundo, quod scriptura sacra,⁸ que est lex domini Iesu⁹ a Cristi, et fides catholica est infringibiliter vera¹⁰ secundum quamlibet sui partem. Et ex isto fundamento duplice videtur primo, quod catholicus, cui deus donavit noticiam, debet caritative cum moderamine detegere¹¹ via in hiis sectis. Sic enim fecit Cristus, quem debemus in isto singulariter¹² imitari. Nam Ioh. 13^b mandat Cristus: mandatum novum do vobis, ut diligatis invicem, sicut dilexi vos, ut et vos diligatis invicem.

Ex quibus¹³ verbis patet primo notabiliter¹⁴ fidelis, qui amaverit dominum¹⁵ Iesum Cristum, quomodo¹⁶ istud mandatum ex novitate incarnationis et auctoritate preceptoris est diligencius observandum.¹⁵ Et hoc movet fideles sic acute loqui contra sectas. Patet ulterius, quod non est dileccio, sed ficta dilectionis¹⁷ sophisticacio,¹⁸ dum cristianismus non ceperit¹⁹ formam a Christo, secundum quam diligit²⁰ fratrem suum. Et hinc geminat Cristus verba dilectionis non sine magno misterio,²¹ nec nugatorie sive superflue, ut garniunt infideles. Mandatum, inquit, novum do vobis, ut diligatis invicem, sicut dilexi vos, ut et vos diligatis invicem, ubi²² post formam²³ dilectionis fraterne, quam fideles debent accipere a

^b v. 34

⁶ omn. *CDGα* et omn. *EFγ* ⁷ omnivolens *EF, Cγ* (*texthand in mar.*)
 omnivolus *CDGγ* ⁸ sacra *CDGαγ* sancta *EF* ⁹ Iesu *CDFGαγ* nostri Ie. *E*
¹⁰ vera in *E* repeated in *mar.* ¹¹ deb. car. c. mod. det. *CDFGαγ* deb. det.
 car. c. mod. *E* ¹² in i. sim. *CDFGαγ* sim. in i. *E* ¹³ mand. nov. d. v. —
 ex quibus *CDFGαγ* mand. n. d. v. u. d. i. ex quibus *E*, but with a mark of reference below the column: sicut dil. v. n. e. v. d. inv. *E*² ¹⁴ notabiliter *CDGαγ*
 notanter *EF* ¹⁵ dominum *CDGαγ* deum *EF* ¹⁶ quomodo *CEFαγ* quod
DG ¹⁷ fie. dil. *CDGαγ* dil. fie. *E* ¹⁸ in *D* is added with a mark of ref.
 above the col.: Non est dileccio, sed ficta dilectionis sophisticacio *D*^t ¹⁹ ceperit
CDGαγ cepit *EF* ²⁰ diligit *CDEFGα* diligam *γ* ²¹ misterio *CDEFGα*
 ministerio *γ* ²² ubi *CDGαγ* videtur *E* ut *F* ²³ vobis ut dil. — formam
CDEFGγ vobis etc. ut supra ubi post formam *α*

Cristo,²⁴ pro causa exprimitur, quod aliter²⁵ non foret dileccio vera, sed solum nominetenus fieta dileccio, ut inquit:²⁶ et vos diligatis invicem, quasi dicat:²⁷ dimittendo hanc formam non est nisi adulacio et odium secundum iudicium veritatis. Ex hac fide ne cessitantur fideles²⁸ sic acute obicere contra has²⁹ sectas, cum dominus ita fecit.

Et quantum ad formam locucionis acute patet, quod necesse est arguendo contra induratos hypocritas arguere ipsos dure, dicente Cristo in suo apostolo ad Tit. 1:³⁰ *c.* Cretenses semper mendaces,³¹
10 male bestie, ventres³² pigri et sequi. Quam ob causam increpa eos dure, ut sani sint in fide. Multis autem videtur manifestum, quod iste sekte ad propositum³³ sunt³⁴ Cretenses eo, quod cum³⁵ habituali mendacio despontantur. — Sunt et³⁶ male bestie, ut ostendit Lincolnensis,³⁷ quod talis sit³⁸ cadaver mortuum, de se-
15 pulero egressum, pannis funeralibus³⁹ involutum, a dyabolo inter homines agitatum. — Sunt eciam⁴⁰ ventres⁴¹ pigri, quia ad pascendum ventrem deliciose solliciti et ad operandum⁴² manibus instar apostolorum nimis tardi.

Ideo cum tantum per hypocrisim a fide exhortant, est necesse,

^{c. r. 12—13} ^a Rob. Grossetête, Bishop of Lincoln, in quodam sermone^{c.}, cp. Trial, 336, where the same passage is made use of by the Lincolnensis; in like manner Suppl. Trial, 434 and Arnold, S. E. W. III, 60. W. wrote a special tract in English on these words, cp. Arnold, III, 230. Neither Lechler nor Arnold have shown the place in Gross. works, whence this passage has been taken, cp. however Dante, Inf. XXXIII, 122—147. The works of Gross. were not accessible to me.

²⁴ acc. a Cr. *CDGαγ* a Cr. acc. *EF* ²⁵ aliter *CEFGαγ* non aliter *D*
²⁶ dilecc. ver. sed — ut inquit *CDGαγ* ver. dil. sed. — ut inq. *E* ver. dil. ut inq. *F* (the copier here got into a wrong line on account of dileccio) ²⁷ quasi dicat *C* quasi diceret *DEFG* q. d. (*sic, therefore* quasi diceret) *αγ* ²⁸ fideles *CDFGαγ* fidles *E* ²⁹ has *CDGαγ* istas *EF* ³⁰ primo *CDGαγ* post (?) *EF* ³¹ in *D* is add. above the col. (251^a): Cretenses semper mendaces *D*¹ ³² ventres *CDEFα* ventris *Gγ* ³³ in fide. Mult. — ad prop. *CDGαγ* in fide ad prop. *EF*
³⁴ sunt *CDEFGγ* sint *α* ³⁵ cum *CDEFαγ* om. *G* ³⁶ et *CDGαγ* autem et *EF* ³⁷ lineohniensis *CDFGα* Lincolnensis *γ* linoniensis *E* ³⁸ sit *CDEFGα* est *γ* ³⁹ funeralibus *CDFGαγ* funibibus *E* funeralibus cp. Trial, 337. Suppl. Trial, 434 ⁴⁰ eciam *γ*, *Ca*, above it by text hand et et *DEFG* ⁴¹ ventres *CEFa* ventris *Dγ*, *G* (?) ⁴² operandum *CDFGαγ* opandum *E*

quod fidelis increpet eos dure. Attendent⁴³ enim ad iudaicas fabulas et mandata hominum aversancium⁴⁴ se a veritate, cum plus apprecciantur⁴⁵ obligacionem ad suum ordinem et carius observant⁴⁶ mandata sui privati prepositi, quam carissima mandata Iesu Cristi.^e Ideo Cristus Matth. 23^f octuplex ve imponit istis ypcoritis, et Matth. 5^{24g} vocat ipsos⁴⁷ pseudoprophetas et Matth. (7)^{48h} vocat ipsos falsos prophetas. Iohannes vero I Ioh. 2ⁱ et 4^k ipsos nominat antieristos. Cristus eciam Ioh. 6^l vocat Iudam dyabolum et Matth. 16^m Petrum⁴⁹ sathanam,⁵⁰ et indubie ex maxima caritate, ut patet Matth. 15,ⁿ et crebro alibi sepe a Cristo vocantur ypoerite. — Condi- 10 cito⁵¹ autem ypoeritarum⁵² inseparabiliter fratres consequitur in hoc, quod plus horrent sic vocari in presencia populari, quam sic vivere, ut vocentur taliter in presencia domini Iesu⁵³ Cristi. Et Paulus I⁵⁴ Tim. 4^o vocat ipsos demonia. — Cum ergo supponi potest, quod aliqui eorum sint⁵⁵ fideles in domino, et aliqui sint perversi,^p quare 15 non debet fidelis sic specificare nomina perversorum, cum Cristus in persona propria et in suis organis sic vocavit⁵⁶

^e cp. Trial. 371 ^f v. 13 ff. *W. wrote a special tract concerning the Ve Octuplex, cp. Shirley, Catal. Nro. 43 p. 17* ^g v. 11 ^h v. 15

ⁱ v. 18 ^k v. 3 ^l v. 71 ^m v. 23 ⁿ v. 7 cp. Marc. 7, 6 ^o v. 1

^p cp. Trial. 349: *Suppono autem, quod aliqui fratres etc.; cp. also another passage which is a little more vague in De Apostasia, cod. 1343 fol. 51^a: Si placet benefacere istis sectis, . . . reducantur ad perfeccio- nem religionis primece, cp. Tract. de Pseudo-freris ed. Matthew, E. W. h. u. 298: zit cristen men shulden be war in here speche azen freris, & for somme ben goode and somme evele, men shulden specifie þise evele etc.*

⁴³ attendunt *CEαγ* attendite *DFG* ⁴⁴ aversancium *CDGαγ* versancium *F* adversancium (*the d. er. out & ud.*) *E* ⁴⁵ apprecciantur *CDGαγ* apprecciant *EF* ⁴⁶ observant *CDEFGγ* servant *α* ⁴⁷ ipsos *Caγ* eos *DEFG* ⁴⁸ Mt. 8 *CFGαγ* Mrc. 8 *DE* ⁴⁹ Petrum *CE* vocat Petrum *DGαγ* ⁵⁰ vocat Iudam — sathanam *CDEGαγ* vocat Petrum sathanam *F* ⁵¹ condicio *CDGαγ* contradictio *EF* ⁵² in *D* is add. in mar.: Condicio ypoeritarum *D¹* ⁵³ Iesu *CDFGαγ* nostri Iesu *E* ⁵⁴ 1^a *CDGαγ* om. *EF* ⁵⁵ sint *CDFGαγ* sunt *E* ⁵⁶ vocavit *CEFGγ* vocavit etc. *D* vocavit Pseudofrater degens in seculo est dyabolus incarnatus cum ad inventis suis signis sensibilibus desponsatus ad seminandum discordias in militante ecclesia summa ex cautela sathane machinatus *α*, in mar. is add. vacat *α¹*

CAP. II.

Restat videre ulterius supponendo primum principium, si fides scripture alicubi loquitur de hiis sectis, quia certum est, quod ut spiritus sanctus sectas¹ ponderat, sic de ipsis loquitur specialiter sive communiter, cum sit summe sapiens et tantum diligens suam ecclesiam instruendam.

Primo autem applicari potest illud Act.² 20:^a nunc, inquit, ecce³ ego scio, quia amplius non videbitis faciem meam vos omnes, per quos transivi predicans regnum⁴ dei. Quapropter contestor vos hodierna die, quia mundus sum a sangwine omnium. Non enim 10 subterfugi, quominus annunciacrem⁵ omne consilium dei vobis. Attende vobis et universo gregi, in quo vos⁶ spiritus sanctus posuit episcopos⁷ | regere ecclesiam dei, quam acquisivit sangwine suo. || c. fol. 20^a Ego scio, quoniam⁸ intrabunt post discessionem meam lupi rapaces in vos, non parcentes gregi, et ex vobis ipsis⁹ exsurgent¹⁰ viri 15 loquentes perversa, ut abducant¹¹ discipulos post se. Propter quod vigilate, in¹² memoria retinentes, quoniam¹³ per triennium¹⁴ nocte et die non cessavi, cum lacrimis monens unumquemque vestrum. Et nunc commendo vos deo et verbo gracie ipsius, qui potens est edificare et dare hereditatem in sanctificatis¹⁵ omnibus. Argentum 20 autem¹⁶ et aurum aut vestem¹⁷ nullius¹⁸ concupivi, sicut ipsi¹⁹ scitis, quoniam²⁰ ad ea, que opus michi erant²¹ et hiis, qui mecum sunt, ministraverunt manus iste.

CAP. II. ^a v. 25—34

CAP. II. ¹ sectas CDEF $\alpha\gamma$ sectat G ² Act. CDG $\alpha\gamma$ apostoli Act. EF
³ ecce C $\alpha\gamma$ om. DEFG ⁴ regnum CDEF $\alpha\gamma$, ¹ in mar. verbum γ ⁵ annunciacrem CDG $\alpha\gamma$ nunnciacrem E necessitarem F ⁶ vos CDEG $\alpha\gamma$ om. F ⁷ in C fol. 19^b in the lower mar. is added: Pseudofrater degens etc. — machinatus, ep. cod. a cap. I not. 56 ⁸ quoniam CDG $\alpha\gamma$ quod EF ⁹ ipsis CEF $\alpha\gamma$ om. D ¹⁰ exsurgent CDEG $\alpha\gamma$ exsurgent F ¹¹ abducant CDEG $\alpha\gamma$ adducant F ¹² in CDG $\alpha\gamma$ om. EF ¹³ quoniam CDG $\alpha\gamma$ quia E ex (?) F ¹⁴ triennium CDG $\alpha\gamma$ trigennium EF ¹⁵ da. her. in sanct. omn. E da. her. iustificatis omn. F dare instificatis om. he. CDG $\alpha\gamma$ ¹⁶ autem CDEG α om. F ¹⁷ aut ve. CDEF $\alpha\gamma$ vestrum G ¹⁸ nullius CDEG $\alpha\gamma$ in nullis F ¹⁹ ipsi CDEF $\alpha\gamma$ om. γ ²⁰ quoniam CDFG $\alpha\gamma$ quomodo E ²¹ erant CDEG $\alpha\gamma$ erat F

Ex isto textu huius vasis eleccionis^b manifestum videtur, quod iste doctor gencium^b loquitur prophetice de hiis sectis.

Sed ut planius procedamus, sine calumpnia suppono, quod deus vel organum suum loquitur²² de homine dupliciter²³ in scriptura, scilicet approbative, sicut scriptura loquitur de Christo et suis apostolis, et reprobative,²⁴ sicut loquitur de pseudoapostolis et prophetis. Manifestat autem Paulus imprimis spiritum suum propheticum: ego, inquit,^c scio, quia amplius non²⁵ videbitis faciem meam, quod oportet intelligere in hac vita. Et debet fidelis credere dicto, quod tantus apostolus dixerit in hac forma. 10

Protestacio²⁶ autem apostoli indirecte pertinet istis sectis. Apostolus autem contestatus fuit, ut debuit, quod mundus²⁷ sit²⁸ a sanguine omnium²⁹ illorum³⁰ propter duo,³¹ primo, quia annunciat³² fideliter ex integro consilium dei ipsis, secundo, quia non fuit ipsis³³ in bonis corporalibus onerosus. 15

Cum ergo³⁴ fratres in utroque istorum agunt³⁵ oppositum, quis negaret, quin³⁶ spiritus sanctus hic de hiis fratribus loquitur indirecte. Scio, inquit,^d quoniam intrabunt post discessionem³⁷ meam lupi rapaces in vos, non parcentes gregi. Cum, inquam,³⁸ spiritus sanctus³⁹ istud futurum satis clare cognovit de fratribus, quo spiritu 20 fidelis⁴⁰ negaret⁴¹ ipsum notificare⁴² hoc suo apostolo⁴³ de hiis

^b i. e. St. Paul ^c Act. 20, 25 ^d Act. 20, 29

²² loquitur *CDFGαγ* loquatur *E* ²³ dupliciter *CDGαγ* om. *EF* ²⁴ suis apostolis et reprobative *CDGαγ* suis apostolis Paulus imprimis spiritum suum propheticum. ego, inquit, scio quia et reprobative *EF* in *D* in *mar.*: Deus dupliciter loquitur de homine in scriptura *D*³ ²⁵ Paulus imprimis spir. — amplius non *CDGαγ* Paulus amplius non *EF* ²⁶ protestacio *CDGαγ* pro testamento (?) *EF* ²⁷ quod mundus *CDGαγ* esse mundus *E* ex mundus *F* ²⁸ sit *CDGαγ* sic *EF* ²⁹ omnium *CDEFGγ* om. *a* ³⁰ illorum *CDEFGα* istorum *γ* ³¹ in *D* is add. in *mar.*: Apostolus contestatus fuit, ut debuit, quod mundus sit a sanguine omnium illorum *D*¹ ³² annunciat² *CDFGαγ* anunciat *E* ³³ ipsis *CDEGαγ* om. *F* ³⁴ ergo *CDEGαγ* igitur *F* ³⁵ agunt *CDEFαγ* agant *G* ³⁶ quin *CDFGαγ*, *E*² in *mar.* quium (?) *E* ³⁷ discess. *CDEGαγ* decess. *F* ³⁸ inquam *CDFGαγ*, *E* in *mar.* in quam *E* ³⁹ in *γ*, before sanctus, an illegible correction ⁴⁰ fidelis *CDEGαγ* fidele *F* ⁴¹ negaret *CDEFGαγ* negare *D* ⁴² notificare *CDEFαγ* om. *G* ⁴³ apostolo *CDFGαγ* populo *E*

sectis, cum ille⁴⁴ magis inter homines ad dampnum ecclesie faciunt oppositum verbis Pauli. Sunt autem propter hanc causam duplice rei sangwinis plebis, quam visitant, sicut particulariter⁴⁵ patet de⁴⁶ nostro exercitu, qui in ista cruciata⁴⁷ exivit Angliam.^e

Subterfugerunt⁴⁸ enim dicere huic populo veritatem catholicam in hac parte. Et cum multi eorum sunt mortui, ut probabiliter creditur, in ista perfidia, ex isto consensu fratrum^f proditorio manifestum⁴⁹ videtur, quod non mundi sunt a sangwine eorum, cum iuxta dicta communia de consensu,^g qui emendare⁵⁰ potest et negligit,

absque dubio delicti participem se constituit. Fratres autem in ista materia nedum dicere veritatem fidei recorditer differebant,⁵¹ sed per multas hereses ad istam pugnam proditorio hortabantur.^h —

Quis igitur foret reus sangwinis utriusque⁵² partis populi, si non illi, et eo dampnabilius, quo participant luero furato⁵³ tam in

^e *The crusade of Bishop Spenser of Norwich to Flanders against the adherents of Clement VII, the antipope, began in May 1383 and came to an end in the beginning of Oct.* ^f *The mendicants, in particular, had embraced the cause of Pope Urban VI and encouraged the crusade in sermons. In different places W. makes this a particular reproach to them, cp. Matthew, E. W. h. u. 491, Lechler, J. v. W. I, 706. Also Walsingham, Hist. Angl. II, 95: Religiosi cuiuslibet sectae, petita licentia, licet non obtenta, illud iter arripere praesumperunt in magnum personarum suarum dedecus et detrimentum; cp. also the privileges of the bishop respect. the crusade ibid. II, 78, Wilkins, Conc. III, 177, Knighton in Twysden's X Script. 2671* ^g *A Versus memorialis known in the Middle Ages, on the six kinds of assent, runs as follows:*

Consentit cooperans, defendens, consilium dans

Ac auctorisans, non iuvans nec reprehendens

cp. cod. C fol. 145^b, also cod. D fol. 166^c and cod. H fol. 84^b

^h *The mendicants, by the pressure of the confessional, by threats of*

⁴⁴ ille *CDGαγ* illi *EF* ⁴⁵ particulariter *CDGαγ* pertinenter *EF* ⁴⁶ de *CDEFaγ* ex *G* ⁴⁷ ista cruciata *CDGαγ* isto cruciatu *EF* ⁴⁸ subterfugerunt *CDGαγ* subterfugiunt *EF* ⁴⁹ manifestum *CDEGαγ* malum *F* ⁵⁰ emendare *CDEGαγ* enim dare *F* ⁵¹ vecor. differebant *G, αC*, but here by *α¹* (resp. *C¹ [?]*) above the *i* in diff. an *e* is add. vec. differebant *D* vec. deserebant γ deferebant recorditer *EF* ⁵² utriusque *CDGαγ* in utriusque *EF* ⁵³ furato *CDEGαγ* servato *F*

Anglia quam eciam⁵⁴ extra illam.⁵⁵ — Et sic totum⁵⁶ dictum apostoli de lupis rapacibus verificatur dampnabiliter⁵⁷ de hiis⁵⁸ sectis. Non enim pareunt ovibus transmarinisⁱ vel cismarinis vel pugnatoribus, quoad C fol. 20b corpus vel⁵⁹ animam, sed consensu multiplici perpetrant istam culpam.

5

Et cum apostolus doceat, quod non debet esse populo onerosus,⁶⁰ sed vivere laborieo manuali,⁶¹ quod fratres fugiunt ut venenum, patet, quod multiplicius culpa eorum gravatur in ficticia huius pugne. Quodsi in personis propriis ipsam aggrediuntur horrendum facinus committendo, tunc sunt meridiani lupi rapaces, et iste 10 textus fidei^k verbis huius apostoli excellit regulas omnium harum sectarum noviter introductas.⁶² Non enim indiget hec regula confirmatione papali,⁶³ nec racione patronorum culpabilium est suscepta.⁶⁴ Probat autem apostolus hanc regulam per hoc, quod dominus Iesus Cristus dixit,^l quod⁶⁵ beacius est magis dare,⁶⁶ quam accipere.⁶⁷ 15 Secte autem iste⁶⁸ affirmant oppositum ex⁶⁹ mendicacione facta de domino⁷⁰ in blasphemio mendacio se fundantes.⁷¹ Condicionem ergo⁷²

church penances etc., made the greatest exertions to enlist as many soldiers of the cross as possible, cp. Wilkins, Conc. III, 176 ff. In England the prelates with their followers worked very hard for this purpose. For a more accurate account of the papal and, more especially, of the episcopal agitation cp. Walsingham, Hist. Angl. II, 72 ff. ⁱ W. has in view the crusaders in Flanders ^k cp. above cap. II in the beginning, Act. 20, 25—34 ^l Act. 20, 35

⁵⁴ eciam *CDGαγ̄ om. EF* ⁵⁵ illam *CEF ipsam DGαγ̄* ⁵⁶ totum *CDEFGα* tota γ ⁵⁷ dampnabiliter *CDGαγ̄* dampnatur *EF* ⁵⁸ hiis *CDFGαγ̄, E² in mar.*

suis (?) *E* ⁵⁹ vel *CDEGαγ̄* et *F* ⁶⁰ Et cum ap. doceat — onerosus *Cαγ̄*, in C written above the line (by the texthand): Et cum apostolum deceat non esse populo onerosum, *the same add. in α in mar. by α¹* et cum apostolum deceat populo non esse onerosum *E* et c. ap. dec. non e. p. on. *DFG* ⁶¹ laborieo manuali *CDGαγ̄* labore conmannali *EF* ⁶² introductas *CDFGα* introductarum *Eγ̄* ⁶³ papali *CDFGαγ̄* populi *E* ⁶⁴ suscepta *DEFGγ, α¹ C¹ (?) in mar.*

suspecta *α, C (cr. out)* ⁶⁵ quod *CDEFGα om. γ* ⁶⁶ bea. e. ma. da. *CDGαγ̄* ma. be. e. da. *EF* ⁶⁷ in D above the col. is added with mark of ref.: Beacius est magis dare quam accipere *D¹* ⁶⁸ iste *CDFGαγ̄ om. E* ⁶⁹ ex *CDFGαγ̄* quis negaret (cr. out & ud.) ex *E* ⁷⁰ dominio *E* domino *CDFGγ, α, but by α¹ corr. into* dominio ⁷¹ mend. se fund. *CDFGαγ̄* mendiciose fundamento *E* ⁷² ergo *CDGαγ̄* igitur *EF*

dandi laudabilem acceptarent, si darent copiose doctrinam fidei in hac parte et non⁷³ forent populo elemosinanti nec ipsis pugnatoribus onerosi. Nec dubium, quin talis rapina per facta mendacia et signa subdola excedit violentam rapinam demonii meridiani, cum sic rapit fidem ab anima et non solum argentum, aurum aut⁷⁴ vestes, sed cum in⁷⁵ hiis habundant⁷⁶ fratres et plebs pro se et suis familiaribus tantum egent,⁷⁷ patet, quam⁷⁸ impia est ista rapina wilpina et vite ac verbis apostolorum contraria.

Ideo⁷⁹ secundum consilium Pauli fideles debent esse memores, 10 quoniam⁸⁰ beacius est magis⁸¹ dare quam accipere, et ad imitacionem Cristi dare largiter et gratis doctrinam spiritualem et iterum de parca⁸² et pauca corporali elemosina quando est necesse accipere,⁸³ contentari.

Istam ergo doctrinam, quam Paulus de Cristo acceperat, iste 15 secte implerent in opere, cum sit pocior quam omnes sue regule noviter introducte.⁸⁴

CAP. III.

Restat videre ulterius, quid secundum fidem scripture dicendum est¹ de hiis sectis.

Et primo videndum est, quid descriptive² sit secta.³ Dicitur 20 autem communiter, quod secta sit multitudo hominum unum patronum sequencium, unam regulam admittencium.^a Sic⁴ secta cristia-

CAP. III. ^a cp. a similar definition of secta in the Tract. de Pseudo-freris, ed. Matthew, E. W. h. u. 301: it semel to many men pat

⁷³ et non *CDEFGY* nec α ⁷⁴ aut *CDEFGY* et α ⁷⁵ in *CDFGαγ* om. *E* ⁷⁶ habundant *CEFGαγ* habundat *D* ⁷⁷ egent *CDEFG,γ*, before eg. a correct. egeret (?) α ⁷⁸ quam *CDEGαγ* quod *F* ⁷⁹ ideo *CDFGαγ, E' in mar.* (?) idem) non (*cr. out*) *E* ⁸⁰ quoniam *CDGα* quomodo *EE* quam γ ⁸¹ magis *CDGαγ* om. *EF* ⁸² parca *CDEGαγ* pauca *F* ⁸³ accipere *CDEFGα* om. γ ⁸⁴ intr. cap. 3^m *C* intr. etc. *D* intr. etc. sequitur *E* intr. cap. secundum *F* intr. *Gαγ*

CAP. III. ¹ est *DFGαγ* om. *CE* ² descriptive *CDFGαγ* de scripture *E* ³ in *D* is add. in *mar.*: Secta quid sit *D'* in *G* in *mar.*: Secta quid et Cristi secta oppositum *G'* in *F* in *mar.*: Nota ⁴ sic *CEF* et sic *DGαγ*

norum debet includere singulos viatores. Quod autem ista sit secta, patet Act. 28:^b nam de secta hac notum est nobis, quod ubique ei contradicitur. Et cum secta a 'sequor' dicitur, patet, quod cuncti fideles debent esse de secta cristiana,^c ut dicitur Act. 11.^d Patronus autem huius secte est dominus Jesus Cristus, et regula ⁵ sua est fides catholica, scilicet lex ewāngelica. Et patet, quod ista^e secta nulla melior vel generalior potest esse. Nam patronus est deus et homo Jesus Cristus, et regula est lex dei,^e que generaliter cuilibet homini^f debet competere.

Et videtur, quod nulle private secte preter sectam istam com-¹⁰ munem^g sunt a domino approbatae. Ista enim secta est per se sufficiens cuilibet cristiano. Ad quid ergo^h oportet novam divisionem introducere sine causa?^f Unde videtur quemcumque,ⁱ qui nove secte^j obligatur, innuere, quod^k privatum patronum suum inordinate diligit, contempnendo^l sectam domini Iesu^m Cristi. Et hincⁿ ¹⁵
C fol. 21a apostolus I Cor. 1^g sic loquitur: *gracias ago || deo,¹⁶ quod neminem vestrum baptizavi nisi Crispum et¹⁷ Gaium, ne¹⁸ quis dicat, quod in nomine meo baptizati estis.* Et necessitat racio sectarum huiusmodi private diligere suum patronum et ordinem¹⁹, cum aliter superflueret talis secta et sic foret personarum accepcio et²⁰ secte Cristi 20 discors diminucio,²¹ quam divisionem²² necesse est peccatum sapere. Unde I Cor. 3:^h cum enim inter vos sit zelus et contencio,²³ nonne

*a secte is a newe ordre bi newe patroun & newe lawe, as was þe secte
of cristen men etc. b v. 22 c ep. Matthew, E. W. h. u. 301
d v. 1 ff.; 18; 20 e ep. for inst. also Arnold, S. E. W. I, 28 f ep.
below De 7 Donis Spir. Sa. cap. IX g v. 14 h v. 3—5*

⁵ 11 CDG $\alpha\gamma$ 2 EF ⁶ ista CDG $\alpha\gamma$ illa EF ⁷ homini CDEFG α fideli γ
⁸ pre. s. i. c. CDFG γ pre. i. s. c. E pre. c. i. s. α ⁹ ergo CEF igitur DG $\alpha\gamma$
¹⁰ quemcumque CG $\alpha\gamma$ quod quicunque EF quod quemcumque D ¹¹ secte
CDFG $\alpha\gamma$ secta E, above the a an e is corr. ¹² from here the copier of E has
put over the full quod of the text another quod in the usual abbreviation ¹³ con-
tempnendo CDG $\alpha\gamma$ contempnens EF ¹⁴ Iesu CDFG $\alpha\gamma$ nostri Iesu E ¹⁵ et
hinc CDFG $\alpha\gamma$ om. E ¹⁶ deo CDG $\alpha\gamma$ domino EF ¹⁷ Crispum et CDFG $\alpha\gamma$,
E² in mar. om. E ¹⁸ ne CDFG $\alpha\gamma$ spiritu et gracia (ud.) ne E ¹⁹ ordi-
nem CDEFG γ ordine α ²⁰ et CDG $\alpha\gamma$ eciam EF ²¹ diminucio CDEFG γ
divinucio α ²² divisionem CDEG $\alpha\gamma$ derisionem (?) F ²³ cum en. i. v. s. ze.
et con. CDG $\alpha\gamma$ cum s. ze. et con. i. v. E cum s. i. v. ze. et con. F

vos²⁴ carnales estis et secundum hominem ambulatis?²⁵ Cum enim quis dicit: ego sum Pauli, alius autem:²⁶ ego sum Apollo, nonne homines estis et seq. Itaque neque qui plantat, est aliquid,²⁷ neque qui rigat, sed qui incrementum dat, deus. Ubi manifestum est, Paulum sectas tales contempnere et in unam sectam Christi et dei velle omnes fideles reducere.

Similiter in istis privatis sectis manifestum est esse contenciones et invidias et preponderanciam in amore²⁸ rei,²⁹ quam deus minus diligit, quod necesse est a voluntate domini discordare. Quis, 10 rogo, privati ordinis plus diligit meliorem de secta alia, quam personam accipiens fratrem proprium diligit minus bonum. Et sic de invidia³⁰ sectarum, de bonitate patronorum et regularum, que secte in amore communiter male librant. Unde ad Gal. 5ⁱ sribit apostolus: manifesta autem sunt opera carnis, que sunt fornicatio, 15 immundicia, impudicicia, luxuria, ydolorum servitus, beneficia,³¹ inimicicie, contenciones, emulaciones, ire, rixe, dissensiones, secte, invidie, homicidia, ebrietates, commessaciones³² et hiis similia, que predico vobis, sicut predixi,³³ quoniam³⁴ qui talia agunt, regnum dei non consecuntur.³⁵

20 Unde notum est ponderanti fideliter verba apostoli, quod spiritus sanctus connumerando³⁶ sic pertinenter sectas cum viciis aliis³⁷ intendit, quod secte ille et illa via sunt connexa.³⁸ Quis, rogo, colligendo totam affectionem et sollicitudinem,³⁹ quas habet in istis privatis sectis in unicam sectam domini Iesu⁴⁰ Christi, non diligenter

ⁱ v. 19—21

²⁴ vos *CDGα om. EF* adhuc γ ²⁵ ambulatis *CDEFαγ* ambulantis *G*
²⁶ autem *CDGαγ om. EF*. ²⁷ aliquid *CDFGαγ* aliud (?) *E* ²⁸ amore
CDEGαγ amorem *F* ²⁹ rei *DFGαγ* dei (er. out) rei *C* dei *E* ³⁰ invidia
DEFG minucia, above it invidia *C* inimicicia γ, α, but in mar. invidia α[†]
³¹ beneficia *Cαγ* beneficia *DG* beneficio *EF* ³² commessaciones *Cαγ* con-
messaciones *DG* commensaciones *F* ³³ predixi *CDEFGα* predico γ ³⁴ quon.
CEFγ vobis quon. *DGα* ³⁵ consequuntur *CEFγ* consequentur *DGα* ³⁶ co-
numerando *CDEGα* conmeriendo (?) *F* connumerando (?) γ ³⁷ vic. al. *CDGαγ*
al. vic. *EF* ³⁸ conexa *CDGγ* connexe *EFα* ³⁹ sollicitudinem *CDEGαγ*
solitudinem *F* ⁴⁰ Ie. *CDGαγ* nostri Ie. *E*

ipsum sincerius et ministraret perfeccius, cum virtus finita et⁴¹ unita sit forcior se dispersa.⁴²

Tales evidencie movent fideles ad argendum durius istas sectas. Et concordat experientia, quod non ex institucione⁴³ vel auctoritate domini⁴⁴ fuerant introduce, sed in fine temporum, quando affectiones hominum⁴⁵ fuerant inordinate. Et post creverunt in ecclesia dissensiones et multe peccati malicie. Omnes autem patroni privati,⁴⁶ quoad sanctitatem et regulas sui ordinis cum sint⁴⁷ extra fidem scripture, inter alia mala,⁴⁸ que faciunt, inducunt sua apocrita in sectis propriis tamquam fidem. 10

Ideo non simus solliciti de canonizacione eorum in ecclesia triumphante. Potest enim esse, quod dicti patroni de⁴⁹ reatu, in quem⁵⁰ sic inciderant, fructuose postmodum penitebant. Sed quid prodest circa talia infructuosa contendere?

Et ex isto patenter colligitur, quod licet unus fidelis habeat¹⁵ in sua persona consuetudinem approbandam et⁵¹ multi alii⁵² ipsum secuntur,⁵³ sed non cum illa consuetudine despontantur, non indu-

|| C fol. 21b

cunt propterea novam sectam, || verum tamen talem sectam⁵⁴ conco-

mitatur communiter⁵⁵ amor indebitus.

Ex istis ultra colligitur, quod sive Benedictus, sive Dominicus,²⁰ sive Franciscus vel quisvis aliis novam sectam supra cristianam collegerit,⁵⁶ non in hoc est⁵⁷ laudandus nec persona ipsum sequens sectaliter, sed⁵⁸ culpanda, et multo magis secte fingentes false se habere patronos vel extravagantes superflue sine illis, ut de⁵⁹ Augustinensis et Carmelitis supponitur.^k 25

Ex⁶⁰ istis infertur tertio, quod nimis ceca foret ista argucia:

^k With ref. to the preceding passage cp. Trial. 361—62

⁴¹ et CE om. DFGαγ̄ ⁴² dispersa CDEGαγ̄ disparsa Fα ⁴³ institucione CDEGαγ̄ instincione F ⁴⁴ domini CDEFαγ̄ om. G ⁴⁵ hominum CDEFGα temporum γ ⁴⁶ privati CDGαγ̄ predicti EF ⁴⁷ sint DGαγ̄ sit CEF ⁴⁸ mala CDFGαγ̄ mola E ⁴⁹ de CDEFGα in γ ⁵⁰ in quem DGαγ̄ quem CF quem (the m cr. out & ud.) E ⁵¹ et CDGαγ̄ eciam EF ⁵² alii CDEGαγ̄ ante F ⁵³ secuntur CEF sequantur DGαγ̄ ⁵⁴ sectam CDGαγ̄ consuetudinem EF ⁵⁵ communiter CDGαγ̄ om. EF ⁵⁶ collegerit CDFGαγ̄ colligerit E ⁵⁷ est CDGαγ̄ om. EF ⁵⁸ sectaliter sed CDGαγ̄ sed F est E ⁵⁹ de DEFαγ̄ om. C, but added in mar. ⁶⁰ ex CDEF et ex Gαγ̄

Ista secta habet in sua regula multa sancta⁶¹ et facit multa opera laude digna, ergo est ab ecclesia approbanda et a posteris amplexanda. Sic enim forent multi homines de omnibus privatis ordinibus, cum multis desit racio, quare acceptarent unum privatum ordinem et non tunc⁶² quemcunque eo,⁶³ quod spiritus sanctus non moveat ad⁶⁴ quemcunque, vel si moveat, huius fundacio requiratur, cum certum sit multos⁶⁵ in hiis sectis facere multa bona de genere et multa mala, et specialiter, quod seminando discordias cum scriptis et aliis ritibus onerant⁶⁶ ecclesiam Iesu Christi. Sic⁶⁷ eciam coniuratores⁶⁸ nominant multa nomina sancta⁶⁹ dei, et sic secta Machometi includit et approbat multa dicta⁷⁰ utriusque testamenti.⁷¹

Oportet igitur⁷² notare, quod fides dei sincere⁷³ a secta fideliūm acceptetur⁷³ et in libertate, quam Christus instituit, conservetur.

CAP. IV.¹

15 Restat videndum ulterius,² quid moveat hos ordines post sectam liberam domini³ Iesu Christi adeo variare.

Constat quidem ex principiis fidei, quod deus noster nec⁴ fecit nec facere potuit aliquid nisi probabili ratione.^a Ex hoc enim odiendo vacuum implevit analogum entis per substanciam creatam et accidentis cum ente rationis, quod mediat inter ista. Et sic de

¹ *þe secte of macamethe takip meche of cristis secte, but it varieþ in som rewele & in cloþis & in patronu etc. cp. Tract. de Pseudoperfris ed. Matthew, E. W. h. u. 301 & below Purgat., cod. Ashb. fol. 53^b*

^a *Nec deus posset quidquam producere, nisi ipsum intelligeret etc. Trial. 62*

⁶¹ sancta *CEFGY* facta *Dα* ⁶² tunc *CDGαγ* om. *EF* ⁶³ before eo in *G* the words vel si moveat have been erased, a blank is left ⁶⁴ ad *CDGαγ* om. *EF* ⁶⁵ multos *CDEGγ, α* (here corr. & not clear) om. *F* ⁶⁶ one-
rant *CDEGαγ* ornant (cr. out & ud.) *F* honerant *F¹* in mar. ⁶⁷ sic *CDGαγ* et sic *EF* ⁶⁸ coniuratores *CDEGαγ* cominicatores (cr. out) *F*, but coniuratores *F¹* in mar. ⁶⁹ sancta *CDEFαγ* om. *G* ⁷⁰ dicta *DGαγ* dicti *CEF* ⁷¹ igitur *CDGαγ* ergo *EF* ⁷² sincere *CDGαγ* sinceri *EF* ⁷³ acceptetur *CDFGαγ* accepte E

CAP. IV. ¹ cap. 4^{um} *CDEα* cap. 3^{um} *F* om. *G* ² ulterius *CDGαγ* om. *EF* ³ domini *CDFGαγ* om. *E* ⁴ nec *CDEFGα* non *γ*

omni genere, usque ad speciem specialissimam⁵ et de individuis, que ipsa⁶ participant⁷, quo⁸ usque tota creata universitas ad suam perfeccionem ultimam in die iudicii sit redacta. Sicut enim deus⁹ est plenus ydeis, sic oportet, quod nulla illarum¹⁰ sit superflua sine causa. Et cum isti ordines ad sequendum Cristum in moribus et 5 ad acuendum alios ad hoc ordinentur, mirandum videtur, quomodo habitus et ritus sensibiles pertinent ad hunc finem.

Videtur enim, quod religio Christi cum secta sua in apostolis et¹¹ martiribus et aliis fidelibus ipsum sequens¹² sufficiat¹³ ad totam cristianam regulam observandam.¹⁴ Nec videtur, quod variatio ha- 10 bituum in colore et figura habeat probabilem rationem nisi ad pre-nosticandum¹⁵ eos esse de generacione adultera, que talia signa querit.

Unde dubitatur communiter,¹⁶ quare iste secte quatuor^b fratrum¹⁷ in hiis signis sensibilibus adeo variantur.

Videtur enim,¹⁸ quod una earum¹⁹ sufficiat, ymo superfluit 15 per adulterinam despensionem cum hiis signis sensibilibus ultra libertatem ordinis, quem instituit Iesus²⁰ Cristus.^c Nam ille ordo suffecit²¹ complecitus perficere totum, quod cristianus ordo requirit, quam sufficient isti ordines noviter introducti. Quare ergo non sunt superflui et²² a patre mendacii adinventi.²³

C fol. 22a

Unde videtur sectis²⁴ istis difficile fingere²⁵ rationem probabi-

^b *W. has in view the Mendicant Orders, the Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustines, Carmelites.* ^c *cp. on the abuses of the signa Trial. 284*

⁵ specialissimam *CDFay* substancialē (?) *E* om. *G* ⁶ ipsa *Day* papa *CE* om. *FG* ⁷ participant *a* participat *CDEy* et de ind. — partic. om. *F* ⁸ ad spec. spec. — quo om. *G* ⁹ deus *CDFGay* om. *E*, but corr. by *E*² into the text ¹⁰ illarum *CDGuy* earum *EF* ¹¹ et *CDGuy* om. *EF* ¹² sequens *CDGuy* sequentibus *EF* ¹³ in *D* is add. in mar.: Religio Christi sufficiens *D*¹ ¹⁴ observandam *CDEFGa* observandum *y* ¹⁵ prenost. *CDGy* pronost. *EFa* ¹⁶ communiter *CDEFGy*, consequenter *a*, above it in text communiter *a*¹ ¹⁷ fratum *CDGuy* om. *F*, in *E* there was in this place a correct., but it is now erased ¹⁸ vid. en. *CDEGuy* et vid. *F* ¹⁹ earum *CDEGuy* eorum *F* ²⁰ Ies. *CDFGuy* dominus Ies. *E* ²¹ sufficit *CDGuy* sufficit *EF* ²² et *CDEFGa* om. *y* ²³ adinventi *CDEGuy* inventi *F* ²⁴ below col. 21^b in *C* is add.: Nota istud capitulo de habitibus monachorum *C*², above col. 22^a near the border of the leaf, half cut away by the binder: Nota de habitibus monachorum, quare nigrum colorem vel album portant (texthand?) ²⁵ fingere *DEFGy* fugere *C* (above it corr. by another hand (*C*?)) fingere), *a*, but in mar. fingere *a*¹

lem istorum ordinum, et quare in colore et figura taliter²⁶ variantur.²⁷ Deridenda²⁸ quidem est ista ficticia, quod nigredo dolorem de peccatis significet, albedo cordis mundiciam et russetum²⁹ laborem assiduum in ecclesia militante,^d quia certum est, quod isti colores sunt impertinentes istis habitibus, nisi³⁰ forte dicant mendaciter homines sic habituatos, ubi secundum religionem cristianam non hypocriticam tales mentis habitus et sua opera debent fieri abscondite³¹ ab hiis signis cum Matth. (6)^{32 e} mandat Cristus: cum facis elemosinam, nesciat sinistra tua, quid faciat dextra tua, ut sit elemosina tua in abscondito.³³ Unde nonnisi in³⁴ variacione vestimentorum Christi^f in sancto³⁵ paraseue³⁶ fundatur ista ficticia introducta. Cristus enim ordinavit non sine causa notabili, quod indumenta sua eadem³⁷ die tripliciter varientur.³⁸ Habuit enim primo vestimenta communia,³⁹ ut tunicam inconsutilem⁴⁰ indubie non superfluam⁴¹ in figura, ut patet Ioh. 19.^g Habuit secundo vestem albam, quam⁴² ordinavit Herodes⁴³ ipsum induere, ut patet Luc. 23.^h Et habuit tertio vestem purpuream celantem⁴⁴ corporis passionem, ut patet Ioh. 19 cap.^{45 i}

Cur igitur⁴⁶ abhorrent fratres sine causa eodem die sic⁴⁷ in ha-

^a *Albus color figurat in illis, quod sua conversatio est in coelis, nigredo autem dolorem continuum pro peccatis, et quod nos appetitus mortificaverant bestiales; russetum vero significat laborem suum in illis duabus virtutibus absconditum, ne sint hypocritae, Suppl. Trial. 435*

^e v. 3 ^f cp. *Tract. de Pseudo-freris ed. Matthew, E. W. h. u. 302*

^{W. has in view the events of Good Friday ^g v. 23 ^h v. 11 ⁱ v. 2}

²⁶ taliter *CDFGαγ* om. E ²⁷ in D is add. in mar.: Variantur in colore et figura D¹ ²⁸ deridenda *CDFGαγ* ita (er. out & ud., there is a mark of ref., but in mar. no word corresponding to it) deridenda E ²⁹ russetum *DGγ* rufatum EF russetum C, but in mar. rosetum (C¹?) rosetum α, but above it russetum α¹ ³⁰ nisi *DEFGαγ*, C¹ in mar. cum (ud.) C ³¹ abscondite *CDFGαγ* abscondita E ³² all codd. read 5 ³³ abscondito *CEFGα* absconditis D om. γ

³⁴ sinistra tua quid — in *CDEFGα* sinistra tua in γ ³⁵ saneto *CDEFGγ* facto α ³⁶ paraseue *DF(?)Gαγ* parasteno C parastene E, in mar. with mark of ref.: fes (sic) ³⁷ eadem *CDGγ* eodem *EFα* ³⁸ varientur *CDGαγ* variantur *EF*

³⁹ in D is add. in mar.: Vestimenta Cristus habuit communia D¹ ⁴⁰ inconsutilem *CDFGαγ* inconsutilem E ⁴¹ superfluam *CEFGαγ* superbiam D ⁴² quam *CEF* qua *DGαγ* ⁴³ herodes *CEFGαγ* herodem D ⁴⁴ celantem *CDEFGα* om. γ ⁴⁵ cap. *CEF* om. *DGαγ* ⁴⁶ igitur *CDFGαγ* ergo E ⁴⁷ sic *CDEFγ* om. α

bitu variari? Numquid potestatis eorum est ponere supernaturalem virtutem⁴⁸ minimis in istis habitibus sicut fingunt? Nec aliter de sponsacio vel⁴⁹ obligacio ad istos habitus a signis generacionis adultere excusatur.

Quod autem sua capucia sunt sic lata, ut continent⁵⁰ multa mendacia et tota superfluitas vestium sit tamquam pixis⁵¹ literarum mendacii, est verbum ludicrosum et populo communi onerosum, sicut ludicrosum est, ponere consecratam hostiam colorem vel figuram propter istam ficticiam^k introductam. Cum ergo⁵² Paulus sepe sentenciat, quod sacerdotes Cristi non debent esse⁵³ populo onerosi, 10 et manifestum sit, quod omnes hee secte vivunt de populo, et sacerdotes antiqui debent sufficere pro omni spirituali ministerio in ecclesia militante, manifestum est, quod omnes hee secte de tanto superfluunt.

Calculant autem⁵⁴ speculatori discreti supponendo, quod sint quatuor milia fratrum in Anglia⁵⁵, et quod quilibet eorum vel uno iuvante reliquum annuatim expendunt⁵⁶ de Anglia centum solidos^l et tantum in edificiis vel aliis sumptibus⁵⁷ extraordinariis, quod habent de regno Anglie quadraginta⁵⁸ milia librarum annuatim.^m

Sed quis dubitat, quin iste secte nove sint graves tunc regno Anglie et specialiter pauperibus Cristi onerose?

Et quantum ad fructus, quos faciunt, patet, quod tales illatores noviter introducti defraudant a veritate ewangelica, quam Cristus instituit, et sic sacerdotes et curatos faciunt de suo officio ociari. Et istud dampnum cum aliis est maius quam totum dampnum predictum, quo spoliant regnum nostrum.

^k i. e. the transsubstantiation since Paschasius Radbertus ^l 10 sol.
 = 1 £; a £ formerly in circulation is $\frac{2}{3}$ of a pound (= 13 sh. 4 d.), cp. Rees, Cycl. (Amer. Ed.) XXIII; cp. also below p. 103 not. n ^m cp. on the preced. passage Trial. 369, De tripl. Vinc. Am. cap. IX

⁴⁸ sup. virt. *CDFGαγ* supernaturale *E* ⁴⁹ vel *CEFGαγ* sive *D* with sive in *D* col. 123^a begins, above it: Capucia *D³* ⁵⁰ continent *CEF* contineant *DGαγ* in *C* is add. in mar.: Quare monachi habeant capucia latas seu capas latas *C²* ⁵¹ pixis *CDFGαγ* vestium (cr. out & ud.) pixis *E* ⁵² ergo *CDGαγ* igitur *EF* ⁵³ esse *CDEFGγ, α⁴ in mar. om. α* ⁵⁴ autem *CDEGαγ* enim *F* ⁵⁵ quod sint q. m. f. i. A. *CDEFGα* quod s. f. i. A. q. m. *γ* in *C* is add. in mar.: Quot sunt fratres in Anglia *C⁴* ⁵⁶ expendunt *CE* expendit *DFGαγ* ⁵⁷ solidos et — sumptibus *CDEGαγ* solidos vel aliis sumpt. *F*, in mar. exceptis ⁵⁸ 40^a *CDEFαγ* 4 or *G*.

Et erubescerent hee secte sic onerare regna, que sic incolunt,ⁿ
 nisi sciverint⁵⁹ patente⁶⁰ et notanda ratione ostendere, quare necesse⁶¹
 fuit ipsas tunc ad edificationem ecclesie introduci. Si enim nulla
 sit causa huius, tunc sunt omnino superflue et delende, cum sacer-
 dotes et omnes secte novelle fingunt pro sua fundacione aliquam
 racionem.⁶²

Nec valent puerorum ludiera in hac parte, quod fratres isti
 in edificiis et arte mendacii multum prosunt. Et cum ante induc-
 tionem horum fratrum longe plus prosperata⁶³ fuit ecclesia, videtur
 10 subtili examinatori difficile, assignare⁶⁴ clara⁶⁵ media, quare deum
 necesse fuit introducere istas sectas, quia si⁶⁶ sine causa introduce
 fuerint,⁶⁷ patens est,⁶⁸ quod sunt peiores quam sacerdotes Baal⁶⁹ vel
 pseudoprophekte, quia sacerdotes dei mali, superflui, non causantis.⁷⁰

CAP. V.¹

Restat transcurrentum ulterius² per dicta legis gracie, si ali-
 15 qua laudabilia de istis sectis in ea poterint³ inveniri.

Et primo occurrit illud II⁴ Pet. 2:^a fuerunt vero et pseudoprophete in populo, sicut et in vobis erunt magistri mendaces, qui introducent sectas perditionis et eum, qui emit⁵ eos, dominum⁶ negant, superducentes⁷ sibi celerem⁸ perditionem; et multi sequen-

ⁿ ep. Trial. 373 ff.; Suppl. Trial. 444CAP. V. ^a v. 1—3

⁵⁹ sciverint *CDFGαγ* sciant *E* ⁶⁰ patente *CDFGαγ* patenter *E*, the r
 is add. later ⁶¹ nec. *CDEFαγ* ipsas nec. *G* ⁶² racionem *CDFGαγ* funda-
 tionem (*cr. out & ud.*) racionem *E* ⁶³ prosperata *CDGαγ* prospera *EF*
⁶⁴ assignare in *E* incorrectly written ⁶⁵ clara *CDGα* clare *EFγ* ⁶⁶ quia si *CDGαγ*
 qua *E* que *F* ⁶⁷ fuerint *CDEGαγ* fuerunt *F* ⁶⁸ pat. est *CDEFGα* patet γ
⁶⁹ baal *CDFGαγ* dei mali superflui (*cr. out & ud.*) baal *E* ⁷⁰ causantis *CDFGγα*
 caus. etc. *E*, there is add. cm 4m by *E*², and so at close of each chapt.; this I
 do not note again

CAP. V. ¹ in *E* at the end of the preced. chapt. is add. cm 4m, but in mar. 5
² ulterius *CDFGαγ* om. *E* ³ poterint *CDGαγ* poterit *EF* ⁴ 2^a *CDEFGγ*
 prima α ⁵ emit *Eγ* emit vel eruit *DFG* emit *Ca*, but in mar. eruit *C*¹ (?)
 resp. *A*¹ ⁶ dominum *CDGαγ* deum *EF* ⁷ superducentes *CDEGαγ* super-
 ducentem *F* ⁸ celerem *CDEGαγ* scelerem *F*

tur⁹ eorum luxurias, per quos¹⁰ via veritatis blasphemabitur, et in avaricia fictis verbis de vobis negociabuntur. Quibus iudicium iam olim non cessat et perdiccio eorum non dormitat.

Quodsi fratres moderni de se ipsis verificant magis verba huius apostolorum principis, quis dubitat, quin de ipsis prophetat, suas sectas et vicia reprobando, cum II Pet. 1¹¹ scribitur^b: habemus firmorem propheticum sermonem, cui bene facitis attentes,¹² quasi lucerne lucenti in caliginoso loco, donec dies illucescat et lucifer oriatur in cordibus vestris.

Quis ergo¹³ fidelis pius auderet¹⁴ dicere, quod spiritus sanctus¹⁵ videns has sectas magis¹⁶ nocere ecclesie¹⁷ celavit illas¹⁸ in Petro et intendebat alias a proposito¹⁹ plus remotas? Unde sequitur in textu eiusdem secundi capituli:^c novit dominos pios²⁰ de temptatione eripere, impios vero in diem iudicii reservare²¹ cruciandos, magis autem eos, qui post carnem in concupiscentias immundicie ambulant dominacionemque contempnunt,²² audaces sibi placentes sectas non metuant introducere blasphemantes.

Ubi manifestum videtur ex²³ vita fratrum, quam manifestant²⁴ ecclesie,²⁵ quod Petrus specialiter de hiis²⁶ loquitur in hoc loco. Nec moveat, quod vocat eos²⁷ sectas perditionis, quia sic de secta Machometi²⁸ concedimus,²⁹ que vivit hiis sectis penalius tam aquam regulariter³⁰ bibendo et³¹ non vinum sive cerevisiam, quam eciam ritus pannorum³² regularius atque penalius observando.

^b v. 19 ^c II Petr. 2, 9—10

⁹ sequentur CEGαγ secuntur DF ¹⁰ quos E quas CDFGα ¹¹ primo
CEFγ om. Gα ²⁰ D ¹² attentes CDEFαγ accidentes G ¹³ ergo
CEF igitur DGαγ ¹⁴ auderet CDFGαγ audiret E, but in mar. an e E¹
¹⁵ sanctus CDEGαγ sanctus F (compend. om.) ¹⁶ magis CDEGαγ maius F
¹⁷ ecclesie CDGαγ om. EF ¹⁸ illas CDGαγ eas EF ¹⁹ a proposito DGαγ
aproposito (?) CEF ²⁰ pios CDEFGγ pios α, above it iustos (texthand) ²¹ re-
servare CDFGα reservat γ ²² in D in mar. is repeat.: Dominacionemque
contempnunt D¹ ²³ ex DGγ quod EF ex αC, above it quod α¹, resp. C¹(?)
(here again cr. out) ²⁴ manifestant CDGαγ manifestat EF ²⁵ ecclesie CDFGα
ecce γ ecclesia E ²⁶ hiis CDFGαγ eis E ²⁷ eos F, C (ud.), in mar. eas
eas DEGαγ ²⁸ Machometi CDFGαγ Machometica E in G is add. in mar.: Ma-
chomet G¹ ²⁹ concedimus CDFGαγ conceditur E ³⁰ regulariter DEFGγ,
C (here repeat. in m.), α¹ in mar. rariter α³¹ et CDFGα om. γ ³² pannorum
CDFGγ paganorum α; as to this matter ep. Lib. vir. eccl. Carnot in Du Cange V, 62

Ex quo ergo fundamento fidei vel racionis sunt iste secte secte³³ Machometi³⁴ preferende? Paulus autem³⁵ ad Gal. 5^d de hiis sectis loquitur: quoniam, qui talia agunt regnum dei non consequentur;³⁶ cui conformiter Petrus vocat eas sectas perditionis, quia de multis eorum est verisimile,³⁷ quod putant se patrare³⁸ obsequium deo in suo crimine indurati.³⁹

Unde deridenda est hec pape empta confirmacio in hac parte, quia solum in hac parte credenda est racio vel scriptura.

¶ In istis tamen protestor,⁴⁰ quod nolo in hac fide scripture quid- || C fol. 23a
10 quam⁴¹ temere diffinire,⁴² sed sive fratres, sive⁴³ alii sensum alium evidencius fundaverint, humiliiter⁴⁴ eis consenciam, de quanto probabiliter fundaverint illud,⁴⁵ quod dicunt. Sed illucusque⁴⁶ nolo⁴⁷ forciori evidencie,⁴⁸ quam in hac parte habeo, probabiliter consentire.

15 Negant autem hee secte dominum,⁴⁹ qui eos⁵⁰ redemit quoad sufficienciam, licet eos⁵¹ non redimerit⁵² in effectu, quia sectam suam stulte despiciunt et aliam sectam incertam et hypocriticam⁵³ sine causa eligunt; que si habeat colorem probabilem, hic est ille, quod signa sensibilia in hiis clamant. Quod sunt popularibus sancctiores, 20 quod tamen vita eorum manifeste indicat esse falsum, patet, ipsos esse hypocritas et stulte obligare se plus quam Iudeos ultra hoc, quod⁵⁴ sufficiunt supportare. Nam in levi secta cristiana fuerunt⁵⁵ ipsi

^d v. 21

³³ secte *CDGαγ* secta *EF* ³⁴ Machometi *E* machometis *DF* naamet *GCαγ*, in *C* is add. in mar.: mabuiet, below this: macometis (*C³*), in *α* in mar. mabuiet *α¹*, below this: macometis *α²* in *γ* in mar.: mabmet, below this: macometis *γ²* (observe the mutual relation of the correct.) ³⁵ autem *CDGαγ* om. *EF* ³⁶ consequentur *DEFGαγ* consequitur *C* (incorr. wr., one stroke want.) ³⁷ verisimile *CDEFαγ* verificabile *G* ³⁸ patrare *CDEGαγ* prestare *F* ³⁹ indurati *CDEGαγ* obdurati *F* ⁴⁰ in *D* in mar.: Protestacio *D³* ⁴¹ quidquam *CDFGαγ* quidquid *E* ⁴² diffinire *CDEFGαγ* difficultare *γ* ⁴³ sive *CDFGαγ, E²* in mar. om. *E* ⁴⁴ humiliiter *CDFGαγ* humiliiter (cr. out) humiliiter *E* ⁴⁵ illud *CEF* id *DGγ*, *α* (*a corr. word.*) ⁴⁶ illucusque *CDFGαγ* illudusque *E* ⁴⁷ nolo *CDGαγ* om. *EF* ⁴⁸ evidencie *CDFGαγ* evidencia *E* ⁴⁹ dominum *CDGαγ* deum *EF* ⁵⁰ eos *DGFαγ* om. *CE* ⁵¹ eos *CDEGαγ* ipsos *F* ⁵² all codd. read redimerit ⁵³ hypocriticam *CDEGαγ* hypocritam *F* ⁵⁴ quod *CDFGαγ* quim (not clear, cr. out) *E*, add. in mar. quia *E²* ⁵⁵ fuerunt *CDFGαγ* fuerint *E*

divino⁵⁶ servicio, quantum suffecerant,⁵⁷ obligati. Sed in hiis sectis, que illibertant, ad merendum inhabilitant et modis aliis difficultant, non tantum merentur, sicut⁵⁸ merentur in secta libera cristiana. Ideo videtur,⁵⁹ quod⁶⁰ modo ultra quam sufficiunt, se obligant ad merendum. Quis ergo posset excusare eius stulticiam, qui dimittendo 5 sectam plus facilem, plus liberam et⁶¹ evidencius umquam fundabilem, induit novam sectam plus difficilem, plus servilem et infundibilem ac incertam, dum sonuerit in ingratitudinem domino Iesu Cristo? Istam autem artem merendi⁶² apostoli non neverunt.⁶³ Et probabiliter creditur, quod patroni privati in hoc privant se merito 10 et sectas, que in hoc stolide credunt.⁶⁴ Quomodo, rogo,⁶⁵ excusari poterint apud iudicem⁶⁶ veritatis, qui dimittentes ordinacionem⁶⁷ sponsi ecclesie adherent hiis sectis putridis et se ipsos⁶⁸ multipliciter inhabilitant⁶⁹ quoad illam?

Certum est, quod hec est spiritualis fornicacio, blasphematio 15 Cristi reliccio et stulta religionis dyaboli obligacio. Sed nulla talis condicio excusaret. Quis, rogo, magis false negociari potest⁷⁰ de subditis, quam faciunt iste secte, ut incipiendo a papa cum suis cardinalibus, nedum coniecturat, quomodo de provinciis habeat primos fructus,⁷¹ sed quomodo literas posset fingere, per quas inter 20 regna foret discordia confirmata^e et pax pro timore sui commodi perturbata? Sic eciam negociantur cum dominis secularibus⁷² secte

^e W. very probably has in view the papal bulls etc., which were sent to England on account of the impending crusade; they are printed by Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* II, 71 ff., Wilkins, *Cone. III*, 177 ff. & Knighton in Twysden, *X Scr.* 2673

⁵⁶ divino *CFGay* dominio *DE* ⁵⁷ suffecerant *CDFGay* sufficerat *E*
⁵⁸ sicut *CDFGay* quantum *E* ⁵⁹ videtur *CDEFGy* om. *a* ⁶⁰ quod *Gay* om.
CDEF ⁶¹ et *CDFGay* om. *E* ⁶² merendi *CEFGay* om. *D* ⁶³ neverunt *D. C.*,
but in mar.: moverunt (*C³?*) moverunt *E* moverant *F* moverunt, (above the m
an n) *G* neverunt *a*, (above the n an m) *a¹* neverunt *y*, but in mar.: alias mo
verunt *y¹* ⁶⁴ et sectas — credunt *CDFGay* om. *E*, but below the col. is add.:
et s. q. i. h. st. er. *E²* ⁶⁵ rogo *CEFay* ergo *DG* ⁶⁶ iudicem *CDay* iudicium
EF iudicium, but above cium is corr. cem *G* ⁶⁷ ordinacionem *CDGay* ordi
nem *EF* ⁶⁸ ipsos *CDFGay* ipsas *E* ⁶⁹ inhabilitant *DEFGy* inhabilitan
bant *C* inhabitabant *a*, but above it li has been add. ⁷⁰ potest *CDFay* posset
EG ⁷¹ quomodo d. p. h. p. f. *CDEFGa* quomodo h. p. f. de suis subditis (these
3 words are cr. out) de prov. *y* ⁷² secularibus *CDFGay* om. *E*

novorum ordinum possessionatorum,⁷⁸ quomodo seducere ipsos poterint de suo seculari dominio⁷⁹ vel callide ipsum⁸⁰ emere cum⁸¹ pecunia regum, quibus servire debent fideliter. Et tamen in hoc sunt falsarii⁸² dominis terrenis et eciam domino Iesu Christo. Secte⁸³ autem mendicantes⁸⁴ callide negotiantur de subditis, cum mediante⁸⁵ sua fraude subdola volunt vendere limitatoribus patrias pro stricto⁸⁶ precio, sicut quis venderet suo proximo ovem vel bovem. Nec dubium, qui tunc limitator et sui eapitanei negotiabuntur de illis per media nimis⁸⁷ subdola, quomodo illas patrias spoliabunt. Ideo c fol. 23b

10 signanter dicit Petrus,^f quod iudicium, quo deus ipsos⁸⁸ iudicat olim, ante finale iudicium non cessat, sed continue in mente diu⁸⁹ perseverat. Et per idem eorum perdicio⁹⁰ eterna in divino⁹¹ proposito non dormitat.

Dic tu,⁹² si nosti, quis sensus literalior vel pertinencior addi
15 poterit verbis Petri!⁹³

CAP. VI.

Ulterius restat videre, quid¹ Paulus raptus ad² tertium celum loquitur de hiis³ sectis.

Scribit enim I Tim. 4:^a spiritus autem manifeste dicit, quia⁴
in novissimis temporibus discedent quidam⁵ a fide, attendantes spiri-
20 tibus erroris et doctrinis demoniorum in hypocrisi loquencium mendacium et cauteriatam⁶ habencium conscientiam suam, prohiben-

^f II Petr. 2, 3

CAP. VI. ^a v. 1—4

⁷⁸ possessionatorum *CDGαγ om. EF* ⁷⁹ dominio *CDFGαγ* domino *E* ⁸⁰ ipsum *CDFGαγ* Cristum *E* ⁸¹ cum *CDFGαγ* pro *E* ⁸² falsarii *CDEFGα* secularii^γ ⁸³ secte *CDEGαγ* secta *F* ⁸⁴ mendicantes *CDEGαγ* medicantes *F* ⁸⁵ mediante *CEFGαγ* mediate *D* ⁸⁶ pro stricto *CDFGαγ* prostricto (*er. out*) *E*, but in mar. pro secreto *E²* ⁸⁷ subdola *CDEGαγ* subdolo *F* ⁸⁸ ipsos *CDFGαγ* eos *E* ⁸⁹ diu *DEFGαγ* dium *C* ⁹⁰ perdicio *CDEFGα* condicio *γ* ⁹¹ divino *CDFGα* dominio *γ* domino *E* ⁹² tu *CDEFGα om. γ* ⁹³ petri *EFGαγ* petri etc. *CD*

CAP. VI. ¹ quid *CDEGαγ* quod *F* ² ad *CDEFGα* usque ad *γ* ³ hiis *CDFGαγ* istis *E* ⁴ quia *CDEGα* quod *Fγ* ⁵ quidam *CDFGα* quidem *Eγ* ⁶ cauteriatam (*clearly so*) *CDαγ* caueriacam (?) *EF om. G*

cium⁷ nubere, abstinere a cibis, quos deus creavit ad percipiendum cum graciarum accione fidelibus et hiis, qui cognoverunt veritatem, quia omnis creatura dei bona est et nichil reiciendum est, quod cum graciarum⁸ accione percipitur.

Ubi patet, quod Paulus fuit certus de sermone illo⁹ propheticō, dum sic dicit: spiritus manifeste dicit, ubi secundum glosam catholicam per spiritum per se dictum spiritum sanctum intelligit. Sic¹⁰ enim ductus est¹¹ Iesus a spiritu Matth. 4^b, ubi oportet spiritum sanctum intelligere, qui authonomatice¹² est spiritus super omnes.

Et videtur ex textu et opere, quod Paulus intelligit per discedentes a fide personas, que per has sectas frivolas sunt seducte. Credunt¹³ enim infideliter,¹⁴ quod hee¹⁵ novelle excedunt in perfeccione omnem antiquam religionem domini Iesu¹⁶ Cristi,^c quod est indubie contra fidem, cum oportet ex fide concedere, quod Cristus scivit et voluit¹⁷ meliorem religionem¹⁸ statuere, quam omnes hii privati¹⁹ patroni vel secte eos postmodum¹⁹ consequentes.

Unde cum fides²⁰ sit, quod apostoli sunt sancti²¹ in celo et non sic de aliquo huius secte, manifestum est, quod religio, quam Cristus instituit, excedit singulas istas²² sectas.^d Nam fides scripture dicit Ioh. 17^e, quomodo Cristus loquitur de suis apostolis: quos²⁰ dedisti michi, ego custodivi et nemo ex eis²³ periret nisi filius perditionis. Ubi planum est Cristum asserere nullum²⁴ illorum apostolorum duodecim dampnatum preter Scarioth. Ex quo cum veris²⁵ sequitur, quod eorum quilibet suo tempore sit beatus.²⁶

^b v. 1 ^c cp. below *De Perfeccione Stat. capp. I, III & VI Trial. 367* ^d cp. *Trial. 354 and 362 ff.* ^e v. 12

⁷ mendacium et c. h. c. s. prohib. *CDEαγ* mendacium prohibencium *G* (*observe that once already, cap. IV not. 8, G has omitted to solve the difficult abbreviation*) mend. et c. h. c. suam *F* (prohib. *om.*) ⁸ graciarum *CDFGαγ* grarum *E* (*compend. om.*) ⁹ illo *CDEF* isto *Gαγ* ¹⁰ sic *CDGαγ* sieut *EF* ¹¹ est *CEFGαγ* *om.* *D* ¹² authonomatice *CDEFG* automaticae *αγ* ¹³ credunt *CEFGαγ* creditur *D* ¹⁴ infideliter *CDGαγ* in fide *EF* ¹⁵ hee *CDAγ* hee secte *EFG* ¹⁶ Iesu *CEFGαγ* nostri Ie. *D* ¹⁷ voluit *CDEFγ* noluit *Gα* ¹⁸ religionem *CDFGαγ* *om.* *E* ¹⁹ postmodum *CDFGαγ* postmodo *E* ²⁰ in *D* is add. in mar.: Fides *D³* ²¹ sancti *CDEFGα* *om.* *γ* ²² istas *CDGαγ* illas *EF* ²³ eis *CEFGαγ* hiis *D* ²⁴ nullum *CEFGαγ* ullerum *D* ²⁵ veris *CDEFGαγ* verus *C³* in mar. ²⁶ beatus *CDEFGγ* *om.* *α*

Sed non est racio tam fortis ex fide per canonizacionem papalem vel bullas novellas, quod eorum²⁷ aliquis est beatus, cum papa posset in canonizacionibus istis et bullis errare. Non enim²⁸ est fides catholica, quod hii privati patroni et quicunque fratres in isto bello papali^f sunt mortui, propterea sunt beati. Sicut igitur hii fratres et sui seducti hic discedunt a fide, sic in multis aliis erroribus, quos inducunt, ut patet de literis fraternitatum^g et de regulari salvacione²⁹ hominum et dominarum,³⁰ que³¹ in suo habitu moriuntur,^{32h} nec est in facultate nostra recitare nunc omnes hereses, 10 quas hee secte in populo dogmatizant.

Videtur ulterius, quod apostolus vocat eos spiritus erroris³³ atque demonia, quia constat ex fide scripture, quod homines secundum animam et specialiter fingentes || se vivere spiritualiter, vere || C fol. 21^a sunt spiritus iuxta illud Luc. 9ⁱ: nescitis, cuius spiritus estis?³⁴ Sed 15 sunt spiritus erroris propter nova dogmata, que seminant contra fidem catholicam. Et per idem intelliguntur³⁵ magis perversi eorum demonia.³⁶ Demon enim interpretatur sufficiens iniquitas eorum, et probabiliter convincitur, quod Paulus non intelligit demones in inferno, quia illi demones³⁷ non sic docent nec sic ypocrite, cau-

^f viz. the crusade into Flanders led by Bishop Spenser of Norwich (Summer 1383) ^g cp. Trial 349 ff., 367 ff.; Matthew, E. W. h. u. 489 ff.; also De Perfec. Stat. cap. II ^h W. very frequently refers to this superstition of the time which was purposely fostered by the Mendicants, cp. Purgatorium Secte Cristi (cod. Ashburnham fol. 51^b): *Et tantum vim virtutis ponunt in suis habitibus, quod sperant, si persona aliqua, vir vel femina, moriatur in ipsis, non dampnabitur ad infernum;* also Exposition of Matth. 23 cap. III (cod. Ashb. fol. 72^a): *Unde multe sunt hereses in tali malaria introducte, ut quod sint habitus fratrum tam sancti et virtuosi, quod nullus mortuus in istis habitibus dampnabitur ad infernum;* also Matthew, E. W. h. u. 316 ⁱ v. 55

²⁷ eorum CDEGαγ̄ om. F ²⁸ enim CDFGαγ̄, E² in mar. om. E ²⁹ salvacione E salutacione CDGαγ̄ sanetitate F ³⁰ dominarum CDEGαγ̄, F¹ in mar. dominarum F ³¹ que in γ corr. from quo by the texthand ³² moriuntur DEF, α (but in mar.: moluntur α¹), C (but in mar.: moluntur), γ (but in mar.: alias involvuntur γ¹) moluntur G, but in mar.: moriuntur (texthand) ³³ in D is add. in mar.: Spiritus erroris D¹ ³⁴ estis CDEGαγ̄ est F ³⁵ intelliguntur DEFGαγ̄ intelligent C ³⁶ in C is add. in mar.: Interpretatio demonis C³ in D in mar.: Demonia D¹ ³⁷ demones CDEFGγ, α¹ in mar. homines α

teriatam³⁸ habentes conscienciam, loquentes mendacium³⁹ et cibaria ac nupcias pro⁴⁰ sanctitatis apparenzia⁴¹ prohibentes.

Cum ergo fratres sic faciunt per ypocrisim mendacia⁴² semi-
nantes, probabile est, quod apostolus hic loquitur de illis malis
spiritibus,⁴³ qui eciam sunt demonia meridiana,^k ut post loquitur, 5
cum sint⁴⁴ tam patenter intrantes cubicula dominarum et tam fron-
tose sine verecundia sua mendacia defendantes.

Quantum ad alia verba apostoli, que secuntur, planum est,
quod practizantur⁴⁵ a fratribus. Habent enim conscienciam suam⁴⁶
arsam fervore cupidinis, cum aliter non putarent se patrare⁴⁷ obse- 10
quiū deo tam anxie pro temporalibus laborando. Et cum multi
istarum sectarum habent de secta sua feminas ad ordinem suum
noviter introductas, planum est, quod prohibent nubere^l, nimis leviter
accipientes verbum apostoli I Cor. 7:^{48m} melius est⁴⁹ nubere,
quam uri. Quodsi deturpant has feminas, tunc est evidencius, 15
quod apostolus de illis⁵⁰ loquitur in hoc loco.

Et quantum ad ciborum abstinenciam, est evidens, quod hee
secte eciam supra apostolos a cibis abstinent. Sed unde hoc, nisi
propter⁵¹ ypocrisim, ut⁵² sint dapiferis onerosi? Si enim fuit in illis
licitum aut meritorium, antequam a papa dispensacionem in tali- 20
bus impetrarunt, per idem hodie est illa abstinencia eque meritoria,⁵³
cum nunc tantum peccatis carnalibus inclinantur. Cum igitur⁵⁴

^k See similar remark *Suppl. Trial.* 437; cp. with ref. to the term
demon. merid. Ps. 91, 6 ^l cp. the same idea *De Offic. pastor.*
ed. Lechler 46: Quomodo ergo versi sunt etc. Coniugium secundum
Christi legem eis licitum odiunt ut venenum, also Arnold, *S. E. W.* I,
59, 364; III, 190 and Matthew, *E. W.* h. u. 100 ^m v. 9

³⁸ cauteriatam *CDay* cautriacam *EF* cauteriacam *G* ³⁹ mendacium
CDEFGaa mendacia *γ* ⁴⁰ pro *CGay* per *DEF* ⁴¹ apparenzia *CDFGay*
apprenzia *E* ⁴² mendacia *CDEGay* mendacium *F* ⁴³ hic loq. d. i. m. s. *CF*
loq. h. d. i. m. s. *DEGy* loq. h. d. m. i. s. *a* ⁴⁴ sint *CDEFGy* sunt *a* ⁴⁵ prac-
tizantur *CDEFGaa* practisatur *γ* ⁴⁶ suam *CDFGay*, *E²* in mar. om. *E*
⁴⁷ patrare *CEFay* prestare *DG* ⁴⁸ *70* *CEay* ⁵⁰ *DF* om. *G* ⁴⁹ est *CDFGay*,
E² in mar. om. *E* ⁵⁰ illis *CDGay* hiis *EF* ⁵¹ propter *CDGay* per *EF*
⁵² ut *CEFy* et ut *DGaa* ⁵³ per id. h. e. i. a. e. mer. *CDGay* per id. i. a.
e. h. e. m. *EF* ⁵⁴ igitur *CDGay* ergo *EF*

ewangelium Luc. 10ⁿ et Matth. [10]^{55o} mandat⁵⁶ apostolis,⁵⁷ quod sint edentes et bibentes, que sunt apud suos hospites et ewangelium apostoli^p probat⁵⁸ idem, que sunt iste secte, que tradunt pro⁵⁹ regula tam patenter contra ewangelicam paupertatem?

5 Cum ergo⁶⁰ tempus et factum tantum conveniant istis verbis apostoli atque sectis, quis negaret, quin apostolus de illis⁶¹ loquitur specialiter in isto⁶² loco? Aliter enim simularet spiritus sanctus in apostolo loqui de personis peccantibus, quorum noticia, ut fugiatur peccatum, ecclesie⁶³ plus prodisset. Hoc enim est verbum coloratius quam fingere, quod apostolus intelligit istas sectas specialiter, quando cristianos fratres commemorat. Omnes enim cristiani sunt fratres in domino, et istud nomen est ab istis sectis propter ypocrism usurpatum. Aliter enim per talem imposicionem sophisticam forent secte huiusmodi nimis large. Si autem apostolus intelligit eos per hec 10 verba communia,⁶⁴ hoc⁶⁵ est, de quanto sunt fideles filii Iesu Cristi, vel de quanto false exhorbitant a regula cristiana. Nam⁶⁶ II Cor. 11^{67q} apostolus memorando octo pericula, dicit ut maximum in fine, periculum⁶⁸ in falsis fratribus. Nec inveniri potest nomen harum sectarum fratrum⁶⁹ alibi in fide scripture planius expressatum.

20 Sed circa tales lites verbales fidelis theologus non contendit nisi⁷⁰ forte occasione accepta a discolis.⁷¹

ⁿ v. 7 ^o v. 10 ^p cp. II Thess. 3, 8 ff.; apostolus, when unspecified, is generally used by W. to designate Paul ^q v. 26: In itineribus saepe, periculis fluminum, periculis latronum, periculis ex genere, periculis ex gentibus, periculis in civitate, periculis in solitudine, periculis in mari, periculis in falsis fratribus

⁵⁵ 17^o DEF,G³ a.R. 20 Cαγ,G, but above it 17 is corr. ⁵⁶ mandat DEFGαγ quod sint (cr. out & ud.) mandat C ⁵⁷ apostolis CDGγ apostolos EFα ⁵⁸ probat in E is corr. ⁵⁹ pro CDFGαγ, E² in mar. per (cr. out & ud.) E ⁶⁰ ergo CEEFGγ om. α ⁶¹ illis CDEGαγ, F¹ in mar. om. F ⁶² isto CEF hoc DGαγ ⁶³ ecclesie CDFGαγ ecclesia E ⁶⁴ communia CDEF Gα om. γ ⁶⁵ hoc CDFGαγ hec E ⁶⁶ nam CDGαγ ut EF ⁶⁷ 11^o CDEGαγ 2^o F ⁶⁸ per. CDFGαγ ut per. E ⁶⁹ fratrum CDEF Gα factum γ ⁷⁰ nisi CEFα nec DGγ ⁷¹ for. occ. acc. a disc. CDEGα in F at first om., but afterwards filled into the blank space by the texthand for. occ. sua (sua cr. out & ud.) acc. a disc. γ ⁷² discolis CEF Gα discolis etc. D

CAP. VII.

Ulterius cum hic sanctus¹ apostolus tantum² spiritu splendebat propheticō, videtur pro instruccióne ecclēsie verbum eius aliud³ recitandum.

Nam II Tim. 3^{4a} sic loquitur: hoc autem scito, quod⁵ in no-
 || C fol. 24b vissimis diebus instabunt tempora periculosa, et erunt homines se 5
 ipsos amantes, cupidi, elati, superbi, blasphemī,⁶ parentibus non
 obedientes, ingrati, scelesti, sine affeccione, sine pace, criminatores,
 incontinentes, immites, sine benignitate, proditores, protervi, tumidi,
 ceci,⁷ voluptatum amatores magis quam dei, habentes quidem spe-
 ciem⁸ pietatis, veritatem⁹ autem eius abnegantes; et hos devita. 10
 Ex hiis enim sunt, qui penetrant domos viduarum¹⁰ et captivas
 ducunt mulierculas oneratas peccatis, que ducuntur variis desideriis,
 semper discentes et numquam ad scienciam veritatis pervenientes.
 Quemadmodum autem Iannes¹¹ et Iambres¹² restiterunt¹³ Mosi, ita
 et hii resistunt veritati, homines corrupti, mente reprobi circa 15
 fidem. Sed ultra non proficient; insipientia enim illorum manifesta
 erit¹⁴ omnibus, sicut et illorum fuit.

Iste autem infamis binarius^b conventuum potest istis sectis se-
 cundum partem suam reprobam applicari. Cum enim tempus¹⁵ sit
 creatura dei bona, non ex se scelestā, credi debet, quod scelesti, 20
 perturbantes pacem per sua crimina, faciunt tempora periculosa.

Iudicet populus, si hii fratres contra caritatem sunt se ipsos

CAP. VII. ^a v. 1—9 ^b W., in order to treat of the preceding
 passage fully, divides it into two parts, a) se ipsos amantes — im-
 mites, b) sine benignitate — conclusion, cp. cap. VII conclus. p. 41

CAP. VII. ¹ sanctus CDGαγ̄ om. EF ² tantum CDGαγ̄ tamquam EF
³ aliud CDFGγ̄ ad Eu ⁴ 3^o DGαγ̄ 1^o CEF ⁵ quod CDGαγ̄ om. EF
⁶ blasphemī CDEFGαγ̄ om. γ̄ ⁷ tum. ce. CDGαγ̄ invidi EF ⁸ speciem
 CDEGαγ̄ - spem F (compend. om.) ha. qu. spe. CDGαγ̄ ha. spe. qu. EF
⁹ veritatem CDGαγ̄ virtutem EF ¹⁰ viduarum CDGαγ̄ om. EF ¹¹ iannes F,
 repeated in mar. yannes DEGαγ̄ yanines C ¹² mambres CDEFαγ̄ manbres G
¹³ restiterunt CEFGαγ̄ restituerunt Dγ̄ ¹⁴ insipientia e. i. m. e. CDFGαγ̄ in-
 spia e. i. m. e. E² in mar. om. E ¹⁵ tempus CDFGαγ̄ talis E

amantes. Cum enim caritas secundum apostolum I Cor. 13:^c non querit, que sua sunt, et hii querunt sue monstruose persone tam contra utilitatem publicam bona mundi, videtur, quod¹⁶ ad modum loquendi apostoli fratres isti¹⁷ sunt se ipsos amantes.

⁵ Et patet ex sua laboriosa sollicitudine, quantum¹⁸ sunt cupidi. Nam ad spoliandum pauperes regnorum de temporalibus et personis laborant sollicite, domos altas et sumptuosas ad seducendum populum¹⁹ construendo.

Et cum tam false magnificant suos ordines, quod excedunt in spirituali suffragio apostolos Iesu Cristi, patet, quod nimium sunt²⁰ elati.

Et cum ultra Petrum et alios sanctos apostolos²¹ deditigantur corripi quantumlibet²² sunt²³ scelesti, patet, quod analogice²⁴ sunt superbi.

¹⁵ Et cum sectas suas tantum magnificant²⁵ supra Cristum, patet quod sunt blasphemi. Cristus enim noluit²⁶ habere nisi duodecim apostolos, sed isti audent multos conventus colligere sub uno patrono vel capitaneo notabili peccatore. Quis, rogo, foret, blasphemus si non ille, qui excedit Cristum et non iustificat suum excessum? Nec potest fundari, quod in hoc sit imitator congruus domini Iesu Cristi.

Quomodo autem potest fingi, quod fratres furati de parentela paupere, qui debent²⁷ illos parentes²⁸ corporaliter sustentare, parentibus illis obediunt, aut quomodo fratres abundantes furata²⁹ pecunia quantumcunque viderint cristianos egenos, illis de bonis suis super-²⁵ fluis³⁰ ministrabunt?³¹ Ex hoc autem convinci potest, si suis fratri-

^c v. 5

¹⁶ quod *CDFGαγ* quem *E* ¹⁷ isti *CDEFGα om. γ* ¹⁸ quantum *CDGαγ* quam *EF* ¹⁹ populum *CEFγ* populos *DGα* ²⁰ sunt *CDFGαγ* sint *E* (*compend. om.*) ²¹ apostolos *CDFGαγ* om. *E* ²² quantumlibet *CDGα* quamvis *E*, *F*¹ in *mar.* quamlicet *F* quamlibet *γ* ²³ sunt *CDFGαγ* sint *E* ²⁴ analogice *FG* analogice *autonomatice E, C, but in mar. is add. to auton. by C³* analogice *authonomice Day* ²⁵ magn. *CDEGαγ* modo magn. *F* ²⁶ noluit *E* voluit *CFGαγ* ²⁷ debent *CFGαγ* dicunt *E* ²⁸ parentes *CDEGαγ* pauperes *F* ²⁹ furata *CFGα* furiata *E* servata *γ* ³⁰ superfl. *CFGαγ* om. *E* ³¹ ministrabunt *CFαγ* monstrabunt *DEG*

bus sint³² ingrati et si^o spoliant fraudulenter egenos ad faciendum sibi castella caimitica^{33d} vel laqueos ad dei filios secundendos.

Quis dubitat, quin tunc in opere sint scelesti? Que, rogo, affecio, si non demoniaca, est in hiis fratribus, qui habent pecuniam superfluam thesaurizatam in corbanam³⁴ et tamen, quantumcunque 5 fratres proprie secte eguerint,³⁵ de illo thezauro dyaboli³⁶ sibi in C fol. 25^a parte minima³⁷ || non ministrant?

Aut quomodo foret ille frater pacificus, qui nedum bella procurat, sed ad bella iniusta in persona sua aggreditur et fratres professionis eiusdem propter hoc, quod detegunt scelera sui ordinis, 10 incarcerauit et³⁸ occidit?^e

Aut quomodo possunt hee secte excusari de criminacione,³⁹ si fidelibus aliis imponunt heresim, ac si forent meridiana demonia^f et latrones nocturni dicentes in nocte sui criminis fideli populo, quod stet latro?

Taceo autem de corporali incontinencia, cum sit⁴⁰ nota populo. Sed grave videtur fidelibus, quod hee secte per verba adulterina spiritualiter sint cum verbis domini fornicantes. Non, inquit apostolus, sumus sicut plurimi adulterantes verbum domini,⁴¹ sed ex sin-

^a An expression peculiar to W. for the convents of the Mendicants.

In the Trial. 362 W. shows that in the word Cain (Caim) the names of the 4 orders are contained in acrostics: *Alii autem fingunt, quod in Caym fuerunt istae sectae quattuor inchoatae. Et in testimonium istorum, quattuor litterae huius nominis Caim inchoant hos quattuor ordines, secundum ordinem temporis, quo finguntur a fratribus incepisse, ita quod C. Carmelitas, A. Augustinenses, I. Iacobitas et M. Minores significat; cp. Suppl. Trial. 444.* In his english writings the term Caynes castels is very often employed to designate the convents of the Friars, cp. Matthew, E. W. h. u. 129; 211; 420; 425; 448; 449; 478; 508

^e Apparently dictated to W. by his own experience (crusade — persecution of the itinerant preachers) ^f cp. cap. VI not. k

³² sint CDFGαγ̄ sunt E ³³ caymitica CDEGα caimitica γ̄ caynica F in D is add. in mar.: Caymitica D³ ³⁴ corbanam CDEαγ̄ corbana F ³⁵ eguerint CDEFGα -eguerunt γ̄ ³⁶ dyaboli CDEFGα om. γ̄ ³⁷ min. CDEF vel min. Gαγ̄ in C fol. 24^b in the lower right corner non ministrant aut quomodo is add. as a catchword by the texthand ³⁸ et CDEFGα vel γ̄ ³⁹ criminacione CDEFGγ̄ criminacionibus α ⁴⁰ sit CDFGαγ̄, E² in mar. om. E ⁴¹ domini CEF dei Dαγ̄ in D is add. in mar.: Adulterantes verbum domini D¹

ceritate, sed sicut⁴² ex deo, coram deo in⁴³ Cristo loquimur, II Cor. 2.⁹ Numquid credimus, quod fratres statim mendicantes post predicationem⁴⁴ ex sinceritate caritatis predicanter verbum dei? Numquid credimus, quod ipsi regulariter ex deo locuntur, qui intendunt apocrifis poematibus, fabulis vel⁴⁵ mendaciis auditorio suo placentibus? Illi, inquam, sicut⁴⁶ non locuntur ex deo, sed patre mendacii, ita non locuntur coram deo intencione recta, sed coram auditorio, quod volunt pervertere. Nec locuntur in Cristo ad edificationem ecclesie sue, sed in anticristo volendo membra sua si-
nistre extendere et ecclesiam Christi secundum impossibilem evolutionem constringere. Et ista spiritualis adulteratio foret in fratribus maxime⁴⁷ detestanda, et quia secundum Petri sermonem propheticum istarum sectarum perdidio non dormitat,⁴⁸ sed sunt superducentes sibi celerem⁴⁹ perditionem, ut dicitur II Pet. 2^h, preter istam duodenam⁵⁰ⁱ et suum priorem tertium decimum adducunt sibi⁵¹ quartum decimum immitem⁵² ab⁵³ apostolo nominatum.

Sunt enim immites primarie⁵⁴ sibi ipsis, quia non curant labore anxiò tam corpus quam animam perdere de se ipsis, sed aspectu toxico venenant Christi ecclesiam et eciam fratres proprios sue secte.⁵⁵

CAP. VIII.

20 Describit autem Paulus¹ unum aliud infame^a capitulum ex hiis sectis. — Primo, quod tales sunt sine bono igne caritatis, cum

^g v. 17 ^h v. 1; 3 ⁱ cp. the 'binarius' cap. VII p. 38 l. 18;
also cap. III not. b

CAP. VIII. ^a cp. above cap. VII p. 38 l. 18

⁴² sed sicut EF sicut *CDGαγ* ⁴³ in *CDFGαγ*, *E*² in mar. et (er. out & ud.) *E* ⁴⁴ predicacionem *CDFGαγ* mendicacionem *E* ⁴⁵ vel *CDGαν* et *E* in *F* ⁴⁶ sicut *CDGγ* om. *EF* sic α ⁴⁷ maxime *DGαγ* maxima *CEF* ⁴⁸ dormitat *DEFGαγ* doritat *C* (compend. om.) ⁴⁹ celerem *CDEGαγ* scelerem *F* cp. above cap. V not. 8 ⁵⁰ duodenam *CDEGαγ* duodenam *F*, but in mar. devia *F'* ⁵¹ sibi *CDEFGα* sibi sibi γ ⁵² immitem *CDEGαγ* invicem *F* ⁵³ ab *CDFGαγ* om. *E* ⁵⁴ primarie *CDGαγ* om. *EF* ⁵⁵ secte *CEGαγ* secte etc. *D* secte sequitur cap. bonum et cetera *F*

CAP. VIII. ¹ paulus *CEF* apostolus *DGαγ*

ad invidiam multos provocant² et ex sua radice cupidinis multorum caritatem ebat et extingwunt. Nam inequa distribucio temporaliū, qua populus a statu innocencie elongatur, extingwit amorem fraternalū et accedit ignem invidie, quod fit communiter in hiis sectis.

5

Sunt eciam³ tales sekte proditores dei et⁴ hominum, cum superinducunt⁵ supra⁶ Cristi ecclesiam novitates infundabiles, per quas multi, qui debent esse de Cristi ecclesia, sunt dampnati. Et per idem,⁷ cum non sunt legii homines regum terre et tantum spoliant pauperes regni sui, proditores hominum possunt dici, cum fingunt¹⁰ tam false se esse amicos regnorum, que incolunt, et tam subdole hostes spirituales ad destruccionem regnorum inducunt. Alienant enim sine regum⁸ licencia multa bona⁹ regnorum, ut patet de una secta,^b que¹⁰ omnia temporalia, quorum usum participat ut in domibus et¹¹ libris et abscondita pecunia cum¹² largis vescibilibus, ut¹⁵ refert carendo de ipsis¹³ dominio, sine regis licencia contulit anti-cristo. Quomodo ergo talis secta non proditor dei et hominum debet dici?

Personae autem huius secundi conventus^c tertio sunt proterve, cum¹⁴ ex cautela dyaboli sciunt cum generali sui ordinis vel aliis²⁰

^b viz. the Franciscans who having nominally given their possessions to the Church declared themselves as without property; in contradistinction to these, the Dominicans interpreted their vow of poverty as demanding poverty of the individual, but not of the community. The order as such, therefore, remained in possession of its temporal property. After a dispute before Pope John XXII who decided in favour of the Dominican view, the Franciscans, since the Council of Kostnitz, divided into the Brotherhood of the Stricter Observance (Osservants) and the Conventuals; the latter claimed to enjoy only the usufruct of their goods, while the property in them still remained with the donors. ^c cp. above cap. VII p. 38 l. 18

² in D is add. below the col.: Sine bono igne caritatis, cum ad invidiam multos provocant D¹ ³ eciam CDEFG γ enim α ⁴ et CDFG $\alpha\gamma$, E (text-hand) in mar. om. E ⁵ superinducunt CDEFG γ inducunt α ⁶ supra CDEFG γ super α ⁷ per idem CDEFG α , γ (texthand) in mar. per consequens (cr. out & ud.) γ ⁸ regum CDEFG α legum γ ⁹ bona CDEG $\alpha\gamma$ regnum (cr. out) bona F ¹⁰ que CDFG $\alpha\gamma$ in que E ¹¹ et CEF in DG om. $\alpha\gamma$ ¹² cum CDEF $\alpha\gamma$ et G ¹³ ipsius CDG $\alpha\gamma$ ipsis EF ¹⁴ cum CDG $\alpha\gamma$ tum EF

personis mediis taliter convenire,¹⁵ quod quemcunque¹⁶ priorem vel || *c. fol. 25b*
 quantumcunque¹⁷ potentem in seculo tam in statu scolastico quam¹⁸
 dignitate ordinis subdole volunt prostertere et tamen¹⁹ iustificando
 hoc facinus volunt cum quoecunque intrinseco²⁰ aut extrinseco²¹ pro-
 5 tertire.

Et necesse est, quod talis secta in personis tumentibus super-
 bia invalescat, cum una persona extrudat²² reliquam, quod tumen-
 tem superbiam satis signat.

Et^d quod tales sint voluptatum amatores magis quam²³ dei,²⁴
 10 ex hoc evidet, quod alienando se a suis conventibus preeligunt sibi
 dominos vel episcopos,²⁵ dapiferos et²⁶ potentes, et non lugent pe-
 cata populi in deserto singulariter cum baptista. Et ex hoc mani-
 feste ostenditur, quod voluptuosam vitam diligunt²⁷ plus²⁸ quam
 deum, cum Matth. 5^e dicitur: beati, qui lugent, quoniam ipsi conso-
 15 labuntur. Ipsi²⁹ autem secundum nimis magnam partem affectant
 solacium temporale sic, quod communiter dolent atque remurmurant,
 quod tam desolabiliter et penaliter educantur. Stulticia enim, in³⁰
 quam primo³¹ inciderant cum suo murmure, excludit in eis volun-
 tariam et meritoriam paupertatem.

20 Et cum tales sint³² in maiori parte ypocrite, patet, quod habent
 speciem pietatis,³³ sed veritatem pietatis³⁴ tam quoad deum quam
 quoad hominem facto negant. Si enim luceret in eis ista pietas, tunc

^d Here the proof of the cecitas of the Sects is wanting, cp. above
 cap. VII. p. 38 l. 9 ^e v. 4

¹⁵ convenire CDEFGαγ conveneris γ ¹⁶ quemcunque CDαγ quicunque
 EFG ¹⁷ quantumcunque CDFGαγ quemcunque E ¹⁸ in E to the full quam
 of the text another quam in abbrev. is add. in mar. ¹⁹ tamen γ,C, above it in
 text cum cum DEFGαγ ²⁰ intrinseco αγ,C, above the o in text an e intrinsece
 DEFГ ²¹ extrinseco αγ,C, above the o in text an e extrinsece DEFГ ²² ex-
 trudat CDαγ excedat EFG ²³ quam cp. above not. 18; this I do not note
 again ²⁴ magis quam dei DEFGαγ, C (texthand?) in mar. om. C ²⁵ dom.
 v. ep. CDFGαγ ep. v. dom. E ²⁶ et CDEFGαγ vel (cr. out & ud.) γ, above
 it et ²⁷ dil. CDEGαγ ducunt (cr. out & ud.) dil. F ²⁸ plus α,C, add. in
 mar. magis plus magis EFG magis Dα ²⁹ dicit. be. q. l. q. i. consolabuntur i.
 CDFGαγ dic. solabuntur i. E ³⁰ in CDFαγ prima in EG ³¹ primo CDFGαγ
 om. E ³² in C corr. word ³³ in D is add. in mar.: Speciem pietatis habent D^t
³⁴ sed veritatem (virtutem?) pietatis CDFGαγ, E² in mar. om. E

forent de Cristi regula sine adulterinis pietaciis contentati,³⁵ et si haberent pietatem debitam³⁶ ad sanctam matrem ecclesiam, non ipsam cum talibus adulterinis ordinibus onerarent, sed excuentes a se tales infundabiles novitates non forent sic pauperibus³⁷ onerosi, sed edificarent ecclesiam secundum formam, quam Cristus instituit. 5

Illos autem mandat apostolus tamquam hereticos evitare,³⁸ quia consensus³⁹ et defensio eorum in ficta⁴⁰ elemosina⁴¹ facit talia⁴² spuria vitulamina⁴³ in eccllesia culpabiliter germinare.

Ex hiis autem sectis sunt, qui penetrant⁴⁴ domos viduarum⁴⁵ propter subtilitatem sue ypocrisis, non solum ad fortiter⁴⁶ manducandum aut subtiliter mendicandum, sed ad feminas eciam nobiles deturpandum. Nec sera vel repagulum obstat⁴⁷ illis. Ducunt autem captivas mulierculas, ut dicitur, in forma vel fratum habitu tamquam fratres. Et sic licet videantur fratres⁴⁸ in habitu et⁴⁹ tonsura, sunt tamen per talem societatem fraternam peccatis⁵⁰ multiplicibus onerate.⁵¹ Tales autem muliercule non sunt stabiles in virtute,⁵² sed ducuntur variis desideriis mundialium novitatum et carnalium voluptatum.

Tales autem fratres sunt semper discentes, cum student diuiciis⁵³ et attencius novitates sui⁵⁴ ordinis quam mandata decalogi; 20 plus laborant circa⁵⁵ calliditates, quomodo seculares⁵⁶ seducant,⁵⁷ quam quomodo secundum legem dei plebem edificant.

Et sic tamquam obstinati numquam sunt ad scienciam veritatis

³⁵ content. *CDFGαγ* precaciis cont. *E* ³⁶ debitam *CDEFαγ* om. *G* ³⁷ s. p. *CEFγ* p. s. *DGα* ³⁸ evitare *CE* devitare *DFGαγ* in *E* the words after apostolus are nearly illegible; I think there is an erasure at this place which has been of purpose smeared over ³⁹ consensus *CDGαγ* sensus *EF* ⁴⁰ ficta *CDFGαγ* fecta *E* ⁴¹ elemosina *CDEFGα* eelemosina (the first e cr. out) *γ* ⁴² fac. tal. *CDEFGα* om. *γ* ⁴³ vitulamina *CDFGαγ* vitulania *E* ⁴⁴ penet. *CDEFGα* fortiter pen. *γ* ⁴⁵ viduarum *Cγ* om. *DEFGα* ⁴⁶ fortiter *EF,Gα*, but in mar. fertiliter fertiliter *Dγ,C*, but in mar. fortiter ⁴⁷ in *C* corr. word ⁴⁸ fr. *CDEF-* tamquam fr. *Gαγ* ⁴⁹ et *CDEFGα* vel *γ* ⁵⁰ peccatis *CDEFGα* om. *γ* ⁵¹ onerate *CDFGαγ* onerati *E* ⁵² virtute *CDEFGα* fide (cr. out & ud.) virt. *γ* ⁵³ diuciis *CDEFGγ* om. *α* ⁵⁴ sui *CDGαγ* om. *E* ⁵⁵ dec. pl. lab. cir. *CDFGαγ,E²* with mark of ref. above the col. om. *E* ⁵⁶ seculares *CDGαγ* scolares *EF* ⁵⁷ seducant *CDGαγ* seducerent *EF*

pervenientes, sed continue sunt⁵⁸ discoli, sicut primo. Cristus enim infra triennium instruxit plene suos discipulos ad edificandam⁵⁹ suam ecclesiam per se ipsos, sed nulla persona istorum privatorum ordinum per multas vitas sufficit exire istos⁶⁰ ordines, sicut apostoli 5 comitivam domini omiserunt.⁶¹ Si autem exeant ordinem vel conventum, hoc non est ad edificandum ecclesiam in forma Christi, sed⁶² ut sint mundo divites vel seculo insolentes, | et sicut Iannes⁶³ et Iambres Mosi restiterant,⁶⁴ ut patet Exod. 7^f et 8^g sic isti discoli resistunt scole domini Iesu Christi. Fingunt enim se scire ostendere 10 falsitatem scripture sacre, sed⁶⁵ glosas plus veridicas fabricare.

Isti autem sunt homines corrupti mente,⁶⁶ cum nesciunt meminissem verborum domini Iesu,^h quod⁶⁷ beacius est⁶⁸ magis dare quam accipere.

Et ex hoc sunt reprobi circa fidem, quia imponunt Christo men-15 daciter et blasphemate, quod ipse instituit suas sectas taliter mendicando. Sed tamquam Iacob maledicens Ruben filio suo, qui cubile patris sui⁶⁹ ascenderat:⁷⁰ non, inquit, crescas, Gen. penultimo,ⁱ ita apostolus valefacit taliter istorum sectis:⁷¹ ultra, inquit, non proficient, insipienza enim illorum⁷² manifesta erit omnibus, sicut insipienza 20 istarum duarum personarum^k fuit nota, que sic infamiter restiterant⁷³ veritati.

Cum autem⁷⁴ veritas⁷⁵ vite⁷⁶ istorum sectarum edocet, quod

^f v. 11; 22 ^g v. 7 ^h Act. 20, 35 ⁱ v. 4 ^k Jannes and
Iambres, Exod. 7, 11

⁵⁸ sunt *CDGαγ om. EF* ⁵⁹ edificandam *CDEF* edificandum *Gαγ* ⁶⁰ istos *CDGαγ* illos *EF* ⁶¹ omiserunt *CGα* obmiserunt *EF* ommisserunt *Dγ* ⁶² sed *CEFGαγ*, *D* (*texthand*) in mar. vel (*cr. out & ud.*) *D* ⁶³ yannes *DEFGγ* yanines *C* yammes *a*, *cp. above cap. VII not. 11* ⁶⁴ restiterant *CDαγ* ut restiterant *E* ut restruxerant (*restr. cr. out*) *F* restiterunt *G* in *D* is add. in mar.: Yan- nies et Mambres Moysi resisterant (*sic*) *D^t* ⁶⁵ sed *EFγ* secundum *D* sed *CG*, but in mar. secundum secundum *a*, but in mar. sed *a^t* ⁶⁶ mente *CDEFGα* om. *γ* ⁶⁷ quod *CE* Christi quod *DFGαγ* ⁶⁸ est *CDFGαγ*, *E²* in mar. om. *E* ⁶⁹ sui *CEFGαγ* om. *D* ⁷⁰ qui c. p. s. asc. *CDEFGγ* qui a. c. p. s. *a* ⁷¹ sectis *CDFGαγ*, *E²* in mar. om. *E* ⁷² illorum *CDFGαγ*, *E²* in mar. illoris (*last half cr. out & ud.*) *E* ⁷³ restiterant *CDEFAγ* restiterunt *G* ⁷⁴ autem *DFGαγ* eciam *CE* ⁷⁵ in *E* miswritten veritans ⁷⁶ vite *CDGα* mente *γ* om. *EF*

iste textus apostoli verificatur de illis, videat⁷⁷ adversarius, si scivere-
rit, quomodo iste⁷⁸ textus fidei est pertinencius exponendus.⁷⁹

CAP. IX.

Transcurrendum est ulterius per quatuor epistolas apostolorum¹ canonicas, si aliquid locuntur de hiis novis religionibus sive sectis, quia certum² videtur,³ si nichil locuntur de illis⁴, tunc sunt per 5 dyabolum introduce, quia Luc. 11^{5a} dicit Cristus: qui non est mecum, contra me est.

Et primo videndum est, quid⁶ Iacobus religiosarcha de ipsis⁷ loquitur.

Dicit⁸ enim in primo capitulo^b libri sui, quod⁹ est duplex re-10 ligio,¹⁰ scilicet laudabilis et culpabilis. Religio, inquit, munda et immaculata apud deum et patrem hec est: visitare pupillos et viduas in tribulacione eorum et immaculatum se custodire ab hoc seculo. Ubi patet, quod loquitur de religione, que non est res per se possibilis et rarenter vel numquam comitans istos fratres, quia 15 licet quandoque visitent¹¹ pupillos et viduas, raro tamen aut¹² numquam ad relevandum eos a tribulacione corporis vel anime, in qua¹³ dyabolus ipsis¹⁴ premit.

Et licet dicant se esse expropriarios et summe pauperes, non

CAP. IX. ^a v. 23 ^b v. 27

⁷⁷ quod iste t. a. v. d. i. videat CDEFG α quod iste v. d. i. t. a. vid. γ
⁷⁸ iste CDEF $\alpha\gamma$ ille G ⁷⁹ exponendus CFG $\alpha\gamma$ exponendus etc. D ex-
ponendo E

CAP. IX. ¹ apostolorum CDEFG γ om. α ² certum in G by the text hand
 in mar. in the text there is a blank ³ videtur CDEFG γ est α ⁴ illis CEF γ
 eis D $\alpha\gamma$ ⁵ 11^o Gay ²⁰ CDEF ⁶ quid CEF γ quod DG α ⁷ ipsis CDG $\alpha\gamma$
 hiis EF ⁸ in C is add. in mar.: Nota, quomodo canonica Iacobi adducitur
 contra sectas C² ⁹ quod E in the text and repeat. in abbrev. in mar., cp. above
 quam cap. VIII not. 18 ¹⁰ in D is add. below the col.: Religio duplex D^t
¹¹ visitent CDEFG α visitant γ ¹² aut CDG γ vel EF α ¹³ qua CDFG $\alpha\gamma$
 quam E ¹⁴ ipsis CDFG $\alpha\gamma$ eos E

tamen regulariter¹⁵ servant se immaculatos ab hoc seculo tam opere quam affectu. Et quoad claustrum, quod incolunt, patet, quod propter hoc sunt magis ab ista religione Iacobi elongati, cum signum claustrale et alia fieta sensibilia ipsos falsificant et impediunt 5 ad visitandum suos proximos, sicut apostolus iste mandat. Sed cum ista edificia et hec¹⁶ signa sensibilia sint¹⁷ adeo sumptuosa et populo onerosa,^c manifeste¹⁸ videtur, quod per hoc¹⁹ religioni, quam Cristus instituit, adversantur. Cristus enim instituit, quod homines corporaliter iuuent pauperes debiles, pauperes claudos et pauperes 10 cecos, quod iste secte subtrahunt per suas falsas²⁰ adinvenciones infundabiliter introductas.

Et quantum ad spirituale suffragium in doctrina, patet, quod religionis eorum novitas ipsos sepe²¹ necessitat ad²² ewangelio obviandum. Nam Matth. 18^d mandat Cristus: si peccaverit in te 15 frater tuus, vade et²³ corripe eum inter te et ipsum solum.²⁴ Si te audierit, lucratus es fratrem tuum. Si te non audierit, adhibe tecum unum|| vel duos, ut in ore duorum testium vel trium stet omne || C fol. 26^b verbum. Quod si non audierit eos, dic ecclesie. Si autem²⁵ ecclesiam non audierit, sit tibi sicut ethnicus et publicanus. — Iste²⁶ autem 20 secte habent multos fratres tam intrinsece, quam extrinsece notorie in ipsos peccantes, cum peccant notorie in se ipsos, et cum non vadunt, ut debent,²⁷ ipsos corripere inter se solos.²⁸

^c As to the splendour of the Friars' buildings see the description in Pierce, the Ploughmans' Crede, l. 118 u. 156 ff.; with ref. to the latter passage W., perhaps, has in view the very convent where, in 1382, his doctrines were condemned as heretical by a council held there. This Church of the Austin Friars in Broad Street, London is still used by the Dutch, and although it has some years ago suffered much by a fire and by a consequent restoration, it presents a fair specimen of the architecture of the Mendicants. As to the extent of the Friars' convent houses, cp. Matthew, E. W. h. u. 5; Suppl. Trial. 444. ^d v. 15 ff.

¹⁵ regulariter *DEGαγ*, *C*, add. in mar. rariter vel (corr. into the text) rareriter *F* ¹⁶ hec *CDEFGα* alia *γ* ¹⁷ sint *CDGα* sunt *FEγ* ¹⁸ manifeste *CDGαγ* manifestum *EF* ¹⁹ hoc *CDEF* hec *Gαγ* ²⁰ per suas falsas *CDGαγ* per istas falsas *F* per suas fallacias et falsas *E* ²¹ sepe *CDFGαγ* se *E* ²² ad *EF* ab *CDGαγ* ²³ et *CEGα* om. *DFγ* ²⁴ solum *CEFGαγ* om. *D* ²⁵ autem *CDEFGγ* om. *α* ²⁶ iste *CDEFαγ* istos *G* ²⁷ debent *CEFGαγ* dent *D* (compend. om.) ²⁸ solos *CDEFGγ* solas (corr. word) *α*

Cum repugnat²⁹ huic hec religio adinventa et sic repugnat secundo gradui correpcionis et tertio, evidencius³⁰ repugnat aufugio, quod Cristus quarto precipit.³¹ Cum enim religionem hanc fietam observantes sint³² vocati³³ pii patres, in ipsos peccant continue. Debent ex caritate ipsos corripere³⁴ de hoc peccato, quod manifeste omittunt in huiusmodi omissionis crimine indurati. — Et si dicunt³⁵ istud peccatum ecclesie, erunt tamquam furiosi incarcerati, et erunt postmodum³⁶ necessitatibus ad permanendum cum istis ethnicis et publicanis notorie induratis.

Ideo verisimile est,³⁷ quod isti religiosarche non perfecte consideraverant³⁸ istam legem. Et sic de peccantibus in ipsis³⁹ fornicatus,⁴⁰ dum consideratum fuerit a maiori parte capituli, quod foret contra prosperitatem suam⁴¹ mundanam, ista fraterna correpcionis erit⁴² sub gravi pena a⁴³ priore et capitulo introducta.⁴⁴

Que est ergo ista religio, que tantum ponderat vanum man-¹⁵ datum ordinis supra Cristum?

Ideo verisimile est, quod in secundo membro divisionis Iacobi^e hec nova religio continetur: si quis putat se religiosum esse, non refrenans lingwam suam, sed seducens cor suum, huius vana est religio. Ille autem, qui impeditur in loco publico fratrem suum 20 corripere sive loqui cum illo, non habet lingwam debite refrenatam, sed contra Cristi regulam alligatam. Quid,⁴⁵ rogo, confert non loqui publice in claustro, ubi collocucio plus prodesset et loqui private in angulo secundum formam, qua collocucio utriusque parti et ecclesie nocuisset?

25

Ista ergo est vana religio sine⁴⁶ causa, cum servando regula-

e v. 26

²⁹ repugnat *CDEFGY* repugnet α ³⁰ evid. *CDEFGY* et evid. α ³¹ precipit *CDGAY* precepit *EF* ³² sint *DGAY*, *C*, but in mar. sunt sunt *EF* ³³ voc. *CEF* sicut voc. *DGAY* ³⁴ corripere *EFAY* corripi *CDG* ³⁵ dicunt *CDGA* dicant *EFY* ³⁶ postmodum *CDGAY* postmodo *E* ³⁷ est *CDEFGY* videtur α ³⁸ consideraverant *CDEFGY* consideraverant α (*compend. om.*) ³⁹ in ipsis *CDEFGA* *om. Y* ⁴⁰ fornicatis *DFGAY*, *C*, above is is add. us fornifecis *E* ⁴¹ suam *CDEFGY* *om. A* ⁴² erit *CDEY* et *Fa* et sic *G* ⁴³ a *CDEFGA* et (*cr. out*) a *Y* ⁴⁴ introducta *CDGAY* inducta *EF* ⁴⁵ quid *CDGAY* quis *EF* in *C* is add. in mar.: Nota ⁴⁶ sine *C* sive *DEFGAY*

riter et inculpabiliter hanc Cristi regulam de correpcione fraterna non forent duo in istis privatis ordinibus reservati, quia vanum fundamentum sine causa valida et religioni Cristi repugnacia⁴⁷ regulariter dividerent istas sectas.

5 Similiter Matth. 15^f dicit Cristus istis vanis religiosis, qui locationem manuum sicut claustrales moderni inaniter ponderant:⁴⁸ quare et vos transgredimini mandatum dei propter tradicionem vestram? Nam deus dixit: honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam, et, qui maledixerit patri aut⁴⁹ matri, morte moriatur. Vos autem dicitis: 10 quicunque patri aut matri dixerit:⁵⁰ munus,⁵¹ quodcunque ex me est, tibi proderit, et non honorificaverit⁵² patrem aut matrem suam, et irritum fecistis mandatum dei propter tradicionem vestram. Constat quidem, quod claustrales isti habentes parentes quantumcunque egenos corporaliter vel spiritualiter, quantumcunque⁵³ copiosi illi fuerint in pecunia vel doctrina, sunt impediti propter⁵⁴ suum⁵⁵ ordinem illis parentibus suffragari. Dicunt enim quoad corporale suffragium, quod⁵⁶ nichil⁵⁷ habent in proprio, sed omnia in communi,⁹ et sic fabulantur parenti:⁵⁸ si aliquod munus ex me est, vellem,⁵⁹ quod tibi prodesset, sed propter ordinis colliganciam non habeo 20 quidquam⁶⁰ tale. Et sic in facto non honorificant patrem aut⁶¹ matrem suam,⁶² et sic irritum facit talis religio mandatum dei⁶³ propter tradicionem suam.

Ideo ex verbis Cristi sequitur pertinenter:^h hypocrite,⁶⁴ bene prophetavit de⁶⁵ vobis Iesaias propheta dicens: populus hic me la- 25 biis⁶⁶ honorat, cor autem eorum longe est a me; sine causa autem colunt me, docentes doctrinas et mandata hominum.

^f v. 3—6 ^g The Dominicans are meant ^h Matth. 15, 7—9

⁴⁷ repugnancia *CDFGαγ* repugnanda *E* ⁴⁸ ponderant *CEFGγ* ponderarunt *Dα* ⁴⁹ aut *CDGαγ* vel *EF* ⁵⁰ quic. p. a. m. d. *CDGαγ* quic. d. p. a. m. *EF* ⁵¹ munus *CEFGαγ* minius (*clearly so*) *D* ⁵² honorificaverit *CDGαγ* honorificavit *EF* ⁵³ quantumcunque *CDEFαγ* quantumque *G*, but in mar. cum (*texthand*) ⁵⁴ propter *CDEFαγ* per *G* ⁵⁵ suum *CDEFGγ* illum α ⁵⁶ suffragari dic. en. — quod *CDEGαγ* suffragari quod *F* ⁵⁷ nichil *CDGαγ* non *EF* ⁵⁸ parenti *CDGγ* parentibus *EF* ⁵⁹ vellem *CEFGαγ* vellet *D* ⁶⁰ quidquam *CDEFαγ* quicquid *G* ⁶¹ aut *CDFGα* et *Eγ* ⁶² suum *CDEFαγ* om. *G* ⁶³ dei *CDEGαγ* suum *F* ⁶⁴ hypoc. *CDEFαγ* om. *G* ⁶⁵ de *CDEFαγ* et de *G* ⁶⁶ lab. me *CDFGαγ* me lab. *E*

Ideo dicendum est pertinenter cum Iacobo, quod huiusmodi vana est religio.⁶⁷

CAP. X.

Cum iste secte individuationem capiunt a regula et patronis, videndum est, si Iacobus quidquam doceat¹ de² sua regula.

Et videtur multis, cum regula illa non sit sapiencia ex scriptura. 5
Et oportet ipsos concedere ipsam regulam esse sapienciam, cum tantum³ extollit⁴ eos in beatitudine, ut inquiunt, non superest, nisi ut sit⁵ sapiencia huius mundi.⁶ Certum quidem⁷ videtur, quod regula illa non est iusticia, prudencia, fortitudo vel temperancia,^a quia patroni illi forent nimis ydiotici, ut supra Cristum invenirent 10 istas quatuor virtutes cardinales tam diu absconditas.

Ideo cum sit habitus inclinans hos ordines ad vivendum tam placenter secundum sapienciam⁸ dei patris, oportet, ipsos⁹ concedere, quod sit sapiencia, et cum non sit sapiencia,¹⁰ quam Cristus docuit, relinquitur, quod sit sapiencia¹¹ terrena,¹² animalis et dyabolica, 15 quam Iacobus detegit tertio capitulo^b libri sui. Est, inquam, talis regula terrena, quia docet amplecti terrestria, et oportet, quod non ultra diem iudicii perseveret.

Et cum non docet sic mundum relinquere, sed implicat suos in mundum profundius, relinquitur, quod sit carnalis,¹³ ad volupta- 20 tes excitans et per consequens animalis.

CAP. X. ^a The author distinguishes here the four Cardinal virtues from the three virtues theologiae, Faith, Hope, Charity ^b v. 15

⁶⁷ van. est rel. *CFGαγ* v. e. rel. etc. *D* est v. rel. 9^m *cam E*

CAP. X. ¹ quidq. doc. *CDFGαγ* doc. aliiquid *E* ² de *CDFGαγ* quia (*cr. out, in mar. is add. quicquam E²*) *E* ³ tantum *CDEGαγ* tamen *F* ⁴ extollit *CDFGαγ* excellit *E* ⁵ ut sit *CDEFGα* om. *γ* ⁶ in *D* is add. with mark of ref. below the col.: Sapiencia huius mundi *D* ⁷ quidem *CDGαγ* tamen *EF* ⁸ sapienciam *CDEFGα* ordinem (*cr.out*) sap. *γ* ⁹ ipsos *CDGαγ* eos *EF* illos ¹⁰ sapiencia *CEFGγ* sapia *D* (*compend. om.*) ¹¹ concedere, quod sit sap. (*viz.* et cum—sap. om.) ¹² terrena *CDEGαγ* quam Cristus docuit relinquitur quod sit sapiencia (*cr. out*) terr. *F* ¹³ carnalis *CDFGαγ* talis carnalis *E*

Et habitis hiis duobus sociis certum videtur, quod sapientia istorum¹⁴ novorum ordinum sit dyabolica, et per consequens rex superbie, principalis patronus¹⁵ istorum novorum¹⁶ ordinum, colligat¹⁷ suos milites cum isto fune sue sapientie, que indubie est inanis.

5 Et patet yronice quoad patronum et regulam, quomodo ista secta¹⁸ respicit sectam Cristi. Religionem quidem talem, ut dicit Iacobus,^{19 c} ornant²⁰ zelus et contencio et per consequens inconstancia et omne opus pravum,²¹ et sic de viginti septem est condicionibus,²² quas Paulus commemorat, ubi supra.^d — Sed sapientia, que de 10 sursum est, istis octo condicionibus^e perornatur. Primum quidem pudica est, deinde pacifica, modesta, swadibilis, bonis consenciens, plena misericordia et fructibus bonis, iudicans sine simulacione. Iotas autem octo²³ condiciones dictum est capitulo proximo^f esse condicionibus fratrum contrarias.

15 Sunt enim²⁴ pleni spirituali adulterio supra adulterium corpore, nec sunt pacifici, sed ad bella et discordias²⁵ provocantes. Carent autem modestia, cum ad colligendum stercora temporalium sunt sine verecundia importuni. Nec sunt swadibiles, ut deserant²⁶ ordines istos vanos, sed in laqueo isto dyaboli irrevocabiliter irretiti.²⁷ 20 Nec bonis, que lex Cristi mandat, consenciunt, sed sunt illis contrarii viis multis. || Nec sunt pleni misericordia, sed impiissime spoliant pauperes, et se ipsos ac fratres proprios immisericorditer usque ad mortem cruciant. Fructus autem istorum ordinum necesse est ex dicto perverso²⁸ semine provenire. Et cum inseparabiliter sunt 25 hypocrite, patet,²⁹ quod non iudicant sine simulacione et quamvis omnia ista sint odibia, tamen³⁰ pater suus³¹ execans eorum ani-

C fol. 27b

^c v. 16 ^d cp. II Tim. 3, 1—9, above cap. VII p. 38 ^e These are given in the follow. passages, cp. Iam. 3, 17 ^f see cap. VII.

¹⁴ istorum *CDEFay* horum *G* ¹⁵ patronus *CDEFay* om. *G* ¹⁶ novorum *CDFay* om. *EF* ¹⁷ colligat *CDEFGa* colligavit (?) *y* ¹⁸ secta *CDGy* secte *EFa* ¹⁹ 3 *CDGay* om. *EF* ²⁰ ornant *CDEFG* ordinant *a* ordinavit *y* ²¹ pravum *CFy* parvum *DEGa* ²² et sic de v. s. cond. *DGa* et de 27 cond. *E* et de 27 est cond. *CF* et sic est condic. *y* ²³ 8 *CFGay* quatuor *F, E,* but in mar. *so by E*³ ²⁴ enim *CDGay* om. *EF* ²⁵ discordias *CDEFay* discordia *G* ²⁶ deserant *CEFGay* differant *D* ²⁷ irretiti *CDGay* irretici *EF* ²⁸ perverso *CDEFGa* converso *y* ²⁹ patet *CDFGay* patent *E* ³⁰ tamen *CDay* cum *EFG* ³¹ C reads clearly *suum*

num³² sic immisicut³³ in vitis eorum laqueos voluptatum, quod³⁴ putant suum ordinem non esse propter mandatum domini deserendum.

Et³⁵ hec³⁶ heresis³⁷ est tamquam periculosisima detestanda, cum secundum Iacobum primo capitulo:^g si quis putat se religiosum esse, non refrenans lingwam suam, sed seducens cor suum, huius 5 vana est religio.

Quamvis autem hee secte irregulariter³⁸ in claustris taciturnitatem servaverint,³⁹ tamen⁴⁰ istum stimulum disponit dyabolus, ut mendaces postmodum laxent viciose proclivius⁴¹ lingwam suam, et non⁴² secundum legem domini, sed secundum ludicra mendacia vel 10 fabulas rixosas populum allocuntur.

Iterum mandat Jacobus secundo capitulo:^h fratres, mei, nolite in personarum accepcione habere fidem domini nostri⁴³ Iesu Christi glorie, et ponit consequenter in similitudine exemplari, quomodo in ista personarum accepcione cristiani possunt faciliter delirare.⁴⁴ — 15 Dicitur autem, quod fratres tam quoad⁴⁵ extrinsecos,⁴⁶ quam quoad⁴⁷ intrinsecos non omnino ab isto crimine sunt immunes, cum potentibus extrinsecis pro lucro mundano sepe verbis mendacibus adulantur et fratrem doctoratum, potentem in pecunia, confessorem potentis⁴⁸ in seculo vel⁴⁹ quem⁵⁰ dicunt fratrem venerabilem in ordine 20 indebite venerantur.⁵¹

Et iterum mandat Iacobus tertio⁵² capitulo:ⁱ nolite plures magistri fieri, fratres mei, scientes, quoniam maius⁵³ sumitis iudi-

^g v. 26 ^h v. 1 ⁱ v. 1

³² animum *CF* animam *EG* animum (? am.) *Dαγ* ³³ immisicut *γ,C*, but in mar. instituit instituit *DEFGα* ³⁴ quod *Cγ* sed *DEFGα* ³⁵ in *E* esse was first wr., then se was erased, and et inserted above es ³⁶ hec *CDGαγ* om. *EF* ³⁷ in *D* is add. in mar.: Heresis est hec *D^t* ³⁸ irregulariter *CDGαγ* regulariter *E* irrationabiliter *F* ³⁹ servaverint *CDGγ* servant *EF* servaverunt *α* ⁴⁰ tamen (wr. above cum) *C³* cum *CDEFGαγ* ⁴¹ proclivius *CDEGαγ* protervius *E* ⁴² non *CDGαγ* ideo non *E* ideo (ud.) non *F*, but in mar. non is repeated ⁴³ nostri *CGαγ* om. *EF* domini *D* ⁴⁴ c. p. f. d. *CDFGγ* p. f. c. d. *α* c. f. p. d. *E* ⁴⁵ quoad *CDEFGα* ad *γ*, but quo is add. above it by the texthand ⁴⁶ extrinsecos *CDGαγ* extrinsecus *EF* ⁴⁷ quoad *DEFGα* ad *γ,C*, but in mar. quo is add. ⁴⁸ potentis *EF* potentem *CDGαγ* ⁴⁹ vel *CDEFGα* iam *γ* ⁵⁰ quem *CDFGαγ* quam *E* ⁵¹ venerantur *CDEFGα* ordinantur *γ* ⁵² 30 *CDEFGα* 20 *γ* ⁵³ maius *Gαγ* magis *CDEF*

cium. Fratres autem sumptuose et⁵⁴ contenciose⁵⁵ et sedule laborant,⁵⁶ ut in suo ordine doctorentur et cum⁵⁷ postmodum non in fructu⁵⁸ boni operis recompensant,⁵⁹ patet, quod religiosius quoad divinum iudicium in scele re profundant.

⁵ Et iterum cum fratres Christi pauperiem⁶⁰ in suo ordine protentur et laborant multipliciter, ut fiant mundo divites, patet, quod sunt discipuli patris mendacii et non Christi, in quo fuerunt est et non.

Nam quinto⁶¹ capitulo^k suo scribit Iacobus: agite, nunc divites plorate ululantes in miseriis vestris, que advenient vobis. Divitie vestre putrefacte sunt et vestimenta vestra⁶² a tineis comesta sunt, aurum⁶³ et argentum vestrum eruginavit⁶⁴ et erugo eorum in testimonium vobis erit⁶⁵ et manducabit carnes vestras, sicut ignis. Thesaurizastis⁶⁶ vobis iram in novissimis diebus.

¹⁵ Fratres autem licet abdicent proprietatem in talibus, tamen, ut inquiunt, ex licencia prioris multi eorum sunt proprietarii ultra hoc, quod forent⁶⁷ in seculo conversantes in tantum, quod in fratribus reputatur communiter, quod fratres esse mundo divites est nomen honorificum, laude dignum.

²⁰ Unde multi fratres ex ista carencia contra deum remurmurant,⁶⁸ et sic post stultam professionem propter istam carentem⁶⁹ cupidinem non merentur. Unde Iac. 4^l sic scribitur: unde bella et lites

^k v. 1—3 ^l v. 1—4: *Unde bella et lites in vobis? Nonne hinc, ex concupiscentiis vestris, quae militant in membris vestris? Concupis- citis, et non habetis; occiditis et zelatis, et non potestis adipisci; litigatis et belligeratis, et non habetis, propter quod non postulatis; Petitis, et non accipitis, eo quod male petatis, ut in concupiscentiis vestris in-*

⁵⁴ et *CDGαγ̄ om. EF* ⁵⁵ contenciose *CDEGαγ̄ om. F* ⁵⁶ laborant *CDFGαγ̄*
laborantur *E* ⁵⁷ cum *CDEαγ̄*, *F* (?) tum *G* ⁵⁸ fructu *CDG*, *F*, but in mar.
fructu *F* fructu *Eγ̄* fructu *α* (but corr. into fricti by dots above the *u*) ⁵⁹ re-
compensant *CEFGαγ̄* recompensat *D* ⁶⁰ pauperiem *CDEFGα* pauperie *γ̄*
⁶¹ quinto *CDEFGα* in quin. *γ̄* ⁶² vestra *CDGαγ̄ om. EF* ⁶³ aurum *CDFGαγ̄*
et vestimenta (*ud.*) aurum *E* ⁶⁴ eruginavit *CDFGαγ̄* erugavit *E* ⁶⁵ erit
CDFGαγ̄ eorum erit *E* ⁶⁶ thesaurizastis *CDGαγ̄* thesaurizatis *EF* ⁶⁷ fo-
rent *CDEFAγ̄* foret *F* ⁶⁸ remurmurant *CDEFGγ̄* remurmurarunt *α* ⁶⁹ can-
didentem *CDEFGα* cadentem ~

in vobis? nonne ex concupiscenciis vestris⁷⁰ et sequitur; concupiscitis et non habetis et sequitur; adulteri, nescitis, quia amicicia huius mundi
|| C fol. 28^a || inimicicia⁷¹ est deo.

Talia sunt multa verba istius religiosarche, et nulla confirmant⁷² hos fratrum ordines, si non ista. Talia autem verba sunt notanda 5 nobis, qui per⁷³ dei gratiam sumus immunes ab istis ordinibus, quia in culpas tales, quas sancti recitant, communiter incidimus, quod dolemus.

Ideo⁷⁴ si deus ex gratia sua voluerit, possumus tam nos quam fratres ad profectum ecclesie fieri meliores.⁷⁵

10

CAP. XI.

Preter predicta verba Petri prophetica possunt alia fratribus applicari.

Mandat enim Petrus I Pet. 4,^a quod cristiani sint hospitabiles¹ invicem² sine murmuracione,³ sed fratres nedum secularibus peregrinantibus et pauperibus⁴ in isto deficiunt, sed fratribus de sectis 15 aliis pauperibus et forte extraneis fratribus de secta propria, divitibus autem,⁵ de quibus lucrum sperant, eciam dominabus hospicia meliora grataanter⁶ annuunt.⁷ Numquid⁸ credimus, quod ista dampnanda personarum accepcio in ista deridenda spoliacione pauperum, ex qua sic monstruose edificant,⁹ coram supremo iudice excusatur?^b

sumatis. Adulteri, nescitis quia amicitia hujus mundi inimica est Dei?

Quicunque ergo voluerit amicus esse saeculi hujus, inimicus Dei constituitur.

CAP. XI. ^a v. 9 ^b *The same reproach is made by W. against Bishops, cp. Matthew, E. W. h. u. 413*

⁷⁰ vestris CDEFGᾱ istis (cr. out) vest. γ ⁷¹ inimicicia CF inimica DEFΓγ
⁷² confirming ᾱ confirmat CDEFGγ ⁷³ per CDFGᾱγ pro (cr. out) E, but in mar. per E² ⁷⁴ ideo CDEFαγ om. E, but afterwards add. in mar. ⁷⁵ meliores CEFΓαγ meliores etc. D

CAP. XI. ¹ hospitabiles CEF hospitales DGαγ ² invicem CDFGαγ
ad invicem E ³ in D with mark of ref. below the col.: Hospitales invicem D⁴
⁴ pauperibus CEFαγ pauperis DG ⁵ autem CDEGαγ aut F ⁶ grat. CDEFαγ
eciam grat. G ⁷ annuunt CDEGαγ annuunt F ⁸ numquid CDEGαγ istud
F ⁹ edificant CEFαγ edificat DG

Videtur enim, quod¹⁰ sicut sumptus de communi populo colliguntur, sic edificia quoad hospicia,¹¹ licet non quoad lectisternia, omnia pauperibus hospitibus esse communia. Aliter enim excusacionem non acciperent pro die tremendi iudicii, quando Cristus dicet 5 Matth. 25:^c hospes eram et non collegistis me. Numquid credimus, quod sit¹² fratribus iuvenibus meritorium et securum sic¹³ habitare, noctibus et diebus cum domicellis iuvenibus dominarum?

Revera non solum personarum accepcio contra hospitalitatis regulam et excusacio¹⁴ edificationis talis ac¹⁵ tanti hospicii hos ex 10 cusat, sed quod tales lubrici congregant pueras,¹⁶ per quas carnis sue lubricitas est accensa. Nam propter hoc leges hominum prohibent¹⁷ cohabitaciones clericorum et mulierum. — Numquid credimus, fratres¹⁸ ex hoc, quod sunt impeccabiles, a ratione istius ordinacionis hominum excusari? — Numquid credimus, ista est 15 fuga,¹⁹ quam sancti edocent,²⁰ quod contra omne aliud vicium potes²¹ expectare conflictum gloriosumque triumphum nisi contra²² concomitiam²³ mulierum,²⁴ contra quam pugnare non prodest, sed fugere? Hec est enim, que sapientes²⁵ infatuavit, prudentes stultificavit et fortes in corpore superavit. Quis enim Salomone sapiens²⁰ cior, quis David prudencior, aut²⁶ quis Samsone forcior? Et omnes isti igne muliebris²⁷ libidinis sunt accensi.

Ista autem hospitalitas videtur fuga, sicut ordo istorum fratrum est contra secularium vicia medicina.

Item in eodem capitulo mandat Petrus:^d si quis loquitur, 25 quasi²⁸ sermones²⁹ dei, si quis ministrat tamquam ex virtute quam

^c v. 43 ^d I Pet. 4, 11

¹⁰ from here in E above quod another abbreviated quod has nearly always been add. ¹¹ hospicia CDFGα edificia γ ¹² sit CDEGαγ sic F ¹³ sic CDEGαγ sit F ¹⁴ excusacio DFGα, in E corr. from excusacionem excusacionem Cγ¹⁵ ac CDEFαγ hac G ¹⁶ pueras CDEFGγ pullas α, but above it e is add. by α⁴ ¹⁷ prohibent CDEFGα cohabit γ ¹⁸ fratr. DGαγ quod fratr. CEF¹⁹ numqu. cred.i. e. fuga CDFGαγ numq. est fuga ista E ²⁰ edocent CDEFGα docent γ ²¹ potes CDFGαγ potest E ²² contra CDEFαγ quod contra G²³ concom. CDEFGα exconcom. γ ²⁴ mulierum CDEFG mulieris xγ ²⁵ sapientes CDFGαγ sapiens E ²⁶ aut CDEGαγ om. F ²⁷ muliebris DGαγ mulieris CEF ²⁸ quasi CDFGαγ tamquam E ²⁹ sermones CDEFGα ser monem γ

administrat³⁰ deus, ut in omnibus honorificetur³¹ deus. — Numquid credimus, fratres servare debite istam religionis Petri regulam? Tunc enim fratres non sic prorumperent in verba ludicra atque mendacia, cum non ducuntur ab hac tanta vesania, quod isti sint sermones dei, cum hoc³² foret nimis³³ manifesta blasphemia.

5

Et sic de ministerio, quo fratres ministrant consociis propter accepctionem indebitam personalem, cum Petrus dicat Act. 10:^e in veritate comperi,³⁴ quod non est personarum accepcio apud deum.
|| C fol. 28b Iterum I Pet. 5^f scribitur: pascite, qui in vobis est, gregem dei,³⁵ providentes, non coacte, sed spontanee, secundum deum neque 10 turpis lucri gracia, sed voluntarie, neque ut dominantes in clero, sed forma facti gregis ex animo.³⁶ — Numquid credimus, fratres³⁷ pascunt³⁸ fideliter gregem domini tam in wlgo extrinseco quam eciam in se ipsis? Nam ministrando eis scripture sacre contraria propinant poculum venenosum non secundum deum, nisi blasphemie 15 nimis voluerint delirare; quodsi per superiores suos ad providendum talia sint³⁹ coacti, facinus consensus redundant in ordinem et personas.

Et eodem modo si turpis lucri gracia non gratis provideant tale spirituale subditis alimentum. Nam sic mendicare vel vendere 20 verbum dei est propinquior et odibilior symonia, quam emere vel vendere⁴⁰ ecclesiasticam⁴¹ dignitatem.

Et⁴² quarto super hec omnia appetunt dominari in clero, tam in fratribus propriis quam in personis extrinsecis, cum quibus sophisticant verba dei. Quis dubitat,⁴³ quin sunt⁴⁴ propter suam mali- 25 ciam doctrine Petri contraria⁴⁵ alciores discipuli antieristi!

^e v. 34 ^f v. 2—3

³⁰ tamq. e. v. q. admin. *CDFGαγ* om. E, but add. by E² in mar. ³¹ honorificetur *CDFGαγ* hominibus E ³² hoc *CDFGαγ* hoc (cr. out & ud.) hoc E ³³ nimis *CDGαγ* om. EF ³⁴ comperi *CDFGαγ* operi E ³⁵ in D is add. in mar.: Pascite qui in vobis est gregem dei D⁴ ³⁶ ex animo *CDEGαγ* ex animis (? exemplaris) F ³⁷ frat. *CEFGαγ* quod fratr. D ³⁸ pascunt *CDEFGα* paseant γ ³⁹ sint *CDEGαγ* sunt F ⁴⁰ em. vel vend. *CDEGα* ven. d. vel em. Fγ ⁴¹ ecclesiasticam *DGαγ* ecclesiacam C ecclesie EF ⁴² et Cγ sed *DEFGα* ⁴³ dub. *DEFGα* non dub. Cγ ⁴⁴ sunt *CDGα* sint Fγ om. F, but in mar. sund ⁴⁵ contraria *CDEFGγ* contraria α

Item⁴⁶ sequitur ex doctrina Petri in eodem capitulo:⁴⁹ omnem sollicitudinem vestram proicientes in deum,⁴⁷ quoniam ipsi cura est de vobis. — Numquid credimus, has sectas in hac integritate sollicitudinis proiecte in deum deficere?⁴⁸ Si enim habent magnam partem sollicitudinis ad mendicandum pro suo ordine a wlgo paupere ad preparandum pro suo capitulo domicilia et alia utensilia suo statui nimium sumptuosa et ad captandas famas hominum et nomen propri⁴⁹ subtilitatis in populo, quis dubitat, quin foret maior sollicitudo in deum, si cum sollicitudine in ipsum pociores iste 10 sollicitudinum⁵⁰ in suam sinceram sollicitudinem sint collecte? Iste ergo est fructus istorum ordinum, quod necessitant ad sollicitudinem, que debet proici in deum, ex integro dividendum.

Iterum sequitur in eodem capitulo:⁵¹ sobrii estote et vigilate,⁵² quia adversarius vester dyabolus⁵³ tamquam leo rugiens circuit, querens, quem devoret. Cui resistite fortes in fide, scientes eandem passionem ei, que⁵⁴ in mundo est, vestre fraternitati fieri.

In quo verbo notant fideles in domino,⁵⁴ quod conventicula istorum ordinum privatorum sunt camere secreciores dyaboli⁵⁵, cum circa honores et famam ordinis⁵⁶ sunt⁵⁷ magis solliciti, quam circa 20 honorem et profectum ecclesie domini⁵⁸ Iesu Christi.

Ideo si dyabolus sit⁵⁹ alicubi, tunc in istis ordinibus domestice hospitatur. Ideo si alicui⁶⁰ non sit⁶¹ adversarius, sed domesticus et amicus, hoc est istis ordinibus, cum Christi regulam plus pervertunt.

Scutum autem fidei multipliciter titubat in hiis sectis, cum 25 unus innovat unam⁶² fidem, et aliis aliam, quam nesciunt fundare in fide domini Iesu Christi, et tamen debet scire, quod⁶³ non differt

^g v. 7 ^h v. 8—9

⁴⁶ item *CDEFGα* iterum γ ⁴⁷ in *E* is add. in mar.: Omnem sollicitudinem vestram proicientes in deum *D*¹ deum *CDEGαγ* eum *F* ⁴⁸ deficere *CDEFGα* proficere γ ⁴⁹ proprio *CDFGαγ* proprio *E* ⁵⁰ sollicitudinum *CDFGα* sollicitudinem *Eγ* ⁵¹ in *D* is add. in mar.: Sobrii estote et vigilate *D*¹ ⁵² dyabolus *CDEFGα om.γ* ⁵³ que *CDEGαγ* qui *F* ⁵⁴ domino *CEFGαγ* duo *D* ⁵⁵ in *C* is add. in mar.: Nota ⁵⁶ in γ the first part of ord. is corr. ⁵⁷ sunt *CDEFGα* sint γ ⁵⁸ domini *CDEFGα om.γ* ⁵⁹ sit *CDGαγ* om. *EF* ⁶⁰ in *F* alicubi, but b cr. out ⁶¹ sit *CDEGαγ* sint *F* ⁶² unam *CDEFGγ* novam α ⁶³ quod *CDFGαγ* quid *E*

passio, quam dyabolus facit sue fraternitati vel ordini et temptacio,
quam dyabolus facit solitarie commoranti in seculo, nisi in hoc,
quod illa temptacio istorum conventuum est forcior et temptatori⁶⁴
placencior, cum habet multos consentaneos ad temptandum resi-

|| C fol. 29^a duos, qui deessent|| viventi solitarie ut baptista.⁶⁵

5

CAP. XII.

Constat perlegentibus has quatuor epistolas apostolorum canonicas, quod Iohannes ewangelista,¹ paranimphus sponsi ecclesie, inter omnes apostolos inculcat² crebrius caritatem, et quomodo cristianus debet Cristum diligere,³ et quomodo exhinc a Christo carius est dilectus.⁴

10

Videtur autem imprimis, quod iste⁵ secte fratrum specialiter obviant caritati. Quero autem tamquam omnibus illis⁶ impertinens, si quelibet istarum sectarum sit omnibus illis⁷ eque perfecta vel una in perfectione excedit⁸ reliquam.

Primum non dicitur, tum⁹ quia licet unum illorum¹⁰ ordinum exire intrando reliquum, sicut papa specificat,¹¹ tum¹² eciam, quia tunc sine causa ritus penales servarent et pro primatu dignitatis contenderent. Supposito ergo, quod una secta, sicut¹³ Fratres Minores exempli gratia, excedit reliquam,^a videtur, quod omnes

CAP. XII. ^a *The Friars gloried in a theoretical poverty. Among them the Minorites boasted being furthest advanced in this direction: „Una paupertas est omnium christianorum, quae excludit alienum et includit commune et proprium. Alia est monachorum et multorum reliquorum, quae excludit alienum et proprium, sed includit et admittit commune, quia habent aliquid in communi, licet nihil habeant in parti-*

⁶⁴ temptatori *CEGFαγ* tentatori *γ* temptari *D* ⁶⁵ baptista *CDEGαγ* bapt. igitur etc. *F*

CAP. XII. ¹ in *F* this may be ewangelica. ² inculcat *CDFGαγ* incultat *E* ³ in *D* is add. below the col.: Diligere quomodo cristianus debet Cristum *D*
⁴ exh. a C. ca. e. dil. *Cγ* exh. ca. e. a C. di *E*, lectus add. in mar. by *E*² hic exh. ca. a C. e. dil. *F* exh. ca. a C. e. dil. *DGα* ⁵ iste *CDEGαγ* hee *F* ⁶ illis *CDEFαγ* vel *G* ⁷ illis *CDEFαγ* vel *G* ⁸ excedit *CDEFGα* excedat *γ* ⁹ tum *CFGαγ* tamen *DE* ¹⁰ illorum *CDEFGγ* istorum *α* ¹¹ specificat *CDFGαγ* senciat (sentenciat?) *E* ¹² tum *DGαγ* tamen *CEF* ¹³ sicut *CDEFGγ* sint *α*

alie¹⁴ ex caritate ad illam debent concurrere, quia sic faciendo plus prodessent ecclesie. Quid ergo tardat ab isto gradu amoris, cum Fratres Minores sufficient et parati sunt omnes reliquas¹⁵ sectas suscipere? Et cum sumus¹⁶ certi de ewanglio, quod ille peccat in fratrem suum¹⁷ notabiliter,¹⁸ qui omittit gradum caritatis sibi tam facilem, quo tantum prodessel ecclesie,¹⁹ videtur ex doctrina Cristi Matth. 18,^b quod ista secta debet alias instanter pulsare, ut intrent suum ordinem sic perfectum. — Et sic de cunctis aliis privatis ordinibus, et eo evidencius, quo ecclesia militans non foret tunc²⁰ tot novitatibus onerata. Defectus ergo correpcionis fraterne in isto peccato, quo singulus eorum peccat in singulum, arguit,²¹ quod notabiliter²² in caritate deficiunt.

Sed hic credi potest probabiliter ex effectu, quod singulus istorum privatorum ordinum, ut²³ monachi tam albi quam nigri, Carthusienses et reliqui canonici, eciam tam albi quam nigri, et singuli quatuor ordinum mendicantium²⁴ dicunt singuli, quod²⁵ ordo suus²⁶ sit perfectissimus et aliter²⁷ intrarent²⁸ ordinem plus perfectum. Et cum manifestum sit, quod multi eorum vel singuli mencintur,²⁹ opus foret potentis principis,³⁰ in isto puncto discutere veritatem, cum Psal. 5^{31c} dicitur: perdes omnes, qui locuntur mendacium.

Omnis iste secte vel plurime in statu perditionis onustant³² ecclesiam. Ille ergo non diligit ecclesiam vel has sectas,³³ qui non

culari. Tertia est fratrum Minorum, quae excludit alienum, speciale et commune et includit solum simplicem usum facti.^c — Nicolaus Oranus (Oresme), Tractatus in regulam Sancti Francisci (Luxemburg, 1626).

^b v. 23 ff. ^c v. 7

¹⁴ alie *CDGαγ om. EF* ¹⁵ reliquas *CDEFGα* alias γ ¹⁶ sumus *CDEFαγ* simus *G* ¹⁷ suum *Cαγ om. DEFG* ¹⁸ notabiliter *CDFGαγ* notanter *E* ¹⁹ in *E* eccie (compend. om.) ²⁰ tunc *CDEFGα* nunc γ ²¹ arguit *CDFGαγ* credit *E* ²² notabiliter *CDFGαγ* notanter *E* ²³ ut *CDEGαγ* nec *F* ²⁴ mendicantium *CDFGαγ* mendicacium *E² om. E* ²⁵ et sing. q. o. m. d. s. q. *CDFGαγ* et sing. quod *E*, but above the col. is add. q. o. m. d. s. *E²* ²⁶ suus *CDEFGα* suuus γ ²⁷ aliter *CDFGαγ* alter *E* ²⁸ intrarent *CDEFγ* intraret *Gα* ²⁹ in *D* is add. with mark of ref. below the col.: De mendacio *D¹* ³⁰ principis *DGαγ* principiis *CEF* ³¹ 50 *CDEFGγ* om. α ³² onustant *CDGαγ* onuscant *EF* ³³ eccles. i. e. n. d. e. v. h. sect. *CDEGαγ* eccles. vel has. sect. *F*

laborat perfecte ad exuendum³⁴ illas ab isto mendacio. Nec carent³⁵ papa, imperator, rex vel dominus secularis, ymo nullus de populo accusacione in sollicitudine huius ruine, cum³⁶ in dileccione³⁷ huius peccati dampnabilis notabiliter³⁸ in caritate possent³⁹ proficere⁴⁰ et alleviare ecclesiam de onusto⁴¹ gravamine. Quomodo ergo 5 manet caritas dei in illo, qui fovet vel consentit istis ordinibus, antequam ista veritas sit discussa?

Ideo multi fideles fugiunt communicare cum istis, tamquam ethnicis et publicanis, antequam⁴² ista veritas et introducionis sui ordinis licencia declaretur.⁴³

Et hic videtur quibusdam, quod omnes iste secte private deficiunt in fide, spe et caritate et per consequens ad meram religionem Cristi sicut in primitiva ecclesia reducendi.

|| C fol. 29b Credunt⁴⁴ enim⁴⁵ ut fidem, quod deus || plus approbat suas sectas. Sperant eciā ex dei iudicio, quod sunt ex secte sue⁴⁶ permanēcia amplius premiandi.⁴⁷ Et plus diligunt unusquisque sectam suam quam communem sectam domini Iesu Cristi. — Et sic in istis virtutibus theologicis^d multum errant.

Quis igitur⁴⁸ nutriret⁴⁹ ipsos⁵⁰ in istis erroribus, sed pocius daret operam ad ipsos prudencius destruendum?

Similiter secundum legem Hieronymi^{51e} non mediocriter peccat,⁵²

^a viz. in *Faith Hope and Charity*
pars III, dist. V cap. 24

^e cp. Corp. iur. can., Decr.

³⁴ exuendum *CDFGα* extraendum (?) *E* exiendum *γ* ³⁵ carent *CDFGαγ* caret *E* ³⁶ cum *CDEFαγ* tum *G* ³⁷ dileccione *CDEFG*, in *γ* corr. word dilacione *α* ³⁸ notabiliter *CDFGαγ* notanter *E* ³⁹ possent *CDEFGα* posset *γ* ⁴⁰ proficere *CDGαγ* perficere *EF* ⁴¹ de onusto *CDFGαγ* de onusco *E*, in mar. is add. deo in isto (*underlined*) *E*² ⁴² in *E* antequam, though correctly wr. in the text, is repeat. by *E*² ⁴³ declaretur *CDFGαγ* declarare tur *E* ⁴⁴ in *F* credunt ergo (ergo cr. out) ⁴⁵ enim *CDFFαγ* om. *E* ⁴⁶ secte sue *DEFG* secte sua *Cγ* sue secte *α* ⁴⁷ premiandi *CDFGαγ* premandi *E* ⁴⁸ igitur *CDGαγ* ergo *EF* ⁴⁹ nutriret *CDGαγ* mitteret *EF* ⁵⁰ ipsos *CDGαγ* eos *EF* ⁵¹ in *D* is add. in mar.: Ieronimus *D¹* ⁵² peccat *Daγ,C*, but above it errat, *G*, but in mar. errat (*texthand*) errat *EF*

qui minus bonum prefert supposito indifferenti⁵³ magis bono, et sic colligitur, quod omnes isti privati ordines vel eorum plurimi secundum quod ipsos servaverint,⁵⁴ multum peccant. Deo enim non est⁵⁵ quelibet istarum sectarum indifferentes, ut famulus suus militet in⁵ quacumque, cum Cristus ex impossibilitate talis differencie⁵⁶ dicit Lue. 11:^f qui non est mecum, contra me est. Ideo si deo foret quidquam indifferentes, tunc⁵⁷ indubie wlt utrumque, et sic commixcio⁵⁸ vel⁵⁹ confusio omnium istorum ordinum foret bona.

Sed, ut verius loquar,⁶⁰ bonum⁶¹ foret, quod sinceritas Cristi⁶⁰ ordinis per se staret; quam cum⁶² isti ordines sine causa perturbant, videtur, quod non diligunt dominum⁶³ Iesum Cristum, et sic incurruunt secundum fidem apostoli^g anathema.

Et sic videtur, quod fundatores et fautores istorum ordinum voluntatem Cristi consulerent,⁶⁴ antequam supra ordinem Cristi introducerent istas sectas. — Nec est par racio de indifference trium statuum^h in Cristi ecclesia, quia omnes illi⁶⁵ status sunt a domino confirmati, et fidelis debet in vita caritatis Cristum⁶⁶ consulere, quis istorum statuum foret sibi⁶⁷ utilior. Et cum illis paribus non potest ab isto deficere, sed omnes iste secte novelle in isto fundamento deficiunt, cum nesciunt stabilire approbacionem domini in induccione⁶⁸ alicuius earum,⁶⁹ nec quod aliquis cultor alicuius earum in hac⁷⁰ vita vel alia sit beatus. Ignorancia enim vel ingratitudo in desiderando libertatem secte Cristi⁷¹ inseparabiliter ipsos culpat.⁷²

^f v. 23 ^g cp. I Cor. 16, 22 ^h of the clerici, milites, wlgares (or laboratores), see below *De Christo et Advers. suo Anticristo cap. I in the beginning*

⁵³ supposito indifferenti γ, C , but in mar. supposita indifference C^2 supposta indifference $DEFG\alpha$ ⁵⁴ servaverint $CDEG\alpha\gamma$ servaverit F ⁵⁵ est $CDFG\alpha\gamma, E^2$ in mar. om. E ⁵⁶ in a an uncertain abbrev.: dicere? ⁵⁷ tunc $CDFG\alpha\gamma, E^2$ in mar. om. E ⁵⁸ comixcio DEF comixtio $CG\alpha\gamma$ ⁵⁹ vel $CDFG\alpha\gamma$ sive E ⁶⁰ loquar $CDG\alpha\gamma$ loquamur EF ⁶¹ bonum $CEF\gamma$ unum $DG\alpha$ ⁶² cum EF tamen $CDG\alpha\gamma$ ⁶³ dominum $CDG\alpha\gamma$ om. EF ⁶⁴ consulerent $CDG\alpha$ consulerant E consulenter γ consulerunt F ⁶⁵ illi $CDEFG\alpha$ isti γ ⁶⁶ Cristum $CEFG\alpha\gamma$ om. D ⁶⁷ sibi $CDEG\alpha\gamma$ om. F ⁶⁸ induccione $CDEFG\alpha$ duccione γ ⁶⁹ earum in E is repeated in mar., cp. above note 42 ⁷⁰ earum nec quod al. cul. alic. ear in hac $CDFG\alpha\gamma$ earum in hac E ⁷¹ secte Cristi $CDFG\alpha\gamma$ Cristi secte E ⁷² culpat $CFG\alpha$ culpat etc. E inculpat $D\gamma$

CAP. XIII.

Restat^a ulterius alludendo¹ verbis Iohannis videndum, quomodo iste secte sunt² contrarie caritati.

Certum quidem est ex fide, quod omnis caritas informans hominem³ est ex deo, et iterum certum est, quod omnis talis caritas ex deo facit rem⁴ diligi,⁵ ut est bona. Iste autem secte necessitant inequa lance⁶ dilectionis res diligi,⁷ ideo sunt contrarie⁸ caritati. Quomodo, rogo, stare⁹ ordo, si quelibet persona illius ordinis communiter ordinem vel sectam diligeret, ut est bona? Revera tam personas meliores aliorum ordinum magis diligeret et foret plus socia, quam eciam ordinem suum privatum relinqueret et 10 caperet sinceriter ordinem cristianum.

Unde I Ioh. 1^b scribitur:¹⁰ si dixerimus, quoniam societatem habemus cum eo et in tenebris ambulamus, mentimur et veritatem non facimus; si autem in luce ambulamus, sicut et ipse in luce est, societatem habemus ad invicem, et sangwis¹¹ Iesu, filii¹² eius, 15 emundat nos ab omni peccato.

Ex prima parte videtur¹³ ex pertinencia verborum Iohannis, || C fol. 30a quod omnes, qui sunt in caritate, || de qua Iohannes loquitur, sunt socii domini nostri¹⁴ Iesu Cristi et immunes a peccato in spiritum sanctum. Et ex secunda palam sequitur,¹⁵ quod, si ambulamus in 20 gracia predestinacionis, tunc sumus¹⁶ sine illo peccato, et necesse

CAP. XIII. ^a With ref. to this chapt. see Tract de Pseudo-freris Cap. VI, Matthew, E.W. h. u. 309, where nearly the same ideas are found
^b v. 6—7

CAP. XIII. ¹ alludendo *CDFGαγ* alludendum *E* ² sunt *CDEGαγ* sint *F* ³ hominem *CDFGαγ* homines *E* ⁴ est ex deo et iter. c. e. q. o. t. c. ex d. f. rem *CDGαγ* est ex deo fac. rem *EF* ⁵ in *D* is add. in mar.: De dileccione *D* ⁶ lance *CFGαγ*, *E*, repeat. in mar. laute *D* ⁷ res diligi *CDEGαγ* om. *F*, but in mar. res dil. *F* ⁸ contrarie *CDGαγ* contraria *EF* ⁹ stare⁹ *CEFγ* foret *DGα* ¹⁰ scribitur *CDEGαγ* om. *F* ¹¹ sangwis *CDFGαγ* sangwinis *E* ¹² filii *CDEF* Cristi filii *Gαγ* ¹³ videtur *CEFGαγ* ordinis videtur *D* ¹⁴ nostri *CDGα* om. *EFγ* ¹⁵ sequitur *CDEGαγ* scribitur *F* ¹⁶ in *D* clearly suinus

est, puod sangwis Cristi pro suo tempore faciat nos simpliciter esse mundos.¹⁷

Sed quomodo disponeret ad hoc despontacio perpetua cum hiis sectis? Cum enim convertuntur Cristum diligere et diligere¹⁸ 5 principaliter ordinacionem vel legem, quam ipse instituit, ut patet Ioh. 14^c et Matth. 16^{19a}, videtur, quod isti privati ordines, qui ut sic despontant²⁰ se cum sectis propriis, relinquunt sectam domini Iesu Cristi, quia, si ex equo²¹ eas diligunt, cum tantum variantur, unam²² odiunt,²³ sed non illam, cum qua taliter²⁴ despontantur.²⁵ Ideo relinquunt, quod odiunt sectam²⁶ Cristi et per consequens non tunc socii sunt cum illo, et per consequens non in caritate predicta diligunt fratres suos, quia tunc deum diligenter et huminitatem Cristi, qui est pater²⁷ suus capitalis.

Ideo dicit condicionalis Iohannes^e quod, si in luce ambulamus, societatem habemus ad invicem. Sed quomodo possemus esse in ista caritate²⁸ confederati ad invicem, nisi²⁹ Cristum et suam sectam principaliter diligeremus, cum ipsum aliter odiremus.

Similiter cum Ioh. 3^f scribitur: omnis, qui odit fratrem suum, homicida est,^g secte autem ut tales manifeste odiunt fratres suos, ideo oportet, quod sint homicide et irregulares. Odiunt autem eos, cum non ordinate ipsos diligunt³⁰ equa lance,³¹ nec illis³² proficiunt, ut debent, secundum regulam caritatis et, ut sepe evenit, propter hoc, quod alii³³ non affectione privata afficiuntur suis sectis, ipsos odiunt.

^c v. 15 ^d v. 24 ^e I Joh. 1, 7 ^f v. 15 ^g With ref. to this
remark cp. Matthew, E. W. h. u. 310

¹⁷ e. m. *CDFGαγ* m. e. *E* ¹⁸ et dil. *CDFGαγ, E² in mar.* om. *E* ¹⁹ 16^o
CDαγ 10^o *EFG* ²⁰ despontant *DEFGαγ* despontat *C* ²¹ equo *CDFGαγ*
quo *E*, but afterwards an *e* has been add. ²² unam *CDGα* unum *EFγ* ²³ odiunt
CDEGαγ diligunt (cr. out & ud.) odiunt *F* ²⁴ taliter *CDFGαE² in mar.* om. *γ*
²⁵ despontantur *CDFGαγ* despontatur *E² in mar.* ²⁶ od. sed n. i. c. q. t. d. i. r. q.
o. sectam *CDFGαγ* od. sect. *E*, but in *mar.* sed non — q. od. *E²* ²⁷ pater
CDGαγ frater *EF* ²⁸ esse in i. c. *CDFGα* in i. c. esse *E* om. *γ* from here in
E a smaller hand begins ²⁹ habemus ad invic. s. q. p. e. i. i. ca. co. ad inv.
nisi *CDEFGαα* habemus ad inv. nisi *γ* ³⁰ ips. dil. *CDGα* dil. ips. *EF* eos
diligunt *γ* ³¹ lance *CEFGαγ* laute *D* ³² illis *CDEGαγ* illos *F* ³³ quod
alii *CDEFGαα* om. *γ*

Similiter, ut dicitur I Ioh. 4:^h omnis spiritus, qui solvit Iesum, ex deo non est, et hic est anticeristus, de quo audistis, quoniam venit et nunc iam in mundo est.ⁱ Ille autem ad propositum solvit Iesum, qui est causa culpabilis, quare Iesus et frater in domino non tam firmiter colligantur.^j Sed quis dubitat, quin, si 5 omnes colligaciones in istis sectis forent in pura colligacione secte Cristi sinceriter copulate,^k Cristus foret plus dilectus ab illis fratribus, quam est modo? Tunc enim haberent solum Cristum patronum, sieut habuerunt apostoli et solum legem eius pro regula. Amor igitur, qui in ipsis sic^l pure^m foret collectus, qui hodie est 10 dispersus, foret maior ad Cristum, quam est modo.

Quomodo igitur non dividunt ipsi Iesumⁿ et sunt per consequens anticeristus? Quamvis autem multe persone sint^o nostri^p adiutores, fratres et socii,^q non tamen audeo dicere, quod sint capita sancte^r matris ecclesie sive^s nostra, quia tunc ecclesia foret ni- 15 mium monstruosa, cum haberet sepe dyabolum caput suum et opinio errancium constistueret prepositum^t in caput eius, quod deus non^u constituit. Concederem^v autem, si oportet, quod talis prepositus est prior vel capitaneus talis secte, sed nomen capititis servabo domino Iesu Christo, cum caput immediate debet^w erigi super^x cor- 20 pus,^y quod est ecclesia.

Non autem scio fundare, quod^z papa sit caput ecclesie, vel quod^a aliquis prior secte private sit patronus, qui tante^b colitur in sermonibus, nisi solvero^c Iesum et per consequens furo^d anti- 25 ceristus.

^h v. 3 ⁱ As to this, see Matthew p. 310

^j colligantur *CDGαγ* om. F diligitur E ^k copulate *CDFGαγ* copulata E
^l sic *CDFGαγ* sit E ^m pure *CDGαγ* primus EF ⁿ quom. ig. n. d. i. Ies. *CDαγ* quom. ergo n. d. i. Ies. FG quom. ergo i. n. d. Ies. E ^o sint *CDFGαγ* sunt E ^p nostri *CDEFαγ* vestri G ^q socii *CEFγ* sociis *DGα*
^r sancte *CDGαγ* secte EF ^s sive *CDGαγ*, F (?) sicut E ^t prepositum *CDFGαγ* propositum E ^u non *CDEFGα* om. γ ^v concederem *DGα* con-
 cedere *EFγ* concederet C ^w imm. de. *CDGαγ* de. imm. EF ^x super *CDEFG* supra αγ ^y corpus *CDEFGγ* coro α ^z in E above the full quod in the text another abbreviated quod is repeat. ^z quod *CDGαγ* om. EF
^a tante *CDEFGα* caute γ ^b solvero *CDGαγ* solvere EF ^c furo *CDGαγ* fuere EF (fure?)

Et eodem modo si fratres plus diligunt mundum quam animas, quibus predican, tunc in caritate deficiunt, cum || I Joh. 2^k c fol. 30^b seribitur: nolite diligere mundum neque ea, que in mundo sunt. Si quis diligit mundum, non est caritas patris in eo. Cum ergo 5 iste secte necessitant ad istam dilectionem sui auditorii⁵⁵ substerendum, videtur, quod⁵⁶ sunt contrarie caritati.

Propter⁵⁷ talia precipit Iohannes II sua epistola:^{58l} si quis venit ad vos et hanc doctrinam non affert,⁵⁹ nolite eum recipere in domum, nec ave dixeritis;⁶⁰ qui enim dicit ei ave, communica¹⁰ cat operibus eius⁶¹ malignis.

Et ista fides executa fideliter foret contra has sectas optima medicina, cum certum sit, quod fratres nec communicando nec predicando afferunt⁶² hanc doctrinam, scilicet quod hec est caritas,⁶³ ut ambulemus secundum mandata eius. Qui autem in hoc deficit, 15 non confitetur, meritorie Iesum venisse in carne, sed est seductor et antieristus, sicut epistola⁶⁴ dicit ibi.^{65m}

CAP. XIV.

Ultimo restat videre,¹ si epistola Iude possit pertinenter fratribus applicari.^a

Dicit autem Iudas^b imprimis, quod generacio ista adultera 20 fuit statim in veteri² testamento;³ unde Enoch,⁴ septimus ab Adam,

^k v. 15 ^l v. 10—11 ^m cp. II. Joh. 6—7

CAP. XIV. ^a With ref. to the follow. cp. Tract. de Pseudo-freris, cap. V ed. Matthew, E. W. h. u. 306 ff. ^b v. 14—15

⁵⁵ auditorii *CDaγ* adiutorii *EF,C in mar.,G, but in mar. auditorii (text hand)*
⁵⁶ quod *CDEFGγ* quam *α* ⁵⁷ propter (*cr. out & ud.*) propter in *E* ⁵⁸ Ioh. 2^a
sua ep. CDGα Ioh. 2^a ep. *sua γ* Ioh. *sua 2^a ep. EF* ⁵⁹ affert, above it habet
in C ⁶⁰ dix. *CE* ei dix. *DFGαγ* ⁶¹ op. ei. *CDGαγ* ei. op. *EF* ⁶² afferunt
CDGαγ asserunt *EF* ⁶³ hec e. c. *CDGγ* hec c. est *EF* hec c. *α* ⁶⁴ epis-
tolista CEFγ,G, above it in the text apostolus apostolus D, α, but in mar. epistola α^t
⁶⁵ ibi *FGaγ* ibi cap. 14 *C* ibi et sequitur *E* ibi etc. *D*

CAP. XIV. ¹ videre *CDGαγ* videndum *EF* ² veteri *CDFGαγ* vetere *E*
³ in *D* is add. in *mar.*: Generacio adultera fuit statim in veteri testamento *D^t* ⁴ in
F enos

prophetavit⁵ de illis, quod veniet dominus arguere impios de omnibus duris, que locuti fuerint contra deum. Nec fuit auditum a mundi exordio, quod secte, quidquid⁶ fecerint, non⁷ sunt a fidelibus arguende, quia hoc innueret satis patenter, quod in malicia supra dyabolum superant⁸ firmitatem ecclesie cristiane. 5

Narrat autem sanctus Iudas verba contra generacionem istam adulteram satis vera:^c hii sunt, inquit, murmuratores⁹ querulosi, secundum desideria sua ambulantes, et os eorum loquitur superbiam, mirantes¹⁰ personas questus causa.

Numquid credimus istas sectas esse¹¹ murmuratores querulosos,¹² 10 cum contra suam paupertatem remurmurant, licet false dicant, se ipsam gratis diligere,¹³ et tamen per fictam¹⁴ mendicacionem continue nituntur¹⁵ ipsam extingwere? Et sic de sua pauperie conqueruntur continue¹⁶ mendicando, cum pretextu illius inopie sic mendicant. 15

Ambulant secundo secundum sua desideria mendicando, ut copiosius voluptatibus se involvant.

Os autem eorum loquitur superbiam,¹⁷ cum innuunt statum suum plus esse¹⁸ perfectum statu apostolico vel statu pape et¹⁹ cardinalium et cum²⁰ sic mendicando dicunt oppositum, ideo per- 20 fectionem talis mendacii innuunt, cuius sunt filii.

Quarto predictant²¹ personas mirabiles sanctitate,²² sciencia vel alia preeminencia. Sed fit tota ista adulacio questus causa. Et sic predictant personas sui ordinis esse mirabiles sanctitate atque sciencia, sed causa est, ut per hoc suo ordini querant lucrum. 25

^c v. 16

⁵ prophetavit *CDGαγ* proponit *EF* ⁶ quidquid *CEFγ* quidquam *DGα*
⁷ non *CDEFGα* nec *γ* ⁸ superant *CDEFαγ* superavit *G* ⁹ in *D* is add. in mar.:
 Hii sunt inquit murmuratores *D*¹ ¹⁰ mirantes *CDGαγ*, *E²F¹* in mar. iuvantes
EF ¹¹ esse *CDGγ* om. *EFα* ¹² querulosos *CFGαγ* querulosas *DE* ¹³ diligere
CDFGαγ eligere *E* ¹⁴ per fictam *CDGαγ* perfectam *EF* ¹⁵ nituntur
CDEGαγ intuntur *F* ¹⁶ continue *CDEFGα* cottidie, above it by the texthand
 continue *γ* ¹⁷ sup. *CDEF* frequentur sup. *Gαγ* ¹⁸ pl. e. *CDGαγ* e. pl.
EF ¹⁹ et *CDFDαγ* vel *E* ²⁰ cum *CDGαγ* tunc *EF* ²¹ predictant *CD*
Gαγ mendicant *F* possunt *E*, in mar. ponunt *E²* ²² sanctitate *CDEGαγ*
 sanctitatem *F*

Et sequitur in textu Iude:^d vos autem, carissimi, memores estote verborum, que predicta sunt ab apostolis²³ domini nostri Iesu Cristi, qui dicebant vobis, quoniam in novissimis temporibus²⁴ venient illusores,²⁵ secundum desideria sua ambulantes in impietate. 5 Hii sunt, qui²⁶ segregant semet ipsos, animales, spiritum non habentes.

¶ Ubi manifestum est ex vita et opere fratrum, quod iste ¶ C fol. 31a sanctus Iudas hic de ipsis loquitur et singula verba propter sensum sancti spiritus sunt notanda. Sicut enim credimus illius sanctitatem vite domini Iesu Cristi, sic credimus sanctitatem²⁷ vite istorum apostolorum et sentenciam codicum, quos scripserunt.

Et hinc, quia nulle²⁸ secte vocate vel profunctorie²⁹ cristiane audebant negare, istam sentenciam expressam in biblia esse fidem catholicam, ideo adducunt homines ista testimonia, que iste secte pre verecundia non audent renuere tamquam fidem. Propheta autem Hildegardis^e prophetavit³⁰ de ipsis³¹ egregie atque plane.^f Sed quia habere possent colorem negare, dicta sua esse authentica sive³² fidem,³³ relictis hiis scriptis volentibus ex abundanti ipsa respicere,³⁴ videtur multis esse forceius atque utilius, hanc legem gracie recitare. Ideo mandat hic sanctus³⁵ apostolus:^g vos autem, carissimi, memores estote verborum, que predicta sunt ab apostolis domini nostri³⁶ Iesu Cristi. Cum enim ut fidem accipimus,³⁷ quod

^d v. 17—19 ^e Hildegard (1098—1179), abbess of St. Ruppert near Bingen, known by her visionary prophecies & her ascetic life, is frequently mentioned by the Lollards on account of her attacks on the abuses of the Church, cp. Pecoock's Repressor ed. Ch. Babington 1860, II, 483; 477 ff.; 502 ff.; W. also cites from her works frequently, Matthew, E. W. h. u. 11; 492; Trial. 338 ^f in her Epist. ad Cler. Colon. q. 574; 581 ff. ^g v. 17

²³ in D is add. with mark of ref. above the col.: Vos autem, car., etc. — apostolis D¹ ²⁴ temporibus CDGαγ̄ diebus et temporibus EF ²⁵ illusores CEFGαγ̄ delusores D ²⁶ qui CDEFαγ̄ om. G ²⁷ en. cred. i. s. v. d. I. C. s. cred. sanc. CDGαγ̄ en. cred. sanc. EF ²⁸ nulle Gγ mille CDEFα ²⁹ profunctorie CEFGαγ̄ profunctorie D (compend. om.) ³⁰ prophetavit CDFGαγ̄ prophetat E ³¹ ipsis CDFGαγ̄ eis E ³² sive CDGαγ̄ sicut EF ³³ fidem CDEFGγ fide α ³⁴ ip. resp. CDFGαγ̄ r. i. E ³⁵ sanctus CDEFGα om. γ ³⁶ nostri CDEFαγ̄, G in mar. by the texthd. om. G ³⁷ accipimus CDGαγ̄ accepimus EF

in ipsis regulariter quoad scripta sua canonica locutus est dominus Iesus Cristus et ipse mentiri non potuit vel aliquid³⁸ ignorare ut fidem, concludimus, quod nec eius apostoli in hiis scriptis, licet autem errare possent in moribus et via, non tamen ut sancti,³⁹ sunt sic scribe ecclesie domini Iesu Christi; verba ergo⁴⁰ eorum⁴¹ ut verba vite eterne 5 debent catholici memorari, quia efficacia istius memorie facit homines esse filios dei carissimos. Et supponi debet, quod alii⁴² apostoli ut Paulus et reliqui⁴³ dixerunt vel predicando vel scribendo istam Iude sentenciam, licet ipsa verba in epistolis suis⁴⁴ canonicis non habemus.

Ista ergo fides posset pertinentissime, ut videtur, fratribus⁴⁵ applicari.

Iste autem secte fratrum in novissimis temporibus, quia post⁴⁶ mille annos ab ascensione domini, quando solitus est sathanas,^h sunt⁴⁷ suborte.

Ideo vere dicit Iudas,ⁱ quod venient in novissimis temporibus⁴⁸ et nominat eos in principio illusores,⁴⁹ quia adulterando verbum dei in fide primo fideles decipiunt, sicut patet in suis predicationibus et suis interlocucionibus de⁵⁰ verbis domini et licencia filios ecclesie expugnandi. Dogmatizant enim, ut manifesti heretici, quod Cristus 20 docuit suos apostolos emere sibi corporales gladios ad pugnandum,⁵¹ apostoli autem Cristi istum sensum non habuerant⁵² de hiis verbis, cum de Andrea legitur,⁵³ quod rogavit populum, ut non impidirent passionem eius, dum populus ille voluit⁵⁴ Andream⁵⁵ de manu

^h An idea peculiar to W. & often repeated by him, cp. below *De Solucione Sath.*, cap. I, beginning, also *Trial.* 153; 240; 249 ff.; 362, *Matthew*, E. W. h. u. 3; 48; 89; 328 and in other places ⁱ v. 18

³⁸ aliquid *DGαγ̄* aliud *C om. EF* ³⁹ sancti *CGγ̄* facti *DEFα* ⁴⁰ ergo *CEFGαγ̄* autem *D* ⁴¹ in *α* is add. in mar.: Verba apostolorum nota *α¹* ⁴² alii *CDGαγ̄* (corr. word) ante *EF* ⁴³ et rel. *DEFGαγ̄* *om. C*, but add. by texthd. in mar. ⁴⁴ suis *CDGα* *om. EFγ̄* ⁴⁵ ut vi. fr. *CDGγ̄* fr. ut vi. *EF* ut dicitur fr. *α* ⁴⁶ post *CDEGαγ̄* plus *F* ⁴⁷ sunt *CDFGαγ̄, E²* in mar. *om. E* ⁴⁸ in *D* is add. in mar.: Nota bene *D¹* ⁴⁹ in *D* is add. in mar.: Illusores *D¹* ⁵⁰ pred. et s. i. de *CDEGαγ̄* pred. de *F* ⁵¹ in *C* is add. in mar.: Nota ⁵² habuerant *CDGα* habuerunt *EFγ̄* ⁵³ in *D* is add. with mark of ref. below the col.: Andreas rogavit populum, ne impidirent passionem eius *D¹* ⁵⁴ voluit *CDFGγ̄* voluerit *Eα* ⁵⁵ Andream *CDFGαγ̄* *om. E*

Hegee⁵⁶ eripere^k et de tormento crucis, quod Hegeas sibi dispositum liberare. Fratres autem adinvenerunt⁵⁷ supra apostolos ex verbis domini, ut fingunt indubie propter questum, quod licet tam episcopis quam fratribus sic⁵⁸ pugnare. Ideo sunt propter racio-
5 nem multiplicem illusores.

Sunt secundo⁵⁹ secundum desideria sua ambulantes, quia propter novitatem sue inductionis vendicant,⁶⁰ iurisdiccionibus episcopalibus non subesse, et quantumcunque infide in spoliacione vel mulierum strangulacione in diocesi vel provincia⁶¹ contra episcopos
10 vel subditos suos⁶² pec^{||}caverint, vendicant, quod a correccione⁶³ || C fol. 31b episcopi sunt⁶⁴ exempti.^l Et hinc sunt plus secundum desideria sua ambulantes.

Nec ambulant regulariter⁶⁵ in pietate, cum verba Christi parum ponderant, sed ipsa asserunt esse falsa⁶⁶ et pauperes plebeos spoli-
15 liant. Sed que pietas est in istis?

Quarto dicit iste apostolus, quod hii sunt,⁶⁷ qui segregant semet ipsos.⁶⁸ Non autem iacent regulariter in alienis⁶⁹ domibus, si-
20 cut fecerunt Christus et eius⁷⁰ apostoli, cum faciunt aliquid⁷¹ a populo abscondendum, sed in locis magis fertilibus edificant sibi do-
mos proprias sumptuosas ex rapinis subtilibus ad magnum dampnum rei publice constructas. Hic signanter dicit Iudas, quod hii segregant semet ipsos. Volunt tamen hospitare divites viros aut⁷²
feminas indubie questus gracia vel corporee⁷³ voluptatis.

^k cp. Woog, *De Mart. Andr. Apost.*, Lpz. 1749, 87, also Cave, *Antt. App.*, in *vit. And.* 3, 4 p. 481 ff. ^l W. has very probably in view the monachi nigri, i. e. the reformed Benedictines, who, under the name of *Cluniacenses*, recognised the pope as their immediate spiritual lord

⁵⁶ vo. A. d. m. He. *CFGαγ* v. d. m. He. A. D. ⁵⁷ adinvenerunt *CDEγ* advenerunt F invenerunt *Gα* ⁵⁸ sic *CDEFGα* taliter γ ⁵⁹ 20 *CDEFGα* autem (*cr. out*) 20γ ⁶⁰ vendicant *CEFGαγ* vendicat D ⁶¹ prov. *CDFGαγ* in prov. E ⁶² e. v. sub. s. *CDEFG* e. s. v. sub. γ e. v. sub. α ⁶³ correccione *CDFG* correpeccione *Eαγ* ⁶⁴ sunt *CDEFGα* sint γ ⁶⁵ regulariter *CDFGxγ* irregul. E ⁶⁶ falsa *CDGαγ* falsum E, F, but above um is inserted a ⁶⁷ sunt *Gαγ* om. *CDEF* ⁶⁸ in D is add. in mar.: Segregant semet ipsos D^t ⁶⁹ alienis *CDGαγ* alias EF ⁷⁰ eius *CEFGα* sui Dγ ⁷¹ aliquid *CDFGαγ* aliud E ⁷² aut *CDEFGα* ac γ ⁷³ corporee αγ corpore *CDEFG*

Et ideo dicit Iudas^m quinto, quod sunt animales⁷⁴ propter voluptuosam vitam,⁷⁵ in qua taliter se involvunt.

Sexto, ut Iudas^m meminit, ex istis sequitur, quod sunt spiritum sanctum communiter non habentes,⁷⁶ cum⁷⁷ spiritus sanctus tales effrenes voluptuosos non inhabitat inspirando.⁷⁸

5

CAP. XV.

Unde¹ paulo ante^a Iudas assimilando has sectas eis improperebat sub hiis verbis: hii² sunt in epulis³ macule convivantes,⁴ sine timore semet ipsos pascentes, nubes sine aqua, que a ventis circumferuntur,⁵ arbores autumpnales, infruituose, bis mortue, eradicate, fluctus⁶ feri⁷ maris, despumantes⁸ suas confusiones, sidera errancia, ¹⁰ quibus procella tenebrarum conservata⁹ est in eternum.

Ista octo¹⁰ verba exprobratoria¹¹ possunt cum¹² aliis discolis fratribus¹³ applicari.

Sunt autem primo¹⁴ in epulis¹⁵ suis¹⁶ macule convivantes, quia propter universalitem et incorrigibilitatem sunt maeule in ab-¹⁵ stracto. Vel enim prandent extrinsecus cum populo, quem visitant, vel intrinsecus cum semet ipsis; et quando mandueant extrinsecus, non¹⁷ intrant domum pauperem,¹⁸ nisi forte ibi sit convivium cele-

^m v. 19CAP. XV. ^a v. 12—13. As to the follow, cp. Matthew, E. W. h. u. 307 ff.

⁷⁴ in D is add. in mar: Animales D¹ ⁷⁵ pr. vol. vi. CDGα pr. vi. vol. EF v. pr. voluptuosam γ ⁷⁶ in D is add. in mar.: Spiritum sanctum non habentes D¹ ⁷⁷ cum CDEGαγ tam F ⁷⁸ inspirando CEFGαγ insp. etc. D

CAP. XV. ¹ Unde CDEFαγ Ude G ² hii CDFGαγ hiis E ³ epulis DGγ epistolis (?) CEFα ⁴ convivantes CDFGαγ conviantes E, but in mar. a little defaced convivantes by E³ ⁵ circumferuntur CDGα circumseruntur(?) EFγ ⁶ fluct. CDEFGα fluct. sevi γ ⁷ feri DEFαγ feri C, but in mar. sevi ⁸ despumantes CDFGα dispumantes Eγ ⁹ conservata CDEFα confurata G servata γ ¹⁰ octo CDEGαγ ergo F ¹¹ exprobratoria CDEFGα exprobratoria γ ¹² cum CDFGαγ om. E ¹³ disc. fr. CDFGαγ fr. disc. E ¹⁴ primo CEFGαγ om. D ¹⁵ epulis CDGαγ epistolis EF ¹⁶ suis CDEFαγ om. G ¹⁷ vel intr. c. s. i. et q. m. ex. non CDEGαγ vel intr. non F ¹⁸ pauperum CDGαγ pauperem EF

bratum, sed domum divitis dapiferi, ut prandium suum sit equi-pollens convivio. Dum autem domi comedunt cum semet ipsis, tunc de spoliis pauperum semet ipsos convivant copiosius, quando pascunt divitem secularem, et parcus, quando pascunt solummodo 5 semet¹⁹ ipsos. Ista tamen²⁰ parcitas non attingit parcitatem pauperum, quos²¹ hypocrite²² a sumptibus spoliarunt.²³ Et omnino in prandio isto propter monstruositatem personarum²⁴ assimilatam convivio se pascunt de alienis epulis maculose.

Secundo sunt sine timore semet ipsos pascentes, quia tam²⁵ 10 spoliatores in regnis exteris,²⁶ quam latrones in regnis intrinsecis²⁷ sunt cum timore magno invasionis hostium epulantes. Sed isti armati armis hypocrisis, non obstante, quod spoliant et rapiunt fideles sine²⁸ timore, comedunt predam suam et sic²⁹ cum ceci³⁰ putant se prestare³¹ deo in hoc obsequium,³² || nec deum nec hominem || C fol. 32a 15 timent in sic vescendo bonis pauperum proximorum.

Tercio vocat eos Iudas: nubes sine aqua.³³ Sacerdotes autem debent³⁴ esse nubes³⁵ populo propter causam triplicem communiter assignatam: primo enim debent vindictam solis iusticie^b mediante³⁶ 20 sanctitate sue vite a populo eclipsari; secundo debent ab ardore cupidinis terrenorum³⁷ plebem protegere; et tertio debent pluviam voluntariam aque³⁸ sapientie generatam in hiis nubibus populo destillare. — Sed, ut videtur multis, fovendo et celando peccata populi pocius preparant³⁹ ad vindictam et spoliando pauperes de

^b viz. Jesus Christ

¹⁹ semet *CDGαγ* se *EF* ²⁰ tamen *CGγ* autem *DEFα* ²¹ quos *DGαγ*,
C(?)quas) quo *EF* ²² hypocrite *CEF* hypocrite *DGαγ* ²³ spoliarunt *CDGαγ*
spoliaverunt EF ²⁴ personarum *CDGαγ* parum (?) *E om. F* ²⁵ quia tam
CDEGαγ artam *F*, but ar *ud.* & above it as well as in mar.: quia *F* ²⁶ exteris *CDγ*,
Gα^t in mar. extrinsecis *EFGα* ²⁷ regn. ex. q. l. i. r. intr. *CDEGαγ* regn. intr. *F*,
but in mar. ext. q. l. i. r. *F* ²⁸ in *E* sines, but the end-s cr. out ²⁹ in *E* sic
first forgotten, then inserted into the text ³⁰ ceci *CDGγ* om. *EFα* ³¹ prestare *Cγ*
patrare *DEFGα* ³² in hoc obs. *CDEFGα* om. *γ* ³³ voc. e. I. n. s. a. *CF*
v. I. e. n. s. a. *DGαγ* voc. e. I. s. n. a. *E* ³⁴ debent *CDFGαγ* dicunt *E*
³⁵ in *E* is add. in mar.: Sacerdotes dicuntur nubes sine pluvia *E^t* ³⁶ mediante *EFγ*
mediate *CDGα* ³⁷ terrenorum *CDFGαγ* terrenorum *E*, but the first n cr. out
& ud. ³⁸ aque *CDEFGγ* aqua *α*, above it aque inserted by *α^t* ³⁹ preparant
CDEGαγ preprant *F* (written wrong)

bonis suis pauculis tam exemplo quam opere ipsos necessitant ad amplius cupiendum.

Et quantum ad tertium dicit apostolus, quod sunt nubes sine pluvia, quia non predican aquam sapiencie, sed falsa sive ludicia propter questum. Ideo cum secundum philosophos⁴⁰ est aura pestilencialis, quando videtur pluere et non pluit, videtur multis, quod tales secte inducunt spissim pestilenciam anime, que in gracia vivet quoad deum. A ventis autem inconstantibus indubie maligni spiritus talis secta communiter varie circumfertur. Ventus autem superbie et suffusio⁴¹ dominorum et⁴² dominarum cum sua cupidine eos tam varie circumducit.¹⁰

Quarto dicit Iudas, quod sunt arbores autumpnales, infructuose. Sicut enim arbores fructifere in autumpno potissime fructus suos ostenderent, sic iste secte mediante⁴³ sua pauperie et sanetitate, quam similant, forent populo spiritualiter fructuose. Sed cum iste⁴⁴¹⁵ fructus deficiat,⁴⁵ quam vere dicit iste⁴⁶ apostolus, quod sunt arbores infructuose! Cum enim alii antiqui sacerdotes, qui fuerunt, antequam iste secte fuerant introduce, perfecerint⁴⁷ officium, quod deberent, iste⁴⁸ secte forent omnino superflue, et sic illatores infructuosi⁴⁹ stolidi introducti.⁵⁰

20

Quinto dicit iste sanctus⁵¹ apostolus,⁵² quod iste persone sunt bis mortue. Sunt enim semel mortue ex⁵³ carencia gracie in statu seculi, quia assistente dei gracia numquam intrarent has sectas per dyabolum adinventas et sic⁵⁴ per iustum⁵⁵ vitam in seculo et omnino per demoniacum⁵⁶ introitum in istos ordines sunt semel⁵⁷ mortui,²⁵ antequam fiant fratres; et iterum, cum continuant peccatum istas

⁴⁰ philosophos *CDFGαγ* filozofos *E*, the last part first erased, afterw. inserted over the line ⁴¹ suffusio *CDEFGγ* suffultus *α* ⁴² et *CDEFGα* ac *γ*
⁴³ mediante *Eγ* mediate *CDFGα* ⁴⁴ iste *CDEFGγ* isti *α* (corr. word) ⁴⁵ deficiat *CDEFGγ* deficiant *α* ⁴⁶ iste *CDGαγ* om. *EF* ⁴⁷ perfecerint *Cγ* perfecerunt *DEFGα* ⁴⁸ iste *CDGαγ* ille *EF* ⁴⁹ infructuosi *CDGα* infructuoso *EF* infructuose *γ* ⁵⁰ introducti *CDGαγ* introduce *EF* ⁵¹ sanctus *CDEFGα* om. *γ* ⁵² in *γ* quinto — apostolus is repeated ⁵³ bis m. s. e. s. m. ex *CDGαγ* bis mortue ex *EF* ⁵⁴ et sic *CDEFGα* nec *γ* ⁵⁵ iustum *CEF* iniustum *DGαγ* ⁵⁶ demoniacum *CEFGαγ* dyabolicum *D* ⁵⁷ semel *DEFGαγ* om. *C*, but added afterwards in mar.

sectas consequens. Cum fuerint facti fratres, sunt iterum gravius mortui, quoad deum.

Et cum sunt positi extra spem redeundi ad sinceram et libera-
5 ram sectam Cristi, et spes debet stabilire viantem⁵⁸ sicut anchora⁵⁹
5 sive radix, subtiliter dicit,⁶⁰ quod⁶¹ sunt eradicate. Et istud est
sextum verbum exprobratorium.

Septimo sunt fluctus feri maris despumantes⁶² suas confusiones.
Vocatur autem ferum mare⁶³ communitas membrorum dyaboli,⁶⁴
que ex causa multiplici congrue dicitur esse mare; et dicitur ferum,
10 quia sine iugo legis domini⁶⁵ vagatur indomitum in ecclesia mili-
tante. Sed inter||omnes partes predicti maris,⁶⁶ secte prediecte in || C fol. 32b
vecte⁶⁷ furia⁶⁸ sunt amplius vagabunde. Despumant⁶⁹ autem suam
confusionem per hoc, quod fundacionem istarum sectarum nesciunt
stabilire. Sed una contrariante alteri de istarum⁷⁰ sectarum iniciis
15 et⁷¹ valenciis sunt⁷² confusiones proprias despumantes.⁷³ Et ostendendo,
quod non sunt eius discipuli, in quo non fuerunt est et non,
commendant⁷⁴ in suis sermonibus egestatem, et tamen laborant in
opere, ut exuant illam tunicam, quam sic laudant.

Octavo dicit iste sanctus apostolus, quod iste secte sunt sidera
20 errancia, quibus procella tenebrarum conservata est in eternum.
Inter omnia autem sidera errancia stella cometa⁷⁵ habet propriissime
illud nomen, cum⁷⁶ non sequitur⁷⁷ regulariter motum celi, sed
quodammodo fingendo⁷⁸ infra aerem⁷⁹ imitacionem astri, quod ipsam

⁵⁸ viantem $C\gamma$, $G\alpha$, but in mar. unitatem G (texthd., resp. α^1) unitatem DEF ⁵⁹ anchora $CDEFG\alpha$ anchora γ ⁶⁰ dicit $CDEFG\alpha$ dicitur γ
⁶¹ quod $CDG\alpha\gamma$ Iudas quod EF ⁶² despumantes $CDFG\alpha\gamma$ despumantes E
⁶³ in D is add. in mar.: Ferum mare D^2 ⁶⁴ me. dy. $CDFG\alpha\gamma$ dy. me. E
⁶⁵ domini $CDEFG\alpha$ dei γ ⁶⁶ maris $D\gamma$, C , above it in text: meroris meroris
 EF , $G\alpha$, but in mar. maris G (texthd., resp. α^1) ⁶⁷ invente $CDEFG\alpha$ et
recte γ ⁶⁸ furia $CDEG\alpha\gamma$ firma (ud.) above it furia F ⁶⁹ despumant $CDG\alpha\gamma$
dispumant EF ⁷⁰ de istarum $CDFG\alpha\gamma$ dictarum E ⁷¹ et $CDEG\alpha\gamma$ inu-
tilescensibus (cr. out & ud.) et F ⁷² sunt $CDG\alpha\gamma$ om. EF ⁷³ despumantes
 $CDFG\alpha\gamma$ dispumans E ⁷⁴ commendant $CDG\alpha\gamma$ id est comedat E id est
comedant F ⁷⁵ sunt sid. errancia quibus — stella cometa $CDFG\alpha\gamma$ sunt si.
err. com. E , but below the col. is add.: quibus procella — errancia E^2 in D is
add. in mar.: Cometa D^1 ⁷⁶ cum $CDG\alpha\gamma$ quod EF ⁷⁷ sequitur $CEF\alpha$ conse-
quitur $DG\gamma$ ⁷⁸ fingendo $CDFG\alpha\gamma$ fugiendo E ⁷⁹ infra $CDFG\alpha\gamma$ in falsum E

genuit, prenósticat mortes⁸⁰ principum,⁸¹ pestilencias et alia multa mala.

Sic⁸² autem iste secte non in celeste corpus ecclesie sublimantur,⁸³ sed simulantes se esse de ecclesia, ac si stella cometa se esse fixam⁸⁴ fingeret supra lunam, non solum mortes prelatorum, pestilencias et alia multa mala prenósticant, sed faciunt in effectu;⁸⁵ et sicut stella cometa⁸⁶ non habet perpetuam mansionem, sed in brevi in mare dissolvitur, sic supponi poterit de hiis sectis; et quod sua habitacio sit in inferno, ubi tempestas⁸⁷ tenebrosa perpetuatur, verisimiliter credi potest, cum non cum Paulo apostolo⁸⁸ sua con- 10 versacio sit in celis.^c

Talia sunt multa dicta in lege gracie, que pertinenter istis sectis poterint⁸⁹ applicari.⁹⁰

CAP. XVI.

Sed hic¹ isti remurmuratores² querulosi^a regarrulant dicentes, quod iste sensus fidei scripture non est nisi heretice de hiis fratribus sompniantibus, cum nulli sancti doctores priores sic exposuerant nostram fidem.

Et certum est, quod quicunque exposuerit³ fidem scripture⁴ aliter quam⁵ spiritus sanctus flagitat, ex pertinaci proposito est⁶ hereticus.

20

^c cp. *Phili.* 3, 20

CAP. XVI. ^a So accord. to *Iude v. 16*, cp. above cap. XIV p. 66

⁸⁰ mortes *CDGαγ* virtes (*not clear*) *E*, but in mar. mortis *E*² morte (*last part of the word corr.*) *F*, but in mar. mortes *F*¹ ⁸¹ principum *CDGαγ* principium *EF* ⁸² sic *CDFGαγ* si *E*, above it *c* is add. in the text ⁸³ sublimantur *CEFGαγ* sublunantur *D* ⁸⁴ s. e. f. *CDEFGαα* f. s. e. *γ* ⁸⁵ in effectu *CDGαγ* in effectum *EF* ⁸⁶ in *D* is add. in mar.: Cometa in *C* cometa is corr. from comata, cp. the same before, above l. 4, but p. 73 l. 21 comata corr. from cometa ⁸⁷ tempestas *CDFGαγ* est temp. *E* ⁸⁸ ap. *CDGαγ* scilicet ap. *EF* ⁸⁹ poterint *CDFGαγ* possunt *E* ⁹⁰ p. a. *CDFGαγ* a. p. etc. *E*

CAP. XVI. ¹ hic *CDGαγ* om. *EF* ² remurm. *CDEFGαα* murmuratores *γ* ³ exposuerit *CDGαα* exposuit *E* exposuerint *γ* om. *F* ⁴ scripture *CDGαγ* om. *EF* ⁵ nost. fid. e. c. q. q. exp. f. ser. al. quam *CDEGαγ* nost. fid. al. quam *F* ⁶ est *CDEFGαα* est (*cr. out*) *γ*

Hic sepe dictum est, quomodo admittimus veritatem scripture saec ex integro tamquam fidem, et quantum ad partes eius, de quarum sensibus opinionem habemus vel humiliter ambigimus, dicimus sensus nostros opinative, vel⁷ humiliter recitamus⁸ parati semper ad⁹ concedendum¹⁰ sensum catholicum, sive per papam, sive per fratrem aliquem, sive per laicum sit edoctus. In isto autem sensu exposito modo, quo dictum est, opinative quiescimus quoque sensus¹¹ probabilior huic contrarius sit edoctus.

Sed quantum ad hic¹² factam arguciam, patet, quod nec omnes fratres nec papa cum omnibus cardinalibus sciunt probare, quod primo assumitur.^{13b} Quamvis autem ipsos lateat, quem¹⁴ sensum spiritus sanctus ex isto textu¹⁵ flagitat, vel quemcunque sensum aliquis¹⁶ sanctus de ipso dixerit, cum iuxta professionem priorem doceant¹⁷ sensum alium vel improbent istum et tunc opinans vlt eis humiliter consentire. Et ad istud || hee seete darent operam, dimitendo sollicitudinem mundanam,¹⁸ cum Cristus Matth. 24^c in simili¹⁹ difficultate precipiat: qui legit, inquit, intellegat, et turpe foret, quod aliqui homines dampnent vel increpant, quod ignorant, quia sic ex sibi dubio prosternerent sensum dei.

Secundo arguitur pro hac parte, quemcunque²⁰ sensum catholicum, quem verba pretendunt secundum sensum grammaticalem,²¹ primarium illum²² sensum spiritus sanctus per verba sua intelligit, sed sic processum est in istis verbis ewangelii exponendo, ergo spiritus sanctus illos intelligit.²³ Et cum foret pertinentissimum edificacioni ecclesie spiritum sanctum illos sensus intendere, videtur,

^b viz. that W. is here defending a sensus hereticus ^c v. 15

⁷ vel γ, C, above it ut ut DEFGa ⁸ recitamus γ recitemus CDEFGα
⁹ ad CGαγ et D humiliter et EF ¹⁰ op. vel hum. rec. pa. se. ad conced. CGα
 op. ut hu. re. pa. se. humiliter et conced. EF op. ut hum. re. pa. se. et con. D
 op. vel hum. rec. par. se. ad conc. γ ¹¹ sensus CDEGαγ om. F ¹² hic
 CDGαγ om. EF ¹³ assumitur CDGαγ assumuntur EF ¹⁴ quem CDFGαγ,
 E² in mar. quam E ¹⁵ textu CDGαγ om. EF ¹⁶ aliquis EFγ alias (?) CDGα
¹⁷ doceant CDEFαγ doceat G ¹⁸ mundanam CDEFαγ humanam G ¹⁹ simili
 CDGαγ seculi (?) EF ²⁰ quemcunque CDGα quantumcunque EFγ ²¹ grammaticalem CDGα generalem EFγ ²² ill. CDEGαγ in ill. F ²³ int. CDGαγ
 sensus int. EF

quod hoc sit catholice concedendum, ut patet²⁴ Matth. 7,^{25d} quando Cristus precipit: attendite a falsis prophetis, qui veniunt ad vos in vestimentis ovium, intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces, a fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos.²⁶ — Nos per istos falsos prophetas communiter intelligimus pseudofratres et sic per illud Matth. 24:^e 5 multi²⁷ pseudoprophekte surgent et seducent multos, intelligimus cum²⁸ protestacione predicta huiusmodi pseudofratres.

Doceant autem adversarii meliorem sensum alium²⁹ vel improbent istum et invenient³⁰ nos veritati humiliter consentire. Sed Ioh. 4:^f precipitur: temptate spiritus, si ex deo sunt. 10

Nec mirum, si fideles experientia docti ad sensum alium catholicum exponant verba scripture,³¹ quam³² doctores antiqui communiter exponebant, quia ab experientia³³ tam homines quam angeli sunt edoeti. Nec repugnat, quod sensus alius cum³⁴ isto satis catholicus a doctoribus antiquis sit³⁵ expositus, quia ut fidem accipi- 15 mus³⁶ quod quemcunque sensum, quem verba scripture confuse pretenderint,³⁷ deus distinete intelligit et ordinat fideles suos intelligere et per talem intellectum matri³⁸ sue proficere, ut logici³⁹ sine difficultate accipiunt, quod hoc signum ‘homo’ quemcunque hominem confuse⁴⁰ signat.⁴¹ — Et sic spiritus sanctus intelligit per 20 illud Gen. 2:^g factus est homo in animam viventem, quodcunque animal rationale⁴² ex corpore et anima compositum, licet quadam⁴³ preeminencia intelligat⁴⁴ primum Adam. Wlt enim deus, quod⁴⁵ ordinat, quod talis intencio⁴⁶ communis, significet naturaliter omnia

^d v. 15 ^e v. 11 ^f v. 1 ^g v. 7

²⁴ patet *CDGαγ̄ om. EF* ²⁵ *70 DFGαγ̄ 40 CE* ²⁶ eos *CDFGαγ̄ om. E*
²⁷ multi *CDGαγ̄ om. EF* ²⁸ cum *CDGαγ̄* tamen *EF* ²⁹ m. s. a. *CDFGαγ̄*
 a. s. m. *E* ³⁰ invenient *CDGαγ̄* inveniunt *E* ³¹ seri. *CDEGαγ̄* sensum
seri. F ³² quam *CDEFαγ̄* quoniam *G* ³³ experientia *CDFGαγ̄* expiencia *E*
³⁴ cum *CDFGαγ̄* ab *E* ³⁵ fuit *DEFGαγ̄* sit *γ̄* sit, above it fuit *C* ³⁶ accipimus
CDEGαγ̄ accepimus *F* ³⁷ pretenderint *DGαγ̄, Cγ̄* (corr. word) pretendunt *EF*
³⁸ intell. et p. t. i. matri *CDαγ̄* int. et p. t. i. *G* int. matri *EF* ³⁹ logici *CDFGαγ̄*
 loici *E* ⁴⁰ confuse *CFGαγ̄ om. DE* ⁴¹ signat *CDFαγ̄* significat *EG* ⁴² rationale
CDEGαγ̄ racionabile *F* ⁴³ quadam *CDEGαγ̄* quandam *F* ⁴⁴ pre-
 eminencia intelligat *E* preeminencia intelligent *CDGαγ̄* preeminenciam intel-
 ligat *F* ⁴⁵ quod *CEF* quia *DGαγ̄* ⁴⁶ intencio *CDEFGγ̄* intentus *a*

sua supposita⁴⁷ et per idem ordinat intelligi per⁴⁸ illud verbum: falsi prophete ad vos venient⁴⁹ in vestimentis ovium,⁵⁰ quoscunque falsos prophetas, qui venient⁵¹ ad aliquam personam ecclesie militantis. Deus enim non est parcus et invidus⁵² in significacionem⁵³ confusam sui termini⁵⁴ ordinando.

Ideo certum est ex fide, quod docto tales pseudo esse prophetas vel tales, quales deus describit suo⁵⁵ apostolo, illi sunt in verbis⁵⁶ domini intellecti. Ideo illi, qui contra hunc sensum scripture remurmurant, debent docere in opere, quod vita sua illi sensu contradicit. Unde docto, quod nos⁵⁷ simus⁵⁸ tales, indubitanter concedimus, quod spiritus sanctus de vobis loquitur⁵⁹ in hiis verbis.

Et si queratur, quare Cristus in scriptura sua⁶⁰ loquitur tam confuse, patet ex modo loquendi Christi in ewangelio, quod peccatores communiter increpat in confuso,⁶¹ ut vel⁶² sic formidemus nos esse ipsos,⁶³ de quibus Christus sic⁶⁴ loquitur. Unde in persona proditionis noluit Petro⁶⁵ ostendere nisi in confusa noticia, ut Matth. || C fol. 33^b
26^h scribitur:⁶⁶ unus ex vobis me traditur est, et quando apostoli voluerunt scire, quis ille esset: qui, inquit,ⁱ intingit,⁶⁷ mecum manum in parapside,⁶⁸ hic me tradet. Et cum duodecim apostoli⁶⁹ in eadem tabula et in eadem parapside comederunt,⁷⁰ non erant apostoli plus certificati per illa verba sequencia, quam per⁷¹ pri-

^h v. 21 ⁱ v. 23

⁴⁷ com. significet nat. om. su. supp. *DGαγ* com. scilicet nat. om. su. supp. *C* com. scilicet sanctificet om. su. supp. *F* com. scilicet omnia sumpta *E*, in mar. is add. sua ⁴⁸ per *CDFGαγ* et (cr. out & ud.) per *E* ⁴⁹ venient *DEGαγ*, *C* (?), as the abbrv. ve. (sic) is ambiguous ⁵⁰ veniunt *F* ⁵¹ in *D* is add. below the col.: Falsi prophete v. a. v. i. v. ovium *D*^t ⁵² invidus *Cuγ* immundus *DG* improvidus *EF* ⁵³ significacionem *CDEFGγ* sermonem (?) a ⁵⁴ termini *CDFGαγ* tremini *E*, but in mar. termini *E*² ⁵⁵ suo *CDGαγ* in suo *EF* ⁵⁶ verbis *CDEGαγ* verbo *F* ⁵⁷ nos *CDEFGα* om. γ ⁵⁸ simus *CDαγ* sunus *EFG* ⁵⁹ d. v. l. *DFGαγ* l. d. v. *E* de nobis l. *C* ⁶⁰ sua *CDGαγ* om. *EF* ⁶¹ confuso *CDαγ* confuse *E, GF(?)* in *D* is add. in mar.: Peccatores communiter increpat in confuso *D*^t ⁶² vel *CDFGαγ* om. *E* ⁶³ n. e. i. *CDEGαγ* n. i. e. *F* ⁶⁴ Christus sic *CDGαγ* om. *E* Christus *F* ⁶⁵ Petro *CDGαγ* om. *EF* ⁶⁶ scribitur *CDGαγ* om. *EF* ⁶⁷ inquit intingit *CDFGαγ* intingit inq. *E* ⁶⁸ parapside *CEF* parapsidem *DGαγ* ⁶⁹ apostoli *CDEGαγ* discipuli *F* ⁷⁰ comederunt *CDαγ* comederent *EFG* ⁷¹ per *DGαγ* om. *CEF*

rum. Et quantum ad illud Ioh. 13:^{72k} ille est, cui intinctum panem porrexero, facile est Christo,⁷³ actum intellectus et voluntatis discipulorum confundere, ut⁷⁴ maneat particulariter eque eis in cognitum⁷⁵ sieut primum. Et ita videtur, facesiam Christi requirere, quod non particulariter accusent hominem, nisi⁷⁶ confusa accusacio sit insufficiens, quoad illud.

Et ita fratres, si docuerint istam sentenciam esse⁷⁷ falsam vel in modo faciendi deficere, oportet primo, quod⁷⁸ purgent se ipsos de crimine implicato, quod vite sue immunitas ostendat illam calumpniam esse falsam, quia⁷⁹ certum est, si tales fuerint, a qualibus⁸⁰ deus mandat attendere, tunc lex Christi precipit⁸¹ ab illis aufugere. Et cum praxis theologie non evagatur circa universalia, sed circa particulares homines⁸² increpandos, manifestum est, quod deus intendit⁸³ particulares homines,⁸⁴ quorum reatus per verba ista⁸⁵ intelligitur,⁸⁶ sed confuse.

15

Deus enim cognoscit et intendit⁸⁷ distinete, quot⁸⁸ homines sub illo confuso termino continentur, et wlt atque intendit, quod per illud⁸⁹ verbum confusum scripture tales homines sint correpti, et per consequens deus wlt, quod tales homines sint per illos confusos terminos designati. Ille ergo est⁹⁰ sensus scripture, quam⁹¹ deus eternaliter intendit, nisi talium personarum immunitas ab illo crimen excusetur.

Videat ergo querelans⁹² de isto sensu huic scripture⁹³ imposito, si in⁹⁴ sua conversacione a tali crimen sit immunis. Quod si sit,

^k v. 26

⁷² 13^o CDEGαγ̄ om. (*it is erased*) F ⁷³ Cristo CEFΓαγ̄ Cristum D, G
in mar. (*texthand*) ⁷⁴ ut CDGαγ̄ et EF ⁷⁵ eis incogn. CDGαγ̄ ignotum eis
EF ⁷⁶ nisi CDEFGαα ubi (*cr. out above it by the texthand*) nisi γ ⁷⁷ esse CDFGαγ̄
fore E ⁷⁸ quod DEFGαγ̄ om. C, but add. in mar. by texthand ⁷⁹ quia
CDEGαγ̄ eum F ⁸⁰ qualibus EDαα qualibet Gγ,C(?) quibus F ⁸¹ pre-
cipit CDFαγ̄ mandat EG ⁸² homines CDFGαγ̄ homies E ⁸³ intendit
CDFGαγ̄ incendit F ⁸⁴ homines CDGαγ̄ om. EF ⁸⁵ ista EFαγ̄ iste CDG
⁸⁶ intelligitar CEFΓαγ̄ intelligatur D ⁸⁷ intendit CDEGαγ̄ incendit F, but
in mar. intelligit F^t ⁸⁸ quot CDEGαγ̄ quod F ⁸⁹ illud CDGαγ̄ idem EF
⁹⁰ est CDFGαγ̄ om. E ⁹¹ quem CGγ quam (?) DEFαα ⁹² querelans α
querelas CDEFGγ ⁹³ scripture CDEFGαα om. γ ⁹⁴ in CDEGαγ̄ enim F

nichil sibi et⁹⁵ hiis verbis domini, quod⁹⁶ si vita sua dicit istum reatum, tunc⁹⁷ credat, quod dominus ista verba intenderat, ut a tali crimine sit purgatus.

Nec in hoc potest hic⁹⁸ sensus verborum domini⁹⁹ accusari.
5 Tota autem locucio fidelium in tali materia debet esse ad dei honorem, fratrum correccionem¹⁰⁰ et profectus ecclesie militantis.

Quod¹⁰¹ si per glosam scripture sacre et exposicionem¹⁰² sensus fuerit executum, auctor huius scripture habet suum prepositum.

Et patet in parte, quomodo in toto¹⁰³ corpore scripture legis
10 gracie¹⁰⁴ non sit¹⁰⁵ mencio de hiis sectis, nisi vocetur¹⁰⁶ reprobativa
mencio directa.¹⁰⁷ Sic enim fertur quandam scolarem¹⁰⁸ ingeniosum
respondisse cuidam opponenti: Miror, inquit, quomodo in hoc ympno¹⁰⁹
sanctorum¹¹⁰ omnium 'Criste redemptor omnium' sit¹¹¹ expressa men-
cio de apostolis, martiribus, confessoribus et¹¹² virginibus, sed de
15 fratribus non fit ulla,¹¹³ et dictus scolaris¹¹⁴ respondit inquiens: non
est ita, et ostenso sibi¹¹⁵ ympnario vertit ad istum versiculum:

Gentem auferte perfidam
Credencium de finibus,
Ut Cristo laudes debitas
Persolvamus alacriter.

20

Hic, inquit, fit de hiis¹¹⁶ fratribus mencio¹¹⁷ specialis, cum
sit gens illa perfida, quam oportet de ecclesia Christi tollere ad hoc,
quod ipsa laudes debitas persolvat suo capiti.¹¹⁸

Quomodocumque autem¹¹⁹ sit de verbo isto ioco,¹²⁰ multi cre-
25 dunt, quod ista verba excitabunt fratres et alios, si oppositum hic

⁹⁵ et *CDGuy* ex *EF* ⁹⁶ quod *CDGuy* et *EF* ⁹⁷ tunc *CDFGuy* talis *E* ⁹⁸ hic *CDEFGa* om. γ ⁹⁹ s. v. d. *CDGuy* v. d. s. *E* ¹⁰⁰ correccionem *E* correccio *CDGuy* ¹⁰¹ quod *DGuy* et *CEF* ¹⁰² exp. *CDGuy* per exp. *E* ¹⁰³ toto *CDGuy* tototo *E* ¹⁰⁴ gracie *CDEFGa* om. γ ¹⁰⁵ sit *CDGuy* fit *EF* ¹⁰⁶ vocetur *CDEFGa* fuerit γ ¹⁰⁷ in *F* directa is repeated in mar. ¹⁰⁸ scolarem *CDEFG* seculararem (?) γ ¹⁰⁹ ympno *CDGuy* ympuro *F* vinuo *E* ¹¹⁰ sanctorum *CDGuy* secularorum *E* ¹¹¹ omnium sit *CGay* sit *DF* fit *E* ¹¹² et *CDGuy* om. *EF* ¹¹³ in *C* is add. in mar.: Fundacio sectarum *C²* ¹¹⁴ scolaris *CEF* secularis *DGuy* ¹¹⁵ sibi *CDGuy* om. *EF* ¹¹⁶ hiis *CDGuy* eis *E* ¹¹⁷ f. d. h. fr. m. *CDEFGa* f. m. d. h. fr. γ ¹¹⁸ p. s. c. *CDGuy* s. p. c. *E* ¹¹⁹ quomodocunque autem *CDGuy* quomodo autem cunque *E* ¹²⁰ s. d. v. i. io. *CDGuy* s. d. i. v. io. *E*

dictorum¹²¹ convinci poterit ex scriptura, quia multi credunt tam
 C fol. 34^a quam probabile prope fidem, quod deus auctor scripture nullam
 sectam vel speciem ritus, que sit utilis ecclesie sue, dimitit. Sed
 quantumeunque¹²² dimiserit, expediens foret, quod illa species,^l quant-
 tum ad firmitatem fidei, de ecclesia sit ablata.¹²³

5

Pexlieta Sutaert ed dafunocine
 rumsetac toseri niopsitum Dut-
 roinrumeta. Anno MCCCCIX⁰.¹²⁴

^l viz. sectarum

¹²¹ dictorum *CDGαγ* dicto *E* doctorum *F* ¹²² quantumeunque *CDEFGY*
 quameunque *α* ¹²³ ablata *CFαγ* ablata etc. *DE* ablata et sic est finis huius
 tractatus de fundacione sectarum Christo in oppositum introductorum *G* ¹²⁴ i. e.
Explicit tractatus de fundacione sectarum Christo in op(po)situm introductorum
Anno 1409 — Explicit tractatus de fundacione sectarum Christo in oppositum
 introductorum anno domini Millesimo CCCCXII^o sexta feria proxima ante Con-
 ductum Pasche hora quasi vicesima *D* i. e. *Friday, April 8th 1412, about 8 ocl.*
p. m. Explicit de fundacione sectarum et Incipit de fide catholica *E* Explicit
 de fundacione sectarum *F* (*here the writing leaves off*) om. *G* cp. not. 123 om. *α*,
there is a blank of about 3 lines, then: In materia de religione privata de de-
 monio meridiano *γ* (*here the Expl. is wanting*)

II.

DE ORDINATIONE FRATRUM.

DE ORDINATIONE FRATRUM.

I. Division.

Part I: Proof that the class of Friars was not ordained by Christ, chap. I—II.

Part II: They should, therefore, caritative be led back to Christ, chap. III. Force should only be employed against such as openly resist, chap. IV.

II. Contents.

Chap. I. It is a false assertion that Christ, whose works and institutions are perfect, Himself introduced the four Sects into the Church p. 88; and to say that it is imprudent and wanting in love to Him, to oppose them is equally wrong, p. 89. Such Sects were never intended by Christ. All true believers, therefore, should make a stand against them, p. 89, for (1) they had crept in secretly, John X, 2, p. 90; (2) by enforcing their traditions upon the Church, they had, as it were, placed on the old garments pieces of new, Luke V, p. 90; and (3) had finally rendered themselves burdensome to the Church by their ceremonials, Act. XV, p. 90—91.

Chap. II. Opposition to the Sects is no novelty. The author is but following in the steps of Okkam, St. Amour, Grossetête und Richard Armagh, p. 91—93; the Monks, therefore, and not the author have evoked the opposition, p. 93. They themselves challenge the struggle, because all their innovations are contrary to Scripture, as well in regard to their numbers (compared to the twelve Apostles), p. 93, as to their wealth, — the renunciation of which had been the original object of their institution etc., p. 93—95.

Chap. III. Nay, they are disobedient to Christ's law, in secluding themselves, p. 96; in not preaching the Word of God plainly, but instead, making jests and telling lies, p. 97; in distinguishing among believers according to their own religion and manner of life, p. 97—98; and by confining their true liberty, p. 98—99.

For all these reasons, believers are besought, considerately and gently (caritative) to cause all Friars to return to the simple Sect of Christ, p. 99.

Chap. IV. On the other hand, it would not be advisable to establish a rigid uniformity throughout the Church, p. 100. Distinctions among individual believers in congregations must exist, as the Militant Church also is divided into three parts, p. 100; but the distinctions in rank between Pope, Cardinal, Monk and Friar should cease, for they were neither taught by the Scriptures, nor by the Fathers (Hieronymus), p. 100—101. Extreme measures should be resorted to only against such as will not of their own free will return to the ancient faith, and renounce their present position, p. 101—102. This would present no difficulties, if the Fratres recognised the supremacy of the King, which, however, they refuse to acknowledge, either directly or indirectly, as they assert they have no sovereign but the Pope, p. 103. This is proof that, contrary to Christ's law, they have exempted themselves from all national duties, and thus rendered themselves a burden to their country, p. 103. This alone would be enough reason for the secular lords to forbid Friars to reside in the land, p. 105—106.

III. Date of Composition

uncertain. W. repeatedly refers to the contrast of the Sects to his simplices sacerdotes (cp. p. 94 & 95). As the persecution of the itinerant preachers and the followers of W. commenced in June 1382, (see Lechler, I, 684 and 412 ff.), and duly considering chap. I note c. I am inclined to place the date of this Tract towards the end of the year 1382. It might be possible to give a more exact date, if the conspiracy of the Fratres, cp. p. 95, against the Duke of Lancaster could be fixed.

IV. Genuineness.

External evidence:

- (1) see in cod. C the *Explicit* with W.'s name, p. 105.
- (2) cp. cod. D *Explicit*, p. 106.
- (3) Wyclif-Catalogues of the Vienna codd., see above p. 7.
- (4) Bale, *Summarium* fol. 156^b under the title: *De Clericorum ordinatione* (?).
- (5) cod. E *Index* of the front-cover, see above General Introd. IV, *Description of the codices*.
- (6) Denis, *Cod. MS. Theol. II*, 1438; 1460; 1467; 1501.

- (7) Shirley, Catal. Nro. 84.
 (8) Lechler, J. v. W. II, 567.

Internal evidence:

- (1) see above *General Introduction V*, e.
- (2) The constant mention made of English affairs, and especially of the conspiracy of the Friars against the Duke of Lancaster (cp. p. 95), unknown in any other chronicles of the time, and the appeal to Occam etc. p. 91 ff., point to an English origin.
- (3) cp. the reference to *De Fundatione Sectarum cap. I* note c.
- (4) cp. for particulars, *cap. I* notes a; e; II a; i; n; III, a; c; e; g; h; i; IV, d; f; l; p.
- (5) cp. nec sumus nos primi etc. p. 91, a passage which could not properly be applied to any one else than to W.

V. Not yet printed.

VI. Extant in

<i>cod. 4527 = C fol. 75^b—79^a</i>	$\begin{cases} C^1 = \text{Corrector (pale hand)} \\ C^2 = \text{Glosser (red hand)} \end{cases}$
<i>cod. 3930 = D fol. 192^c—196^b</i>	$\begin{cases} D^1 = \text{Gloss. and Corr. (small black hd.)} \\ D^2 = \text{hand of the accidental glosses} \end{cases}$
<i>cod. 1337 = E fol. 39^c—43^c</i>	$\begin{cases} E^1 = \text{Corrector} \\ E^2 = \text{Glosser (red hand)} \end{cases}$
<i>cod. 3927 = F fol. 1^a—3^c</i>	$\begin{cases} F^1 \\ F^2 \\ F^3 = \text{Glosser} \end{cases} = \text{Correctors}$

(all in the Imperial Library at Vienna)

VII. The Manuscripts.

A. Their relationship. Two families clearly strike the eye: E-F and C-D.

(a) Class E-F. (1) In 67 passages the codd. differ from each other, falling into groups of two each; of these, E-F and C-D agree with each other in 63 instances, E-C and D-F twice, D-E and C-F also twice. (2) cp. further antiqu. II, 19; licet aut II, 44; eccl. (om.) II, 22; viat. (om.) II, 29; irrac. II, 47; retic. II, 46; et ambo etc. III, 28; sieut IV, 5; secul. br. IV, 11; pen. IV, 21; cp. especially the characteristic readings intric. II, 34; dy. aut. III, 37; isto modo etc. IV, 73; cum hoc etc. IV, 78. 3) cp. the

irrelevant order of words peculiar to E-F, m. h. II, 58; un. se. III, 46; en. Cr. I, 24; e. s. III, 70; de e. p. III, 71 and many others. (4) *Of decisive importance are the three lacunae: isto modo etc. IV, 73; cum hoc etc. IV, 78; more especially autem dyab. III, 37. The codd. have not been derived from one another, but they had once the same original, in which the readings intric. II, 34; antiquant. II, 19, aut. dyab. III, 37 are to be found.*

F was not copied from E; ep. nec dubium etc. III, 7; fundare II, 31; fidelium II, 48 and others; nor from the corrected E¹, ep. est I, 19; leges I, 45; vetus I, 35; sic IV, 1 and others.

E was not copied from F; ep. inment. III, 66; alio IV, 79; especially nec dub. III, 7, which is decisive.

The codd. are not derived immediately from the same original; but that they have a very close connection is proved by their great consensus; they only differ in insignificant particulars (and e. g. in determ. II, 28 and some others).

E¹ has scattered corrections all over E, which stood much in need of them. This corrector E¹ had neither F (F¹), nor C, nor D as his original (est I, 19; scripte I, 41; alicui III, 4; pe. IV, 21; eis IV, 74) I cannot recommend him for his corrections. F¹ also must have had an original different from the three codd. here used.

(b) *Class C-D.* As to their connection, ep. above a, 1. It is not so close as that of E-F. That C is not immediately derived from D, is proved by the readings tercio IV, 7; per Cr. IV, 84; ideo IV, 64; hu. I, 37 and others. That, vice versa, D is not derived from C, by the readings: ergo (om.) I, 21; commis. I, 44; enim II, 17; pres. III, 2; natur. IV, 88.

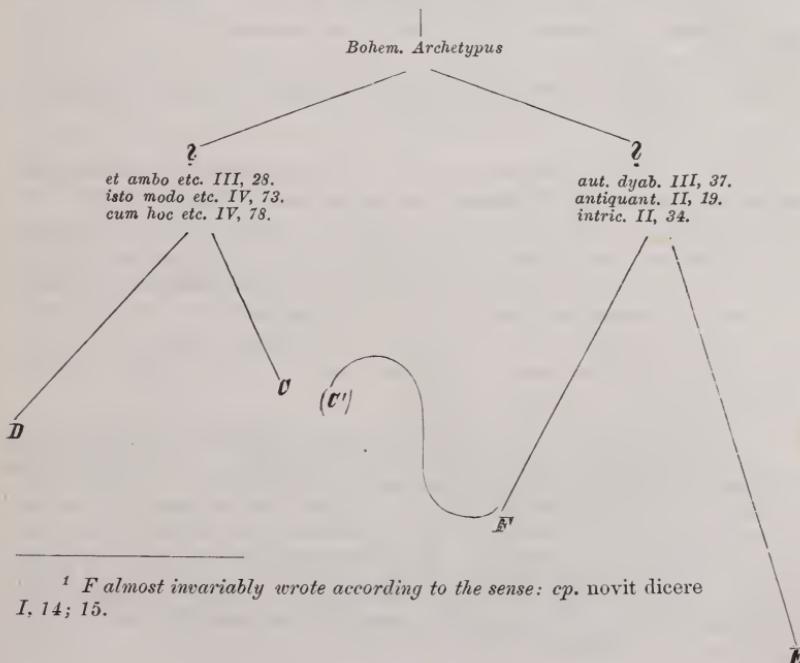
Their original, however remote from both it may be, is distinguished from the other codices by the readings: et am. III, 28; i. m. IV, 73; e. h. IV, 78.

C has been subjected to a very thorough and successful correction by C¹, who for his part had the cod. F, or one very nearly related to the latter, as his original, for (1) not one of his emendations differs from F (possint III, 62 was probably an oversight); (2) ep. intricantes II, 34; nec II, 35; inveherit II, 36. — As to the pedigree of D¹ the slender materials do not afford sufficient particulars to decide it.

B. The best Codex. — Among about 195 decisive passages, E gives the false reading in 105 (54%) instances, F in 65 (33 $\frac{1}{3}$ %) instances, D in 35, C in 34. E and F are, therefore, out of the question. Because however E, either alone or sometimes in common with F, gives the correct reading, when C-D read the wrong, I also note the readings of the class E-F in my critical notes; likewise the readings of E¹, because he corrected from an unknown, but by no means bad original.

It is hard to decide, whether D or C is the better MS. On examining the readings of C and D more closely, it is plain that C has the better text, for (1) the really incorrect readings of C consist merely in graphical errors, oversights and omissions (stabili. I, 8; ergo (om.) I, 21; mov. II, 14 and others), (2) the false readings of D, on the other hand, are of a much graver nature, cp. eccles. II, 8; 57; grosse II, 10; an. IV, 88; matr. II, 21; especially stat. IV, 37; public. IV, 48; ideo IV, 64.

For this reason I am inclined to give C the preference to D.



¹ F almost invariably wrote according to the sense: cp. novit dicere I, 14; 15.

IOHANNIS WICLIF

DE ORDINACIONE FRATRUM.¹

CAP. I.

*C fol. 75b
lin. 1* ||² Cum³ Cristus sit primus et novissimus, cuius perfecta sunt opera, | videtur multis, quod ex novitate⁴ sue nativitatis voluit novissimis | temporibus istos novos ordines introduci,^a ut⁵ sua ec|clesia sit regina astans⁶ a dextris suis,^b circumdata varietate.

CAP. I. ^a As to this idea, cp. *De Dissensione Pap.*, beginning and *Trial.* 385—386 ^b see *Ps.* 45, 10

CAP. I. ¹ Title and *Ineipit om.* in CD Pilexie tustactra ed diorecoinena Trufram etc. C in the Expl., therefore: de ordinacione,*) Explicit tractatus de cōr. na. cōdi (?) fratrum etc. DF in the Expl. de concordacione fratrum F De concordacione fratrum cum secta simplici Cristi E, in like manner Shirley, Catal. p. 27, Nr. 84, whereas the new Vienna Catalogue III, 300 according to the Expl. of C, reads: de ordinacione fratrum sive de sectis monachorum ² D fol. 192^c lin. 19 E fol. 39^c lin. 19 F fol. 1^a lin. 1 ³ in E in mar. cor(rectus) is three times added by 3 different hands ⁴ in E corr. word ⁵ ut D et CEF ⁶ astans EF stans D,C, but a add. above it by C¹

*) According to cod. C, which is the best, I retain this title. The Vienna Catalogues also have it (probably from Denis II, 1469); in like manner Bale, Summ. 156^b, if the Tract there mentioned be identical with the one before us. The title chosen by Shirley is only to be found in the very unreliable codd. E and F. It does not correspond to the contents of the Tract, inasmuch as a comparison, or a concord of the Fratres with the Sect of Christ is not at all spoken of in it. Shirley's *De Sectis Monachorum* is not suitable either, for the subject of debate is almost exclusively the Fratres. *De Ordinacione Fratrum*, on the other hand, fits far better W's argument, viz. that the Fratres were not ordained by Christ.

Supposita ergo est quorumdam inveccio,⁷ qui invehunt contra has novas sectas, que sunt stabilite⁸ ex auctoritate domini cum tanta pacienza⁹ sapientum et sanctorum ecclesie, qui currebant, et¹⁰ tam approbata vita¹¹ ac utilitate ecclesie, quam¹² in dies in-
5 ferunt matri sue.¹³

Quis ergo iam noviter¹⁴ ex subtilitate ingenii vel aliquo dono dei diceret¹⁵ aliquid contra hos novos ordines, qui sunt tam antiquitus stabiliti et tam utilibus iuvamentis ecclesie et rationibus vi-
vacibus circumsepti?

10 Ista ergo racio movet¹⁶ plures ad supponendum, quod dicta inveccio¹⁷ non sapit caritatem vel eiam rationem.

Imprimis ergo constanter supponimus,¹⁸ quod Cristus sit¹⁹ verus deus et verus homo, et sic oportet, quod habeat perfecta opera et specialiter concernencia regimen sue ecclesie in duplice testamento,
15 etsi foret replicacio, deducens aliquod²⁰ nobis inconveniens, quod ali-
quid in ista materia sentiremus, nisi quod in lege domini est funda-
tum. Cum ergo²¹ Cristus non docuit has sectas introduci ad edifi-
cationem ecclesie, sed pocius prophetavit earum subversionem sub-
dolam, fideles ecclesie debent²² constanter invehere contra ipsas
20 specialiter, cum non habent fundacionem in domino Iesu Christo, sed
pocius Cristus innuit earum destrucionem, ut patet in quodam
tractatu de fratribus.^c

Et hic resumimus triplicem evidenciam²³ ad hoc idem. Cristus enim²⁴ docuit Ioh. 10:^d quod ipse est ostium, et si quis non intrat
25 ecclesiam per hoc ostium, ille fur est²⁵ et latro.

^c Very probably *De Fund. Sect.* is meant here. ^d v. 1

⁷ inveccio CDE invencio F ⁸ stabilitate DEF stabili C, but te is corr.
above it by C¹ ⁹ pacienza CF sapiencia (er. out and ud.) pacienza DE ¹⁰ et
CD om. EF ¹¹ vita CDF via E ¹² quam CD qua EF ¹³ sue CEF
nostre D ¹⁴ noviter CDE novit F ¹⁵ diceret CDE dicere F ¹⁶ movet CD
monet EF ¹⁷ inveccio CDE invencio F ¹⁸ in F is add. in mar.: Supposicio prima F³ ¹⁹ sit CDEF est E¹ in mar. ²⁰ aliquod CD aliquid EF ²¹ ergo
DEF,C¹ in mar. om. C ²² debent CDE, F¹ in mar. differunt (?)F ²³ in F is add. in mar.: Triplex evidencia probans quod monachi non sunt in lege Christi
fundati F³ ²⁴ Cri. en. CD en. Cr. EF ²⁵ fur est CDF est fur E

Dicant ergo hee quatuor secte, si sciverint²⁶ et specialiter fratres, quomodo auctoritate huius ostii intraverunt²⁷ ecclesiam sanctam. Quod cum nesciverint, patet ex fide ewangelii, quomodo de furto²⁸ et latrocinio²⁹ sunt suspecte. Cristus ergo omnipotens, omnisciens et omnivolens non omitteret³⁰ tam necessarium iuvamen ecclesie^e, sicut ex eorum permanencia fratres fingunt.

Secunda evidencia,³¹ movens ad hoc idem, capitul³² ex illo dicto domini³³ Lue. 5:^{34 f} nemo commissuram a vestimento novo immittit in vestimentum vetus,³⁵ alioquin et novum rumpit et veteri non convenit commissura a novo.

10

Fideles autem intelligunt per hoc verbum, quod Cristus noluit suam novam legem gracie fore³⁶ tradicionibus humanis³⁷ onustatam, sed libere et sic plus meritorie variari in talibus operibus, ut oportet; ex hoc enim excusavit suos³⁸ apostolos, quare³⁹ non tunc ieunarunt,⁴⁰ ut pharisei et Iohannis discipuli.^g — Et multa sunt¹⁵ dicta fidei scripture,⁴¹ que confirmant istam sentenciam.

Cum ergo hee dicte secte quatuor, et fratum specialiter, onusstant ecclesiam pro tempore legis gracie novis tradicionibus et infundabilibus,⁴² quas miscent cum⁴³ Cristi legibus, videtur, quod
|| C fol. 76a fidelis || opponeret se obvians huiusmodi commissuris et specialiter²⁰ cum secte commiscent⁴⁴ hereses⁴⁵ contrarias libertati, quam⁴⁶ Cristus ex magna utilitate dedit sue ecclesie.

Et tertio⁴⁷ confirmatur ex prima communis synodo apostolorum post missionem spiritus sancti, de qua Act. 15,^{48 h} in qua Petrus

^e This idea is often repeated by W., see for instance above p. 14; 34 Trial. 384; Suppl. Trial. 437 ^f v. 36 ^g Matth. 9, 14; 15; Marc. 2, 18; Luc. 5, 33 ^h v. 4 ff.

²⁶ sciverint CDF sciverunt E ²⁷ intraverunt CD intrarunt EF ²⁸ furto CDF furtu E ²⁹ latrocino in F corr. word ³⁰ obmitt. in C corr. word ³¹ in F is add. in mar.: Secunda probacio F^t ³² capitul CDE capit F ³³ domini CD om. EF ³⁴ 5^o CD 10 EF ³⁵ vetus CDE^t in mar., corr. into the text by F^t om. EF ³⁶ fore in E corr. word ³⁷ humanis C om. DEF ³⁸ suos CEF Cristus suos D ³⁹ quare CDF qualiter E ⁴⁰ ieunarunt CDF ieinmaverunt E ⁴¹ scripture CDF scripte E, above the e an a by E^t, therefore scripta ⁴² infundabilibus CDF infudabilibus E ⁴³ cum CDF tun E ⁴⁴ in C there was a blank space, into it comiscent has been inserted by C^t ⁴⁵ hereses CDEF leges E^t in mar. ⁴⁶ quam CDF quas E ⁴⁷ in F is add. in mar.: Tertia probacio F^t ⁴⁸ 15^o E 5^o CDF

et Iacobus, Hierosolymitanus episcopus, decreverunt, quod omnes⁴⁹ gentes fideles et Iudei forent liberi a talibus ceremoniis iudaicis et evidencius tradicionibus sensibilibus noviter adinventis, cum, si quidquam boni faciunt, non tantum proficiunt,⁵⁰ sicut temptacio demonum, per quam permittit ecclesiam promereri.

Et sic breviter omnes tradiciones nove istarum sectarum quatuor multum nocent ecclesie et⁵¹ perturbando prolongant eius viactionem, licet quibusdam predestinatis, qui fideliter obviant adinvencionibus,⁵² prosint⁵³ ad gloriam.⁵⁴

CAP. II.

10 Restat solvere clarius obiectus, quos innuunt iste secte.

Et primo supponendum est, quod cautela dyaboli¹ per yopcrism, qua laborat,² in istis temporibus scit abscondere longe diuicius peccatum ecclesie, quod est ex sua versicia introductum de peccato originali, quod inevitabiliter consequitur genus humanum,
15 licet Sergius^a et alii heretici nitebantur istud peccatum abscondere.

Et idem est iudicium magis sensible de secta saracenica et multis aliis sectis fratrum antiquioribus per dyabolum introductis.

Nec sumus³ nos primi, qui invehimus⁴ contra ipsos,⁵ sed recenter beatus^b Richardus, Armacanus episcopus,^b laboravit ad pur-

CAP. II. ^a cp. Cruciate cap. III, beginning. Arnold, S. E. W., III, 245, 99: *And þus dode þe Machamete and Surgeus þe monk, whanne þey made a lawe after þer owene malys, and toke somewhat of þe gospel to a fleschlyche understandyng, so þat, þurgh þe lore of hem, heþene folk to þis day beþ oute of here byleve ^b Richard Fitz-Ralph, Chancellor of the University of Oxford in 1333, Archbishop of Armagh, in*

⁴⁹ omnes CDE eius F ⁵⁰ proficiunt CDF perficiunt E ⁵¹ et CD om.
EF ⁵² adinv. CD istis adinv. EF ⁵³ prosint CDF proxit E ⁵⁴ in E Se-
quitur ultra eam secundum von E² in C after gloriam: eam secundum C²

CAP. II. ¹ in F is add. in mar.: Cautela dyaboli F³ ² laborat CDF
laborant E ³ sumus CD fuimus EF ⁴ invehimus CDF iuvenimus E ⁵ in
F is add. in mar.: Nota F² ⁶ beatus CDEF¹ beatis (?) F

gacionem ecclesie de criminibus per sectas fratrum noviter introductis. — Et sic⁷ laboravit eciam Occam⁸ cum multis aliis fratribus fidelibus ad purgacionem suorum fratrum, qui a primeva regula declinaverunt.^c Et idem facit Willelmus⁹ de Sancto Amore^d cum multis aliis, postquam fratres inceperant. Ymo Robertus, episcopus Lincolniensis, grosseteste et¹⁰ subtilis ingenii, invexit acute contra hos ordines prope mortem suam, quando fuit in moribus plus maturus.^e

Que ergo mali suspicio, si nos intrantes in labores eorum, ex innovacione sceleris fratrum, addimus super eos?^f Aliter

1377 commenced his attacks against the Friars by preaching against, and exposing, their errors in St. Paul's Church; see for particulars Lechler, J. v. W. I, 218 ff. ^c William Occam, an Englishman, doctor invicibilis, Professor in Paris and Provincial of his order, was expelled by his fraternity (the Franciscans) as being a partisan of the Zelatores; he then energetically defended the cause of Louis of Bavaria against the attacks of the Hierarchy; with ref. to him and his book *Compendium errorum Iohannis XXII*, see Goldast, *Monarc'ia II*, 957—976; his *Defensorium contra Ioannem papam XXII* see in Brown, *Fascic. rer. expet. Loud.* 1690, II, 439—464. As to his attacks on the Pope, see Lechler I, 121 ff. ^d William of St. Amour, a Parisian doctor, who in his book, *De Periculis Novissimorum Temporum* (1255), called the Friars the forerunners of Antichrist, an idea, which W. probably borrowed from him. Thomas Netter of Walden, W.'s bitter opponent, goes so far as to name William of St. A. and the above mentioned Fitz-Ralph, W.'s magistri ac paedagogi, cp. *Doctr. Fidei I*, 242; 485; 528; 449; II, 187. ^e W. often refers to the Lincolniensis, in his *Trialogus* as well as in his English writings (cp. the *Tract Lincolniensis*, Arnold, S. E. W. III.). As to his attack on the Friars, see Lechler I, 191 ff. 230 ^f This in opposition to Lechler's view, I, 586, who with Shirley, *Fascic. Ziz.* 517 ff., calls it 'eine sagenhafte Überlieferung, dass W., als der wackere Erzbischof Richard Fitz-Ralph starb, 1360, gleichsam in dessen Hinterlassenschaft eingetreten sei und als sein Geisteserbe den von ihm so nachdrücklich geführten Kampf wider die Bettelorden aufgenommen und fortgesetzt habe'. Just this is unmistakeably expressed by the above passage.

⁷ sic CD om. EF ⁸ occam CEF ecclesiam D ⁹ Willelmus CEF Willelmus D ¹⁰ grosse teste F grosse teffe (teffe cr. out) teste et C grosse et D grosseth E, an erasure here, on which teth was afterwards corrected by E^t.

enim inciperet arguere contra¹¹ novitates culpabiles noviter introductas.

Nam tenendo¹² fidem catholicam et veritatem cristiane regule culpa pendet super sectis illis innovantibus peccata, et non super 5 alios ex¹³ hoc, quod invehunt contra crimina ministrata.

Sicut ergo deus movit¹⁴ priores patres^g ad hoc opus meritiorum, sic et¹⁵ posteriores, qui¹⁶ ex maiori materia invehunt paten- cius contra ipsos. Peccatum quidem¹⁷ dyaboli fit¹⁸ multis imprimis insensibile, sed modo nimis antiquatum¹⁹ sensibiliter patet stultis.

10 Invehat ergo obiciens contra raciones factas et excuset has sectas, si sciverit,²⁰ quia tam modus laudabilis quam accusacionis materia ministratur.

Teneat ergo secta fratrum rationem vel limites legis Cristi et non in hoc aliquis fidelis ipsos argueret, sed propter culpabiles no- 15 vitates.

¶ Sunt enim in numero²¹ ecclesie²² onerosi, cum ex fide scripture pauci discipuli Cristi non viventes claustraliter, sed peragrantes²³ secundum formam ewangelii²⁴ diversas patrias cristianismum ad deum converterunt. Numquid ergo numerus²⁵ tot fratrum et obli- 20 gatio ad suum ritum putridum cum sumptuosis²⁶ edificiis^h et aliis infinitis novitatibus culpabilibus, que in ecclesiam introducunt, prosint²⁷ ecclesie? Vel a sancto spiritu emanarunt? Practica sue culpe et deterioracio²⁸ viatorum²⁹ docent expresse oppositum.³⁰

C fol. 76b

^g viz. Okkam, St. Amour, Grossetête, Armagh ^h As to the extravagance of the Friars in convent houses, see Vavghan, J. de W., a Monogr. 83; also Supplem. Trial. 444. Matthew, E. W. h. u. 490. Cp. also the description in Pierce the Ploughmans Crede, lin. 118 and p. 47 note c

¹¹ contra CDF extra E ¹² tenendo CDF censendo(?)E ¹³ ex CEF et ex D ¹⁴ movit DEF,C¹ in mar. ¹⁵ mo C (sic) ¹⁶ et CDE om. F. ¹⁷ qui CDE om. F ¹⁸ quidem CEF enim D ¹⁹ fit C fuit DEF ²⁰ antiquatum CD antiquatum EF ²¹ sciverit CDF sciunt (sciverint?) E ²² numero CF matrimonio ED (?) ²³ ecclesie CD, E¹F¹ in mar. ²⁴ om. EF ²⁵ peragrantes CD peragentes EF ²⁶ ewangelii CDF ewangelicam E ²⁷ numerus CDF uncertain reading E ²⁸ sumptuosis CDF suptuosis E ²⁹ prosint CD profuit EF ³⁰ deterioracio CD determinacio FE ³¹ viatorum CD, E¹ in mar. om. EF ³² oppos. CD oppos. viatorum EF, in E viatorum is cr. out

Declinent ergo ab istis novitatibus culpabilibus et teneant legem ewangelicam, de quanto ipsam auctoritate vel ratione fundare³¹ sciverint et habebunt ad hoc alios adiutores. — Si autem istud omiserint et appreciati fuerint has novitates culpabiles³² et³³ infundabiles ecclesiam intricantes,³⁴ quis fidelis non³⁵ inveheret³⁶ contra illos specialiter in isto, quod consenciant criminis et heresi, gracia cuius destruendi dicuntur esse in ecclesiam introducti? Nam dotacio³⁷ cleri ex stulticia cesaris ad magnum malum ecclesie³⁸ inolevitⁱ et fratres contra istam dominacionem culpabilem³⁹ dicuntur in ecclesiam introducti.

10

Unde usque hodie fratres observant superficietenus saltem vitam pauperem et exproprietariam ex⁴⁰ auctoritate domini Iesu⁴¹ Cristi. Et idem senserunt⁴² Occam,^{43k} Bonaventura^l et multi fratres alii laude digni.

Licet autem fratres hodie⁴⁴ sint confessores et consiliarii regum et principum, dominorum et dominarum, consenciant tamen opposito huius fidei et declamant, sacerdotes pauperes, qui dicunt in hoc fidem catholicam, esse manifestos hereticos destruendos.

Numquid ergo credimus, fratres, qui contra fidem scripture et contra vitam⁴⁵ suam propriam isti culpe consenciant eciam reticendo,⁴⁶ non esse hereticos manifestos? Nec possunt ex isto irrationabili⁴⁷ odio excusari, quin sint aliorum sacerdotum fidelium⁴⁸ homicide, quia Ioh. 3^m dicit dominus: omnis, qui odit fratrem

ⁱ *W. frequently blames this, see e. g. Matthew, E. W. h. u. 122; 284; 385; 388; 445; 476; also Suppl. Trial. cap. I (407 ff.) and in many other places* ^k *cp. above note c* ^l *Bonaventura, an ‘ornament to the Franciscans’, doctor in Paris since 1253, † 1274, in his Vita S. Francisci (cp. Lue. Wadding, Annales Minorum, Rome 1731, tom. I, 31)* ^m *v. 15*

³¹ fundare *CDF, E¹ in mar. om. E* ³² culp. *CDF suas (ud.) culp. E* ³³ et *CEF eciam D* ³⁴ intricantes *EF, C¹ in mar. intrantes D, C (ud.)* ³⁵ non *DE, C (ud.)* nec *FC¹* ³⁶ inveheret *D, C the last e ud. inveheret FC¹ invehet E invehet E¹* ³⁷ in *F is add. in mar.: Dotacio ecclesie F³* ³⁸ ecclesie *C¹DEF ecclesia C, the a ud.* ³⁹ culpabilem *CDF culpabiliter E* ⁴⁰ ex *CDF om. F* ⁴¹ Iesu *CDE nostri Ie. F* ⁴² senserunt *D, but in mar. sensierunt D¹ sencierunt CEF* ⁴³ Occam *CEF ecclesia D* ⁴⁴ lic. a. fr. ho. *CD ho. lic. a. fr. EF* ⁴⁵ vitam *CDF fidem E* ⁴⁶ reticendo *EF om. CD* ⁴⁷ irrationabili *EF, C¹ in mar. notabiliti D, C(ud.)* ⁴⁸ fidelium *CDF, E¹ in mar. om. E*

suum, homicida est; et sic non solum fratres, qui conspirant mendaciter in mortem domini ducis Lancastrie,ⁿ sunt perniciosissimi, sed et⁴⁹ alii fratres, qui conspirant contra sacerdotes fideles, qui ostendunt in vita et opere, quod sunt pugiles legis dei.

⁵ Sicut igitur⁵⁰ dyabolus et peccator quilibet ex propriis principiis se ipsos redarguunt, sic et fratres. Dicunt enim verbo et opere, quod⁵¹ est fideli satis credibile, quod cuncti clerici Cristi, qui non sunt sacerdotes cesaris sive Baal, debent⁵² vivere ex proprietarie vitam pauperem instar magistri sui Cristi et suorum ¹⁰ apostolorum, qui istud tam verbo quam facto docuerunt. Et cum consensu multiplici fovent contrarium.

Ideo cum⁵³ Psal. 118⁵⁴ o scribitur: maledicti, qui declinant a mandatis tuis, est evidens⁵⁵ multis fidelibus, quod sunt a domino maledicti nec possunt fratres ab isto consensu proditorio excusari. ¹⁵ Et sic licet fratres sint modo⁵⁶ contrarii Occam⁵⁷ et aliis, qui, declinantes a sua comitiva, istam sentenciam docuerunt, tamen non possunt negare fidem scripture, que in ista materia est edocta.

Et ista vecors heresis est peccatum precipuum contra fratres, cum fratres dicant in factis prelatis et dominiis: consentite vos ²⁰ heresi mee et iuvate⁵⁸ et ego consenciam vestre⁵⁹ heresi de||secu- || C fol. 77a lari dominio atque pugna.

CAP. III.

Ex predictis liquet, quod ista argucia, que ex reprobacione novitatis innuitur, peccat tam in materia quam in forma; in materia quidem, quia olim per multos¹ de fratribus inventa fuit ista

ⁿ cp. *De Sept. Donis Sp. S. cap. VIII*, below p. 227; *De Nov. Ord. cap. III*, beginning. ^o Ps. 119, 21

⁴⁹ et DF om. CE ⁵⁰ igitur CD ergo EF ⁵¹ quod CD quid EF ⁵² debent CDF dicuntur E ⁵³ cum CD ut EF ⁵⁴ 118 CDE 58 F ⁵⁵ ev. CEF enim ev. D ⁵⁶ modo EF, C^t in mar. mihi C(ud.) nec D ⁵⁷ Occam CEF eciam D, see above, note 43 ⁵⁸ her. m. et iuvate CD m. her. iuvate F m. her. imate E ⁵⁹ vestre CDE vestro F

CAP. III. ¹ multos EF, C^t has corr. os multis D

seduccio, qua fratres presumpserint,² suam³ legem domini meliorem^a et tradicionem liberam aliam⁴ frivolam et ypocriticam⁵ infundabiliter invenire.⁶

Nec dubium, quin hoc facit multum malum altrinsecus, malum quidem⁷ fidelibus noviter ingredientibus, qui relichto ordine magis bono eligunt minus⁸ bonum, quia⁹ deserunt cristianum ordinem liberum per se bonum et eligunt ordinem frivolum ex stolidis peccatoribus adiumentum. Cristus enim dominus universitatis et temporis scivit legem statuere,¹⁰ que in libertate suorum limitum conveniat¹¹ universitati hominum, quod¹² ignoraverant¹³ hii patroni. 10

Ideo credibile¹⁴ est, quod multi ingrediuntur hos novos ordines, qui rumpunt ipsos et fiunt altrinsecus deteriores. Nec dubium, quin presumptiva stulticia¹⁵ sit fautoribus istorum novorum ordinum imputanda.¹⁶ Ideo dicit Cristus¹⁷ Matth. 9:^b nemo autem immittit commissuram panni rudis¹⁸ in vestimentum vetus;¹⁹ tollit enim plenitudinem eius²⁰ a²¹ vestimento et peior²² scissura fit. Novitas autem istorum ordinum impedit plenitudinem observancie²³ legis Christi,²⁴ quia multi ingrediuntur hos novos ordines, quibus non convenit hec ‘rudis’²⁵ observancia. — Et sic tollunt tam tradicionem hanc frivolam, quam eciam ordinem Iesu Christi. 20

CAP. III. ^a A reproach frequently made by W. against the Friars, cp. e. g. Trial. 367; 371; above p. 34 l. 12; 26 l. 15 ^b v. 16

² pres. in C inserted in the blank space by C¹ ³ suam EF sua CD ⁴ in E is add. in mar. alicui E¹ ⁵ ypocriticam CD ypocritam EF, cp. not. 7
⁶ fr. et yp. inf. inv. CDE friv. inv. F ⁷ nec dub. — quidem CD nec du. q. h. f. multum (add. in mar. altrinsecus E¹) malum quidem fidelibus altrinsecus (q. f. a. cr. out.) mal. quidem E nec du. q. h. f. ypocritam et infundabiliter multum malum altrinsecus malum quidem F ⁸ minus in E cr. out ⁹ quia CD qui EF
¹⁰ statuere CDF stature E in F is add. in mar.: Cristus dominus statuit legem universitati hominum convenientem F³ ¹¹ conveniat CDE convenienter F ¹² quod CDF quid E ¹³ ignoraverant CF ignoraverunt D ignorant E ¹⁴ cred. CDE quod cred. F ¹⁵ stult. CDF ecclesia (cr. out and ud.) stult. E ¹⁶ imput. CDF reput. E ¹⁷ Cristus CEF dominus D ¹⁸ rudis CDF radix E ¹⁹ vetus CDF verus E ²⁰ eius CDF eius E ²¹ a EF om. CD ²² peior CDF prior E
²³ observancie EF ab observanciam D ab observanciam C, ab and the end-a vd., above the latter an e by C¹ ²⁴ in F is add. in mar.: Novitas ordinum impedit observanciam legis Christi F³ ²⁵ rudis CDE, F¹ in mar. radix (cr. out) F.

Et hec creditur racio, quare predicando immiscent mendacia atque ludiera,^c et non in sinceritate predicant verbum dei, quia scribitur Matth.²⁶ 9^d cap.: neque,²⁷ inquit Cristus, mittunt vinum novum in utres veteres; alioquin rumpuntur utres et vinum effunditur, et utres pereunt; sed vinum novum in utres novos mittunt, et ambo conservantur.²⁸

Multi enim ingrediuntur hos factos²⁹ ordines, qui ad mendacionem et aliam limitatoris frivolam et involuntarie et per consequens demeritorie limitantur, qui, licet habeant vinum sapiencie fidelibus propinandum, tamen ex ruptura hac dissona hoc vinum disrumpitur et ars mencendi ac³⁰ mendicandi³¹ e per frivolas tradiciones introducitur, quia deficit illis ars consuendi, que Christo est propria, illos³² utres.

Et quantum ad illud Psal.³³ 44:^f ecclesia est regina astans³⁴ a³⁵ dextris Christi, circumdata varietate, patet, quod ista religio deficit in argucia gulorum. Christus enim, sponsus ecclesie, sicut sciencie sue est proprium, istam varietatem³⁶ in membris triplicibus ordinavit, dyabolus autem³⁷ per peccata istorum patronorum subtiliavit Christi fideles et varietatem excessivam istorum ordinum 20 introduxit.

Et hec fuit³⁸ racio, quare Paulus et ceteri apostoli non audebant subtiliare³⁹ partes cristiani ordinis, quas Christus in integritate libera limitavit. Et sic ista sapiencia⁴⁰ illorum fundatorum, que infundabiliter⁴¹ excessit apostolos, est stulticia apud deum,⁴² quia 25 omnino est insipiens dimittere plus⁴³ perfectum et magis liberum

^c see *Suppl. Trial. 436* ^d v. 17 ^e ep. the same expression,
Suppl. Trial. 435 and 436 ^f Ps. 45, 10

²⁶ Matth. CDF Marc. E ²⁷ neque CDF nequit (*ud.*) neque E ²⁸ et ambo cons. CD om. EF ²⁹ factos CDF sictos E ³⁰ ac CD et EF ³¹ mendic. CDF medicandi E ³² illos CD illas EF ³³ psalmi CD psalmum EF ³⁴ astans CDE constans F ³⁵ a EF ad D, C the d is *ud.* ³⁶ var. CD veritatem (*ud.*) varietatem E vanitatem E, but ni cr. out and rie corr. above it ³⁷ dyab. aut. CD au. dyabol. E, F, but here transposed by marks ³⁸ fuit CD om. EF ³⁹ subtiliare CDF, E¹ in mar. om. E ⁴⁰ ista sapiencia CD istam sapienciam EF ⁴¹ infundabiliter CDF in fundamentis E ⁴² deum CDF dominum E ⁴³ plus CDF plus (*cr. out*) plus E

et anxie eligere imperfectum. Et in ista stulticia sunt omnes hii
 || c fol. 77^b novi ordines, cum || ex fide cognoscimus, quod ordo Christi excedit
 omnes illos⁴⁴ in regula et patrono.^g

Et quantum ad libertatem⁴⁵ non dubium, quin secta Christi sit
 longe liberior, quam hii status. Et in hoc videntur specialiter ex- 5
 cedere sectam Christi, quod sepe stultificati obligant se uni⁴⁶ dyabolo
 et observancie, que eis non convenient secundum limites legis Christi.
 Et sic tam patroni quam sui discipuli sunt multis heresisibus involuti,⁴⁷ ut, quod⁴⁸ status suus et vita est perfeccior quam status
 apostolorum vel⁴⁹ martirum ex hoc, quod quibusdam ordines suos¹⁰
 ingredientibus facit bonum sanctitas aut status in signis sensibilibus
 seducit multos per ypocrisim contrarie legi Christi.^h

Et sic licet multi sancti peccata ista toleraverunt, non est
 evidencia, quod sunt⁵⁰ bona, cum Christus maiora crimina in sum-
 mis sacerdotibus phariseis, scribis et ceteris toleravit.⁵¹ Quando 15
 autem ipsorum mendacium manifestius cognoscitur nocivum populo,
 debent fideles⁵² operari virilius⁵³ ad perfeccionem⁵⁴ ordinis, quem
 Christus instituit reducendum. Et sic per artem mendacii et nigrom-
 anciam⁵⁵ assumitur⁵⁶ non fundatum,⁵⁷ quod tales ordines sunt per
 deum⁵⁸ stabiliti vel ex suis signis ypocriticis sancte vivunt. 20

Quis ergo racionabiliter increparet invectionem⁵⁹ hanc contra
 sectas novas, ut suus populus ad unam meliorem et liberiorem or-
 dinacionem domini reducatur? Idem enim esset istud presumere⁶⁰

^g An assertion frequently repeated by W., see for instance *Trial.*
 362 ff. ^h With ref. to this, cp. below the *Tract De Perfeccione*
Statuum, in which this question is treated of more amply

⁴⁴ illos CDF istos E⁴⁵ in D is add. in mar.: De libertate D² ⁴⁶ se un. CD
 un. se EF⁴⁷ involuti CDF involu (er. out) involuti E⁴⁸ quod CDF quid E
⁴⁹ vel CEF et D⁵⁰ sunt CD non sunt EF⁵¹ in F the passage et sic
 licet — toleravit *is underlined*; in mar. is add.: Quod sancti toleraverunt multa
 via, non tamen est evidencia, quod illa sunt bona F² ⁵² fideles CDE ho-
 mines F⁵³ virilius CD virilia EF⁵⁴ perfeccionem CDF perfectorum E
⁵⁵ nigromanciam CDE ingromanciam F in D is add. in mar.: Nigromancia D^t
⁵⁶ assumitur CD assumuntur F, E, but here the 3 strokes preceding the t are ud.
⁵⁷ fundatum CDF fundamentum E⁵⁸ deum CDF dominum E⁵⁹ inve-
 cionem CEF invocacionem D⁶⁰ presumere CDF resumere E

et innuere, quod anticeristus extollitur⁶¹ super Cristum. Et sic licet quidam possint⁶² in hac reprobacione excedere caritatem, (*tamen*)⁶³ caritas legis Christi necessitat, quod homo charitable invehat contra sectas istas ad maiorem unitatem et concordiam populum reducendo.

5 Seimus quidem, quod hoc potest⁶⁴ bonum facere licet male.⁶⁵ Ideo cum deliberacione mature credimus, charitable velle has sectas dirumpi et in puram sectam domini introduci.

Et claret fidelibus, quod ista sentencia crebriusⁱ reperta non sit racioni vel caritati contraria. Sed cum fundamentum sit immen-
10 tibilis⁶⁶ veritas, et intencio tudentis debeat esse recta, patet, quod sit meritorum crebro repetere istam sentenciam. Nam nec Baal lapides nec metalla unica tunzione⁶⁷ recipiunt formam ultimam, sed oportet ipsos⁶⁸ prudentibus et diuturnis laboribus ad artificium⁶⁹ debitum humanis usibus stabiliri.

15 Sed quis scit, si hos extraneos ordines deus vult per tunções crebras suorum servorum ad unitatem sue ecclesie⁷⁰ introduci? Non autem petimus de eis⁷¹ pecuniam vel vindictam, sed quod ingredi-
antur sectam meliorem et liberiorem domini Iesu Christi, quam cre-
dimus nos servare. Et sic volumus illis commodum,⁷² quod habe-
20 mus, et faciliter donarent⁷³ nobis⁷⁴ istam iniuriam.

CAP. IV.

Sicut autem apostolus voluit omnes homines esse sicut se ip-
sum, et tamen non omnimode sicut¹ se ipsum,^a sic caritas com-

ⁱ in nearly all the longer tracts printed in this volume.

CAP. IV. ^a cp. Act. 26, 29

⁶¹ extollitur CD extollatur EF ⁶² possint C¹ (*inserted in the blank space*) possit D possent E possunt F ⁶³ all codd. read cum ⁶⁴ pot. CDE homo pot. F, homo *is corr. above* pot. ⁶⁵ male CDF enim (*ud.*) male E ⁶⁶ immencibilis CD immentibilis F, *but in mar.* an illegible correction (*invincibilis?*) invincibilis E ⁶⁷ tunzione CE tinicione D tunccione F, *but ni ud.* ⁶⁸ ipsos EF ipsas CD ⁶⁹ artificium CEF artificem D ⁷⁰ s. e. CD. e. s. EF ⁷¹ p. d. e. CD d. e. p. EF ⁷² commodum CEF cor nedum D ⁷³ donarent DEF domarent C, *but one stroke of the m ud.* ⁷⁴ nobis EF, C¹ in mar. om. CD

CAP. IV. ¹ sicut DE¹ a.R. sic CF om. E

pelleret cristianos, velle fratres esse de pura secta Cristi, et tamen non quemlibet eorum omnino ut quemlibet,² cum principium individuans³ requirit, quod unus sit virgo, alius vineulatus, et alias in

^{|| C fol. 78a} statu, quem deus ordinat⁴ ad || edificacionem corporis sue ecclesie.

Wlt tamen, quod sicut⁵ Cristus est caput ecclesie,⁶ sic omnia membra sua sint similiter cristiani. Et videtur parabolam Cristi Luc. 14^b edocere, quod dominus wlt servum suum tercio⁷ missum in vias et sepes ad compellendum homines intrare in suam⁸ ecclesiam per brachium secularis,⁹ quia declinante clero a Cristi doctrina, sicut fecit in tempore passionis, videtur, quod Cristus wlt dare spiritum 10 sanctum secularibus ad clerum cum modestia compellendum, quia Luc. 19 scribitur:^c si hii tacuerunt, lapides clamabunt,¹⁰ hoc est, si cleris mutescat ostendere tam verbo quam opere sectam Cristi, secularis brachium,¹¹ quod modo¹² est durum, ut lapides, clamabit¹³ aspere et quadam austertate, quod Cristus deus et homo sit, a 15 cunctis fidelibus in¹⁴ suo ordine imitandus.

Et sic cum Cristus¹⁵ integravit¹⁶ ecclesiam suam ex tribus partibus,^d — primam autem, que est cleris, voluit ex sacerdotibus, qui debent¹⁷ esse socii, et diaconibus integrari, — ad perfectionem status¹⁸ cleri satisforet, illam integritatem cleri hodie observari. 20 Nam secundum Hieronymum,^{19e} olim idem fuit episcopus et sacerdos.

^b v. 23 ^c v. 40 ^d cp. e. g. *De Christo et Adv. cap. I: clericis, milites, vulgares.* ^e see *Hieron. Epistol. ad Titum cap. 1, 5 in Corp. iur. can., Deqr. P. I. Dist. 95 cap. V S. 332: Olim idem presbyter, qui*

² quemlibet *CDF* quelibet *E* ³ ind. *CDF* et ind. *E* ⁴ ordinat *CF* ordinavit *DE* ⁵ sicut in *E* and *F* corr. into the text between quod and Cr. ⁶ eccl. *DEF* sue (*ud.*) eccl. *C* ⁷ tercio *CEF* om. *D* ⁸ suam *CDF* ad (*ud.*) suam *E* ⁹ in *F* is add. in mar.: Compelle intrare per brachium secularis *F*² in *D* is add. above the col.: Compellere homines *D*^t ¹⁰ in *D* is add. below the col.: Si hii tacuerunt, lapides clamabunt *D*^t in *C* in mar.: Nota ¹¹ sec. br. *CD* brachium *F, E*, but in mar. secularis is add. by *E*^t ¹² modo *CEF* michi *D* ¹³ clamabit *CDF* clamabunt *E* ¹⁴ in *CDF* a (*ud.*) *E*, above it in is corr. ¹⁵ Cristus *CDF*, *E*^t in mar. om. *E* ¹⁶ integravit *CDF* integrat *E* ¹⁷ debent *CD* dicunt *EF* ¹⁸ status in *E* is add. (by *E*^t?) in mar. ¹⁹ Jeronimum *CDF* Iohannem *E*

De papa autem et cardinalibus, monachis, canonicis atque fratribus^f non recolo, quod sit mencio in scriptura. Concedo tamen, quod deus wlt esse ordinem clericorum,²⁰ quia wlt, quod unus sacerdos sit reliquo superior atque episcopus, sed non wlt, quod illa superioritas penes²¹ maioritatem mundanam²² vel mundi divicias attendatur, sed penes maioritatem gradus²³ ministerii humilis secundum legem, quam²⁴ Cristus docuit.

Et sic²⁵ amando personas credimus esse expediens ecclesie et specialiter fratribus, quod non essent aliisque secte.

10 Ad equandum vero sacerdotes conformiter legi Christi secundum gladium brachii secularis,²⁶ videtur esse consonum ewangelio, tollere²⁷ ab eis omnem dominacionem superfluam et restituere perfecte parti ecclesie, a qua illa dominacio indebite²⁸ est ablata et crescentibus vitulaminibus²⁹ spuriis, que non per ostium intraverunt,^g 15 negare eis salvacionem et temporalium occupacionem, cum secundum veritatis testimonium sunt fures ecclesie et latrones.

Prudencia autem practizandi hanc viam duplicem iusticie³⁰ veritatis relinqu fidelibus ab ipsa veritate humiliter postulandum. Hoc tamen videtur fidelibus, quod necesse est, ut³¹ prudenter fiat 20 et cum moderamine paulativo³² secundum ewangelicam prudenciam, incipiendo a papa,³³ non ulterius obedienciam expetendo, quam fuit obediencia Christi et Petri, sui vicarii secundum legem domini

*et episcopos, et antequam diaboli instinctu studia in religione fierent
communi presbyterorum consilio ecclesiae gubernabantur etc. that is
to say, the Quatuor Secte novelle cp. John 10, 1*

²⁰ in D is add. in mar.: Deus wlt esse ordinem clericorum *D*^t ²¹ penes *CD*, *E'* in mar. circa *F'* in mar. om. *EF* ²² maioritatem mundanam *CD* mundana *EF* ²³ gradus *CDF* graciarum *E* ²⁴ quam *CDE* quomodo *F* ²⁵ sic *DEF*, *C'* corr. into the Text om. *C* ²⁶ in F is add. above the col.: Equare sacerdotes (? -dos) per seculares dicitur *F*² ²⁷ tollere *CDE* tolle *F* ²⁸ indebitae *CEF* om. *D* ²⁹ vitulaminibus *DEF* vitulanibus *C* ³⁰ iusticie *CDF*, *E'* in mar. om. *E* ³¹ ut *CEF*, quod (cr. out) *D*, ut is corr. above it ³² paulativo *CD* paulative *EF* ³³ in F is add. in mar.: Paulatim incipiendo a papa in vera via Christi *F*²

tribuenda.³⁴ Et obscurato³⁵ hoc fonte, sic³⁶ scaturiente,³⁷ hereses facile foret³⁸ destruere in provinciis ex discordia a lege domini emanantes.³⁹

Videtur ergo secundum sensum ewangelii,⁴⁰ quod nedum⁴¹ Saraceni, Iudei et cetere⁴² secte infideles sint in lata via ducente 5 ad infernum extra civitatem ecclesie, sed isti privati ordines latentes in sepibus, et has ambas partes⁴³ humani generis debet seculare brachium prudenter compellere intrare cenam vel convivium celeste domini Iesu Christi.

Et sie oportet, quod illa compulsio sit prudens⁴⁴ et introitus⁴⁵ 10 voluntaria inductiva.⁴⁶

|| C fol. 78b || Vocantur autem isti privati ordines sepes terre habitabilis propter duo:⁴⁷ primo elevantur paululum secundum reputacionem suam falsam per ypocrisim ad beatitudinem acquirendam et sic faciunt in campo pasturas publicas⁴⁸ secundum legem domini multis 15 personis humani generis deperire, et inter ipsos ac superficiem⁴⁹ secte domini contingit sepe aquam⁵⁰ lacunarem putridam profundari, et ipsa aqua utramque partem humani generis maculari.

Isti ergo ypocrite latentes in sepibus indutatis habitibus per vepres et tribulos a complecione legis domini sepius retardantur. 20 Ideo medicinale foret, amputare vepres tradicionum et ipsos in plana via domini prudenter erigere. Et ad hoc requiritur compulsio secundum gladium, quem Cristus dedit ecclesie.

Unde quidam sepius mussitarunt,⁵¹ si fratres sint homines legii regum⁵² terre, quia, hoc dato, forent facilius secundum leges ho- 25 minum compellendi.

³⁴ tribuenda CDE tribuendam F ³⁵ obscurato (obturato ?) CD obturante EF ³⁶ sic CDF sicut E, but ut is ud. ³⁷ scaturiente CEF statuere est te D
³⁸ foret CD om. EF ³⁹ emanantes CDF emanentes E ⁴⁰ ewangelii CDF ewangelicum E ⁴¹ ne dum CDF, E¹ in mar. non dum E ⁴² cetere C alie DEF ⁴³ has amb. par. CDF am (ud.) has par. amb. E ⁴⁴ in F is add. in mar.: Compulsio qualis F² ⁴⁵ in E a corr. word ⁴⁶ inductiva CDF inductiva E, but iv ud. ⁴⁷ in D is add. in mar.: Sepes vocantur privati ordines propter duo D¹ ⁴⁸ publicas CEF publicari D ⁴⁹ superficiem CF superficienie DE ⁵⁰ aquam CEF aliquam D ⁵¹ musitarunt CDF musitavit E ⁵² regum CDE legum F

Quidam autem tractantes istum articulum⁵³^h supponunt, quod fratres in Anglia non sint⁵⁴ hospites et advene⁵⁵ terre, quam incolunt, sicut⁵⁶ erant apostoli ad seminandum verbum dei habitabilem⁵⁷ peragrantes.⁵⁸ Patet hoc ex fratrum habitacione propria sump⁵ tuosaⁱ et⁵⁹ ex regni operacione in provincia, quam incolunt, frequentata. Et tunc videtur, quod fratres non sunt homines legii regum terre, quia nec mediate nec immediate tenent de ipsis regibus; non, inquam, mediate, quia, ut inquiunt, sunt immediate sub papa et non sub episcopo vel alio domino temporali.^k Ideo nec temporalis dominus nec episcopus facit regi homagium pro ipsis fratribus in communi. Ideo non potest fingi, quod mediate alio superiori domino, de quo tenent, de rege teneant⁶⁰ mediate, nec sunt immediati⁶¹ tenentes regis, tum⁶² quia nec⁶³ faciunt regis in persona sua homagium, tum eciam, quia sunt immediati sub papa, ut inquiunt; et ut defendunt, papa non est sub aliquo domino temporali.

Cum ergo plus capiunt de regno Anglie^l quam Cristus et omnes sui apostoli ceperant de Iudea et nec⁶⁴ regi nec cesari solvunt didragma,⁶⁵ ut Cristus fecerat Matth. 17,^m videtur, quod de servitute mundana plus quam dominus sunt exempti.

Ideo videtur multis difficile, quod fratres sunt⁶⁶ legii homines regum terre. Si autem solverent regi terre⁶⁷ vel suis tenentibus decem marcasⁿ plus vel minus annuatim de⁶⁸ quoque menso

^h viz the question just raised: si fratres sint legii regum terre ⁱ cp. above p. 47 note c ^k Allusion is here made to the Cluniacenses, cp. Pelargus, Gesch. der Abtei Clugny, Tübingen 1858 ^l 60,000 marcas (cum aedificationibus etc.) accord. to Trial. 369; 40,000 accord. to De Fundacione Sect. p. 28 l. 19; see also De 4 Sect. Nov. cap. II m. v. 24 ff. ⁿ A Mark, accord. to Longman., Hist. of Edw. III, I, 126 had the 'exchangeable value' of about £ 10, compared with our present

⁵³ articulum DEF argumentum(?) C ⁵⁴ sint CD sunt EF ⁵⁵ et advene CDF et (cr. out) advice (advene ?) E ⁵⁶ sicut CDE sed F ⁵⁷ habitabilem CDE habitabilem F ⁵⁸ peragrantes CDF peragentes E ⁵⁹ et CDF om. E ⁶⁰ teneant CF tenent D tenencium E ⁶¹ immediati CEF immediatae D ⁶² tum CD cum EF ⁶³ nec DEF non C, above it nec by C^t ⁶⁴ nec EF ideo (ud.) nec C ideo D ⁶⁵ didragma CDF dei dragma E ⁶⁶ sunt CEF sint D ⁶⁷ terre CD om. EF ⁶⁸ de CDE a F

regis, quod occupant, et utilitatem regni, quod⁶⁹ incolunt, fideliter vendicare, quod sunt⁷⁰ legii homines regum terre.

Unde multi mussitant⁷¹ super ista sentencia et describunt⁷² legios homines isto modo, quod sunt homines,⁷³ qui regnum incolunt eiusdem lingwe et subiecti plene legibus regis regni. Videtur autem eis primo, quod non sit necessarium,⁷⁴ quod sint nati in regnis regum, quorum sunt homines legii,⁷⁵ cum stat reges regnare licite super regna, qui producuntur⁷⁶ et nascuntur secundum legem domini extra ipsa. Ymo duces, comites et alii inferiores seculares domini possunt procreari⁷⁷ et nasci legittime extra regna cum hoc,¹⁰ quod sint homines legii ipsorum, licet⁷⁸ nascantur legittime extra ipsa, sicut homines possunt devenire legii homines regum terre, postquam in matura etate fuerant legii homines regni solummodo alieni. Vident insuper, quod non sufficient nativitas, lingwa et quelibet incolia, cum stat, Anglicum nativitate et lingwa fieri pre-¹⁵ donem in regnis aliis et redeundo in Angliam fieri vespilionem regni alii destructivum.

Ideo oportet ad hominem legium regni dati, quod regno illi proficiat secundum corpus, sed specialiter secundum animam ipsum

silver value; but L. himself considers this amount to be too high. His authority is Sismondi X, 131 Note: As the mark of silver was at that time worth 8 francs (or 8 sh. 6 d. of English money), it is necessary to multiply by 6 to get the weight of silver in actual money, and again by 4 to obtain its exchangeable value according to the scarcity of metals. See also Lect. on the Hist. of Engl. I, 416, and what Rees says, Cyclop. (Amer. Ed. without date), XXIII, w'ich agrees much better with the passage above: An English mark, formerly (about 1200, accord. to Matth. Paris) in circulation is two thirds of a pound Stly., or 13 sh. 4 d.

⁶⁹ quod CDF quam E ⁷⁰ sunt CD sint EF ⁷¹ musitant DEF musitat C ⁷² describunt CDF distribunt (?) E ⁷³ isto m. q. s. h. CD om. EF
⁷⁴ nec. CDF in E before nec. in mar. is add. eis by E¹ ⁷⁵ in D is add. with mark of ref. above the col: Homines legii D¹ ⁷⁶ producuntur CDF producunt E
⁷⁷ procreari CD procreare EF ⁷⁸ extra r. c. h. q. s. h. l. i. lic. CD extr. r. int. ho. le. ips. lic. F ext. (in mar. is add. regna inter E¹) sint (cr. out) homines legii (in mar. is add. ipsorum E¹) licet E

incolens conformiter legi dei. Et alio⁷⁹ modo Cristus fuit legius homo cesaris, et apostoli fuerunt legii homines regum terre. Non enim sufficit, quod homines invite subiciantur⁸⁰ legibus regum terre, cum hoc potest vespilioni competere, sed oportet, quod sub*5* iariantur voluntarie et meritorie legibus regum⁸¹ terre, de quanto consonant legi dei.

Et hec racio, quare nec reges sunt reges, sed tyranni congregacionis dyaboli, nec regna sunt regna, sed conventicula anti-cristi, nisi secundum se⁸² tota⁸³ vel secundum partes vivant conformiter 10 legi dei. Et hec racio, quare per Cristum⁸⁴ reges regnant et per ipsum terre sunt regna et omnia habitacula hominum viatorum regis regum imperio sunt subiecta.⁸⁵

Et sic si fratres vel secte alie non fundentur⁸⁶ in domino, non sunt homines legii regum terre, sicut⁸⁷ nec sunt dominantes secun-15 dum naturam⁸⁸ disparem in⁸⁹ se ipsos. Et hec racio, quare Saul in scriptura sacra dicitur regnare per biennium,⁹⁰ quandoque⁹¹ extensive loquendo per viginti⁹² annos et amplius, ut patet I⁹³ Reg. 13.º

Hec igitur foret racio sufficiens et utilis regnis⁹⁴ terre, quod reges non permittant⁹⁵ sectas aliquas regna sua⁹⁶ incolere,⁹⁷ nisi 20 sectas ipsas sciverint in lege dei fundare. Et super isto fundatur sacerdotum⁹⁸ consilium, quod fratres non incolant regnum nostrum mendicando et spoliando eius pauperes,^p nisi docuerint,⁹⁹ quod Cristus

^o cp. I Sam. 13, 1 ^p To understand to what degree this spoliation of the land and its inhabitants had taken place, see above, p. 28; De tripl. Vinc. Amor. cap. IX; further above, p. 39; 44; 69; 72. W. is constantly referring to this reproach against the Friars

⁷⁹ alio CD, F, but in mar. illo illo E ⁸⁰ subiciantur CDE subiciant F ⁸¹ re-gum DEF legum C ⁸² se CEF om. D ⁸³ tota CEF totum D ⁸⁴ p. Cr. CEF om. D ⁸⁵ subiecta CDF subiecti E ⁸⁶ fundentur DC fundantur EF ⁸⁷ sicut CEF sed D ⁸⁸ naturam EF, C¹ (inserted in the blank space) animam D ⁸⁹ in CED secundum (cr. out & ud.) in F ⁹⁰ biennium CD bigen-nium EF ⁹¹ quan. CEF et quan. D ⁹² viginti DEF 44 C ⁹³ primo CD primi EF ⁹⁴ regnis CDF regni E ⁹⁵ permittant CDF permuntant E ⁹⁶ sua CDF, E¹ in mar. om. E ⁹⁷ in D is add. in mar.: Reges non permittant sectas aliquas regna sua incolere D¹ ⁹⁸ sacer. CDE sacramentum (cr. out) sacer. F ⁹⁹ docuerint CDE docuerit F

taliter mendicavit, cum regnum dyaboli habeat hoc sibi proprium, quod super mendacio¹⁰⁰ sit fundatum.

Pilectic tustactra ed diorcoinena
Trufram deisut omastrgia En Joahn
Wkiffle Creasgeinap Ropfsesore.¹⁰¹ 5

¹⁰⁰ mendacio *CDF* mendacium *E* ¹⁰¹ i. e. Explicit tractatus de ordinatione Fratrum editus a magistro Iohanne Wikleff Sacre Pagine Professore. Explicit tractatus de cōr na cōdi (concordancia ?) fratrum editus a magistro Iohanne sacre pagee professoris (*sic*) Finitus anno domini MCCCC^o XII^o in Collegio pauperum.*) In die sancte Agne**) hora quinta vicesima***) *D* Explicit tractatus de concordancia fratrum cum secta Cristi Incipit tractatus de ordine cristiano *E* Explicit de cōr na condi etc. (concordancia ?, cp. the *Explicit of D*) *F*; here, as in *E*, follows De Ordine cristiano.

*) It is also called *Domus pauperum Studentium*, and often appears later on in the history of the Prague University, cp. Tomek, *Gesch. der Prag. Univ., Prag 1849*, p. 25. It was situated near St. Valentins Church, and was founded in 1379 on the 7th of August by Vincenz Nydek of Görlitz (Silesia)

**) The same form is given by Denis, *Cod. Man. Theol. I*, 1502

***) i. e. Thursday, the 21st of January 1412, about 8 p. m., cp. Grotewald, *Handbuch der histor. Chronologie* 144.

III.

DE NOVA PRAEVARICANTIA
MANDATORUM.

DE NOVA PRAEVARICANTIA MANDATORUM.

I. Division of the Tract.

Part I: All believers are equally subject to God's law (Biblical proof), chap. I—III.

Part II: Historical proof: the Pope, chap. IV; the Monks, chap. V; the Canons, chap. VI; the Friars, chap. VII stand in the strongest contrast to this law. — But believing Christians also fail more or less to fulfil God's law, and must expect reward or punishment according to their doings (Discourse on Purgatory), chap. VIII.

II. Summary of its Contents.

Chap. I. The fulfilment of God's law is requisite, according to Matth. XIX, to enter the kingdom of Heaven, p. 116; this necessitates a knowledge of that law in our native tongue, p. 116. Contents and division of the Decalogue, p. 117—119.

Chap. II. Not only a part, but the whole of the law must be obeyed. There is no duty that any man can excuse himself from fulfilling; God does not accept obedience to the letter of the law only, but He regards the spirit in which obedience is done, p. 119—122.

Chap. III. For this reason a profound knowledge of the law is necessary, p. 122. — Objection raised by recent heretics: as it is impossible for a man to fulfil the whole law, it must be equally impossible that he shall ever be saved, p. 122—123. — Answer: Christ died for us, and will himself strengthen our weakness, p. 124; we must, above all, avoid worldliness, p. 124—125.

Chap. IV. It is but natural that the enemies of the Church should oppose the preaching of the Gospel in the tongue of the land, p. 126, for if this were allowed, people would see for themselves, what a very strong contrast exists between the four Sects and that of Christ, p. 126; (1) The Pope, their head, places Christ in a false light, by asserting that his manner of life is in accordance with the Lord's command, p. 127. It is proved, that he lives in opposition to every law of God, p. 128—130.

Chap. V. (2) Nor do the Monks love either God or their neighbours, p. 131: this is proved from the Second Table of the Decalogue p. 131 ff.; especially by the fourth Commandment. They despise Christ and the Church in preferring carnal pleasures; they take possession of churches in their own interest, p. 131—133, and unlike the Apostles and first Monks, neglect the care of souls, p. 133—134. The fifth and sixth Commandments explained, p. 134—135.

Chap. VI. (3) The same holds true in regard to Canons, who very much resemble the second Sect, p. 135. Their sin against the second Commandment is, however, still greater, for they use the church-property for their own interests, p. 136—137. Their life would be more in accordance with Christ's law, if they went among the people endeavouring to gain adherents to His cause, p. 138; and if they gave up their possessions, p. 138, the better to enable them to give themselves up to His service, p. 138—140.

Chap. VII. (4) All the Sects, but more especially the Friars, are reproached for holding (a) their patron in higher estimation than Christ, p. 140; and (b) their doctrines above the Gospel, p. 141. It is therefore impossible that they should live according to Christ's law, p. 141—142; for by breaking Christ's regulations and dividing the Church into two parts, p. 142, one of which appropriates for private ends the gifts commanded by Him, they sin against the ninth and tenth Commandments, p. 143. The argument, that many Saints in Heaven belonged during their lifetime to these Sects, p. 144, can form no defence for the latter, or give them any right to enter the kingdom of Heaven, till they live an equally holy and saintlike life, p. 144—145.

Chap. VIII. It is but too true, that simple believers also sin against the law, although not as much as the Sects, p. 145. Some are hardened in sin, and await God's punishment as certain; others are as reeds waving in the wind, p. 145—146. The question of a future punishment is, therefore, a most important one. So many fables and lies have been attached to the belief in Purgatory, p. 146, that it must be examined cautiously, p. 146. Without doubt, the soul after its separation from the body, must be cleansed from many worldly desires, p. 147, and cannot therefore attain at once to full blessedness, p. 147—148. This should be sufficient for the Church, p. 148—149. There is no need to search for the place, duration or manner of torment, p. 148. At any rate, the indulgences etc. of the Pope are mere fictions, p. 149. These things, however, are certain: (1) the souls of the

pious attain immediately, after their death to a higher state of happiness than they enjoyed on earth, p. 148; (2) those who remain on earth can do nothing for departed souls, p. 149; and (3) indulgences and good works for the dead are diabolical deceptions, p. 149. For this reason one must guard against the disciples of the Devil, who endeavour by such inventions to deceive believers, p. 149—150.

III. Date of Composition.

This Tract seems to have been occasioned by an opposition raised by the authorities of the Church to W.'s doctrine that the Gospel, and especially the Ten Commandments, should be preached and taught in the mother tongue, chap. I, p. 116 ff., IV, p. 126. W.'s translation of the Bible was finished (according to Lechler, *J. v. W.* I, 448) in June 1382. The present Tract evidently alludes only to preparatory studies for the great work. From the year 1381 W. began to pour forth an almost ceaseless stream of publications in the mother tongue', ep. Vaughan, *J. Wyycliffe, a Monograph* 405 and 411; *Polyd. Vergil.*, *Hist. Angliae lib. 19.* — I am sorry to say that I am not able to decide, whether iste refuga, p. 128, refers to Pope Clement VII. or Urban VI. But to judge from the general tone of the Tract, which seems to treat of the very first attempts made to circulate the Scriptures in the English tongue, and which brought on the opposition of the Romish Church (ep. chap. IV p. 126), I am inclined to think that the term refers to Clement VII., whom W. often blamed because of his flight (ep. *De Christo et Adv. suo*, chap. XII). The retirement of Pope Urban VI. from Rome to Naples in 1383 (*Walsingham, Hist. Angl.* II, 105)¹ could not be called a flight exactly, nor the Pope refuga. The flight of the Antipope took place in the year 1379: ep. *Walsingham, Hist. Angl.* I, 393: quod audiens etc. If W. referred to Urban VI. — which would bring the date of the Tract down to 1383 —, it would be very remarkable (apart from the fact that the tone of the controversy is not very severe), that neither the conflict concerning the Holy Eucharist (summer of 1381, ep. Shirley, *Fasc. Ziz.* 104), nor even the Crusade p. 129 ff. (where the fifth Commandment is treated of, chap. V, p. 134), is taken any notice of. This, indeed, is an argumentum

¹ Urban left voluntarily, from political grounds. Only after his departure was the anger of the Romans turned against him, ep. Th. de Niem, *Hist. s. t. (Argent.* 1609) p. 31. Knighton, *X Scr.*, Col. 2657.

e silentio; but added to the fact, that W. (chap. V, p. 134 ff.) treats of the spiritualis occisio only, when the corporalis in the Crusade would have formed a very dangerous weapon in his hand, this argument appears to me not without weight. It is certainly not weakened by the general notice made of the suscitatores bellorum et discordie chap. IV, p. 128. As early as the year 1379, a bloody war raged between the two Popes, ep. Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* I, 343 and Niem, *Hist. s. t.* p. 19. For these — I admit, by no means imperative — reasons, I am inclined to place the date of the present Tract in the first half of the year 1381. Shirley, *Catal.* No. 79 p. 26 places it 'after the Great Schism of the West'.

IV. Genuineness.

External evidence:

- (1) *Wyclif-Catalogues of the Vienna codd., see above, p. 7.*
- (2) *Walden, Doctr. Fidei II, chap. 34 (under the title: De praevericantia sectarum).*
- (3) *Bale, Illustr. Script. Summ. fol. 157.*
- (4) *see notice on front cover of cod. A.*
- (5) *see notice on the inner side of front cover of cod. B.*
- (6) *see index on front cover of cod. E.*
- (7) *see index on front cover of cod. G. Compare, as to 4, 5, 6, 7 General Introd. IV, Description of the codd.*
- (8) *Denis, Cod. MS. Theol. 1441; 1454; 1470; 1474; 1493; 1505; 2105.*
- (9) *Shirley, Catal. No. 79 p. 26.*
- (10) *Lechler, J. v. W. II, 568.*

Internal evidence:

- (1) *cp. above, General Introduction V, e.*
- (2) *cp. the reiteration of W.'s thoughts as expressed in, and known from, his genuine writings: cp. especially as an irrefutable proof, the characteristic description of the four Sects which, without being named at all, are presupposed in exactly the same order as known from W.'s other writings. Compare, e. g., chap. IV p. 127 with chap. V in the beginning; again, the Pope as abbas et patronus ordinum privatorum p. 127 l. 3; again, his designation as satrapa etc. For particulars, refer to chap. IV, notes b; e; V, a; b; VI, b; g; h; VII, b; c; d; VIII, b; c.*

V. Not yet printed.

VI. Extant in

cod. 3929 = A fol. 187 ^a —192 ^a	$\begin{cases} A^1 = \text{Corrector (of only a few pass.)} \\ A^2 = \text{Glosser (notes above the col.)} \\ A^3 = \text{red hand} \end{cases}$
cod. 3933 = B fol. 88 ^d —92 ^a	$B^1 = \text{Corrector}$
cod. 4527 = C fol. 171 ^a —178 ^a	$\begin{cases} C^1 = \text{Corrector (pale hand)} \\ C^2 = \text{Corrector (thin scribbling hand)} \\ C^3 = \text{Glosser} \end{cases}$
cod. 3930 = D fol. 263 ^d —271 ^d	$\begin{cases} D^1 = \text{Glosser (small black hand)} \\ D^2 = \text{Glosser (small pale hand)} \\ D^3 = \text{Glosser (thick red hand)} \end{cases}$
cod. 1337 = E fol. 117 ^c —125 ^a	$\begin{cases} E^1 = \text{Corrector} \\ E^2 = \text{Glosser (above the col.)} \end{cases}$
cod. 4536 = G fol. 122 ^a —132 ^b	$G^1 = \text{Glosser (towards the end of the Tract)}$
cod. 4515 = II fol. 75 ^a —83 ^a	$H^1 = \text{the new texthand beginning from chap. II, ep. note 9}$
cod. 1387 = K fol. 108 ^a —109 ^a	contains only the last part, chap. VIII p. 146 l. 4 ff.
cod. Ashburnham ¹ XXVII c = Ash fol. 90 ^a —96 ^b	without Corrector.

VII. The Manuscripts.

A. Their relationship.

I. Class A—E. In 325 passages (with about 670 various readings) the MSS. consulted here² differ from each other; (1) in about 290 instances A—E read the same; (2) in 38 instances both give a reading of their own, which differs from the consensus of the rest. This number in itself does not seem to say much for their relationship; it must however be noticed, (a) that the writer of E, as always, copied here in an extremely careless manner, (b) that no other combination even approaches this number [viz. 38; ep. above (2)]. Their consensus of readings consists (1) in a striking and, at the same time, irrelevant order of words peculiar to both MSS., e.g. ass. in v. I, note 29; sibi in moribus IV, 49 and many others;

¹ became only accessible to me, when my MS. was in the Printers' hands; the readings are recorded, but could not be made use of for critical purposes.

² Ash is not included.

(2) in a number of lacunae common to both codd.: sit II 33; patet III, 69; Mt IV, 8; ig. (om.) IV, 11; numq. etc. IV, 55; digne V, 49; sic VI, 27; fidel. VIII, 24; et tercia est VIII, 29; edif. VIII, 67; these omissions cannot be explained away as oversights or slips of the pen. — (d) Of decisive importance are reus II, 4; hac II, 41; totitem (*sic*) III, 27; hiis IV, 6; pape IV, 17; inquit IV, 44; abbachie V, 21; cum V, 26; istorum V, 43; perf. apost. VI, 60; fecte VII, 4; eccles. VII, 11; mult. VIII, 50; et VIII, 79 and especially inv. II, 30. — That E in many instances gives its own, and in almost every case, a false reading compared with A, must be attributed to its carelessness in copying. In two passages only A goes its own way (in mere graphical slips), independently of E, ep. edocet I, 22; tantum IV, 76.

E is not A's original: ep. (1) E's very incorrect text with the much superior A, and (2) the lacunae quam in approp. etc. V, 9; in statu etc. III, 34. — On the other hand, I do not think it improbable, that E was copied from A's revised text, ep. delie, i. e. lat. VI, 35; more especially obstruere V, 39. — E's corrector, E¹, did not correct here (as he did in *De Christo et suo Adv.*) immediately from B, ep. (1) their widely divergent text, and (2) si III, 53; Mt. IV, 8; eccl. VI, 5; iurisdice. VI, 28; delir. VI, 35; sua VI, 56; nor from any of the other codd. here consulted; but, I think, we may imply from racione II, 50 (where only B gives this reading against reo of the other codd.); effundere V, 39; fidei VII, 55; tamen VIII, 56; dicitur VIII, 76 and others, that he copied from some original closely connected with, but older than, B.

II. Class D—G. In the 325 passages in question, these two MSS concur in 254 instances, 6 (7) times they have a reading in common which differs from the consensus of the all other codices.

III. As to the relationship of the group D—G, as well as of B, C, II and K I have not found out much: the materials are too slender to judge of their closer connection. Ash belongs to a totally different (an English) family of codd. ep. VII, 13; VI, 67; 69; II, 13.

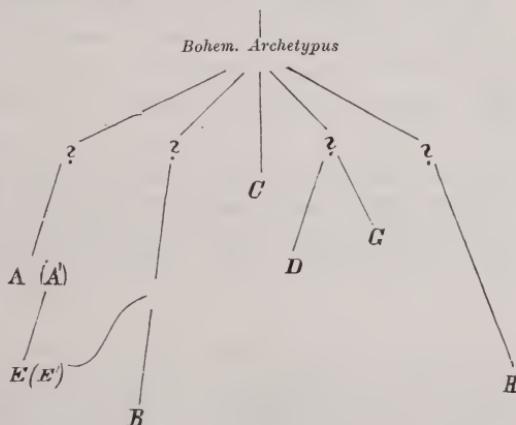
B. *The best codex.* If from the 325 differing passages we separate those that are entirely irrelevant, and examine the remaining 245, we obtain the following relative numbers in regard to the value of the codd.: C contains 31 false readings, G 37; D 39; A 53; E 71; H 81; B 83. C, therefore, appears best adapted to base the text upon. The intrinsic value of its readings still more heightens its

chance. Nearly all are attributable to orthographical errors and slips of the pen except capicione II, 25 and probably also propinqua IV, 41; only twice are (*unimportant*) words as e. g. ut, est, omitted; the omission of homo III, 12 and possibile III, 33 has been filled up by C¹.— The group G—D is by no means a bad one; with the exception of capicione II, 25, prolong. IV, 25; meditacio. VII, 42, the remaining *lectio falsa* consists of insignificant graphical errors. I however prefer C, because D in 12 instances, and G in 10, give independent false readings of their own compared with the consensus of the rest, C on the other hand gives them in only four instances.

Group A—E, with about 20 such independent false readings, and 53 decivise false readd. (or 71, if we look at the whole number of readd.) is much inferior.

A superficial glance over the table of the various readings will suffice to show how very incorrectly H, K and B copied. B, in particular, is in a very bad state of corruption.

The following may serve as a pedigree of the MSS.:



JOHANNIS WICLIF

DE NOVA PREVARICANCIA MANDATORUM.

lipextic vrebum c̄m̄t' orcle te
s̄md, et lppo gnire n̄ri.¹

CAP. I.

<sup>¶ C fol. 171a
lin. 15</sup> ¶² Cum secundum veritatis testimonium Matth. 19^a ad ingressum in | patriam sufficit et requiritur servancia mandatorum,³ quilibet fidelis daret | operam ad istam servanciam in vita et opere adimplendum. Ideo | decem mandatorum noticia⁴ est cunctis fidelibus annotanda.

Unde quidam considerantes, quod Cristus et sui apostoli fidem scripture in linguis variis conscripserunt,⁵ doctrinam decalogi tam in lingua latina quam anglica⁶ diverso scemate diversis hominibus

CAP. I. v. 17

CAP. I. ¹ i. e. Explicit verbum communiter clero et dominis et populo regni nostri, or, more accurately, according to the Summary of the cod. given on its front cover: Verbum communiter dicendum clero dominis et populo regni nostri Tractatus de nova prevaricancia mandatorum A Explicit de exhortacione cuiusdam doctoris de nova prevaricancia mandatorum primum (viz. cap.) B Explicit tractatus de fundacione sectarum Christo in oppositum introductarum Anno domini millesimo CCCCXII⁰ sexta feria proxima ante conductum Pasche hora quasi vicesima D Explicit de iuramento collectoris pape Incipit de nova prevaricancia mandatorum E without Expl. and Inc. HG Ash ² A fol. 187^a lin. 16 B fol. 88^a lin. 32 D fol. 263^d lin. 18 E fol. 117^c lin. 26 G fol. 122^a lin. 7 H fol. 75^a lin. 1 Ash fol. 90^a ³ s. m. ABCEGH Ash m. s. D ⁴ not. ABCD EH Ash om. G ⁵ conscripserunt ABCDEG Ash conscripserint H ⁶ anglica ACDEGH Ash anglico B

collegerunt.^{7 b} Intendentes autem brevitati⁸ doctrinam decalogi in⁹ quodam compendio aptaverunt,¹⁰ quibus dicetur¹¹ in anglico, quod lex Cristi compilatur in quodam dyalogo, sicut decalogus per Mosem in duabus tabulis est collectus, quarum prima docet¹² de 5 bite deum¹³ diligere et secunda, diligere proximum. Et existentibus tribus¹⁴ mandatis in prima tabula et septem in altera, decem mandata in duabus tabulis sub isto binario¹⁵ de diligendo deum et proximum sunt contenta.

Unde secundum veritatis testimonium Matth. 22^c in hiis duobus mandatis universa lex pendet et prophete, et hinc metrieus sic compilat:

Unum crede deum,¹⁶ nec vane iures¹⁷ per ipsum,
Sabbata¹⁸ sanctifices, habeas in honore parentem.
Non sis occisor, mechus, fur,¹⁹ testis iniquus,
Vicinique²⁰ thorum resque caveto suas.

15 Fides autem scripture Matth. 22^{21 d} edocet,²² quod deus²³ est super omnia diligendus, hoc est ex toto corde, ex tota anima et²⁴

^b *W. has not only in view here his itinerant preachers, but, I think, also his writings concerning the subject mentioned above, On the Ten Commandments, ed. by Arnold, S. E. W. III, 82, who speaks of two recensions of this Tract, both from the pen of W. (cp. also Bale, Summ. under the title Compendium Decem Praeceptorum). Cp. also Book I of the Summa with the special title De Mandatis Divinis (this is at present being prepared for the Wyclif Society by F. D. Matthew)* ^c v. 40 ^d v. 37

⁷ collegerunt ABCDG_{Ash} collegerut E (*compend. om.*) ⁸ brevitati ABC DEG_{Ash} breviter H ⁹ in ACDEGH_{Ash} om. B ¹⁰ aptaverunt ABCDEG aptaverint H optaverint Ash *this is in D the last word of col. 264^d, below it: De nova prevaricancia mandatorum D² 11 dicetur ABCDEGH dicebatur Ash* ¹² docet BD_{Ash} docent ACEGH ¹³ deb. de. ACDEH_{Ash} de. deb. BG ¹⁴ tribus ABCEH_{Ash} primis DG ¹⁵ binario ABCEGH_{Ash} denario D ¹⁶ crede deum ABCDGH_{Ash} credendum E, (dum ut. & with mark of ref. in mar. deum E^t) ¹⁷ va. iur. CDGH iur. va. ABE ¹⁸ Sabbata ABCDEG_{Ash} Sabbath H ¹⁹ in C fur me., but transposed by marks ²⁰ vicinique ABCDEG_{Ash} vicini H ²¹ 22 ACDEGH_{Ash} 20 B ²² edocet BCDGH_{Ash} docet AE ²³ deus AB CEGH_{Ash} Cristus deus D ²⁴ et ACDEGH_{Ash} om. B

in tota mente. Et consequenter fidelis debet diligere proximum ut se ipsum.

Explanando autem particularius, quomodo deus est super omnia²⁵ diligendus, notari debet, quod²⁶ ipse est assidue cogitandus, secundo debite est credendus, et tertio summa voluntate, que est suprema mentis potencia, est amandus. Et sic credere in deum, *C fol. 171b* quod est affectione et cogitatione sibi firmiter adherere, || est pri-
mum²⁷ mandatum decalogi. Secundum²⁸ mandatum est negativum, quod fidelis non in vanum assumat²⁹ nomen domini, dei sui. Et tercium mandatum est,³⁰ quod fidelis memoretur, ut diem sabbati³¹ 10 sanctificet.

Primum autem mandatum secunde tabule est,³² ut fidelis honoret patrem et matrem. Et sex mandata sequentia sunt³³ quodammodo negativa. Secundum³⁴ mandatum istius secunde tabule est, quod fidelis non occidat. Tercium³⁵ autem mandatum istius³⁶ 15 secunde³⁷ tabule est, quod fidelis domini³⁸ non mechetur. Quartum³⁹ est, quod non furetur. Quintum⁴⁰ est, quod non loquatur falsum testimonium contra proximum suum.⁴¹ Sextum⁴² est, quod fidelis non concupiscat domum proximi nec⁴³ uxorem et liberos. Septimum⁴⁴ autem⁴⁵ et ultimum mandatum⁴⁶ est, quod homo non con- 20 cupiscat residuum bonorum domus⁴⁷ proximi, cuiusmodi sunt bestie et residua bona sua. Et omnia ista septem mandata servanda sunt⁴⁸ sub pena defectus caritatis proximi, sicut omnia tria man-

²⁵ e. su. o. ABCDEGAsh s. o. e. H ²⁶ quod BCDGHAsh quomodo AE from here in C, numbers corresponding to the commandments accompany the text, thus Primo, Secundo, etc. C³ ²⁷ in G is add. in mar.: Primum ²⁸ in G is add. in mar.: Secundum ²⁹ n. i. v. ass. BCDGHAsh n. ass. i. va. AE ³⁰ est ACDEGHAsh om. B in G in mar.: Tercium ³¹ diem sabbati ACDEGHAsh dei sabbathum B ³² in G is add. in mar.: Quartum ³³ sunt ABCDEGAsh sint H ³⁴ in G is add. in mar.: Quintum ³⁵ in G is add. in mar.: Sextum ³⁶ istius ABCDEHAsh huins G ³⁷ secunde BCDG om. AEHAsh ³⁸ domini ABCDEGAsh deum H ³⁹ in G is add. in mar.: Septimum ⁴⁰ in G is add. in mar.: Octavum ⁴¹ eo. pr. su. ACDEGHAsh om. B ⁴² in G is add. in mar.: Nonum ⁴³ nec ABCDEGH ut Ash ⁴⁴ in G is add. in mar.: Decimum ⁴⁵ autem ACDEGHAsh om. B ⁴⁶ et ult. mand. ABCDEGH om. Ash ⁴⁷ domus ACDEGHAsh om. B ⁴⁸ sunt in B in mar. with mark of ref. by B¹

data prime tabule servare debemus sub pena defectus caritatis⁴⁹ dei.

Et in isto dyalogo plenitudo legis, que⁵⁰ est dileccio, est⁵¹ impleta.

CAP. II.¹

⁵ Sed restat ulterius sub eodem compendio propter eos, qui affectant² brevitatem,^a restringere, quomodo iste mandatorum deca-
logus est contra voluntatem domini³ intercusus.

Docet autem fides Iac. 2,^b quod, qui offendit in uno, factus⁴
est omnium reus,⁵ non ad hunc sensum sophisticum, quod, quieun-
que in uno decem mandatorum offenderit, factus est non illorum
omnium observator,⁶ sed quod sic sunt illa mandata dei connexa,
quod, quicunque in uno illorum deum suum offenderit, reus est
prevaricacione singulorum.

Primo, inquam, offenditur contra primum mandatum⁷ dimit⁸
¹⁵ tendo cogitatum de deo et in creaturis fallaciebus confidendo.

Et in⁸ istam prevaricacionem incidunt homines communiter
per tres hostes, scilicet⁹ per dyabolum, carnem propriam atque
mundum. Et sic multi dicunt false et nominetenus, se esse fideles
decalogi servatores et tamen¹⁰ sunt¹¹ manifesti hypocrite et prevari-
²⁰catores pessimi, cum secundum apostolum^c quidquid homo¹² magis

CAP. II. ^a see above p. 117, l. 1 ^b v. 10 ^c The quotation is,
I believe, according to the sense; as to the matter, cp. Eph. 5, 5; Col.
3, 5; I Cor. 8, 3 ff.; also Matth. 6, 24

⁴⁹ proximi sicut o. t. m. p. t. s. d. s. p. d. caritatis ACDEGH, B¹ with mark
of ref. above the col. om. B prox. sic. defect. carit. Ash. ⁵⁰ que ABCDEGH
quod Ash ⁵¹ est ABCDEG Ash om. H

CAP. II. ¹ secundum BCash, D (in mar.), E²G¹ om. AEGH ² affectant
ACDEGH Ash afficiunt B ³ domini ACDEGH Ash dei B ⁴ factus BCDGH
Ash reus A, E (ud.), but in mar. factus E¹ ⁵ in D is add. in mar.: Qui of-
fendit in uno, factus est omnium reus D² ⁶ obser. BCDEGH Ash reus (ud.)
obs. A ⁷ in D is add. in mar.: Contra primum mandatum offenditur D² ⁸ in
ACDEGH Ash om. B ⁹ in H, from this place a new hand (H¹) copies that
wrote much more negligently than the old one ¹⁰ tamen BCash cum ADE
GH¹ ¹¹ sunt BCGH¹ Ash sint ADE ¹² homo BCDEGH¹ Ash est ydolou-
rum servitus et superatos peccatis carnalibus (ud.) homo A

dilexerit, illud constituit deum suum. Et sic avaricia secundum esse¹³ est ydolorum servitus et superatos peccatis carnalibus dicit esse ydolatras, quorum deus venter est.^d Et sic non solum gentiles, quos dicimus infideles,¹⁴ sunt prevaricatores istius mandati primi et maximi, sed nos ipsi, qui dicimur¹⁵ cristiani, sumus prevaricatores istius mandati, ypocritice¹⁶ plus ingratii.

In secundum¹⁷ mandatum offenditur¹⁸ contra deum,¹⁹ non solum accipiendo nomen dei sui vel creature sue superflue, sicut faciunt iuratores, verum eciam accipiendo nomen cristiani et tamen negando in opere moraliter Cristum sequi. Et in ista prevaricacione peccat¹⁰ communiter totus mundus.

Tercio prevaricatur contra mandatum tertium²⁰ in hoc, quod intendentis ocio nec legem dei servant in sabbato in audiendo nec in predicando vel publicando ad dei reverenciam verbum suum.

In primum mandatum secunde tabule offendunt²¹ plurimi,¹⁵ quando²² non solum non honorant parentes carnales, vivos aut²³ mortuos, sed communiter, quando parentes spirituales, hoc est, Cristum et suam ecclesiam non honorant.²⁴ Et stat talis honoracio C fol. 172^a non in capuciacione,²⁵ genuflexione²⁶ || vel signis aliis mundialiter variatis, sed in sincera procuracione boni, utilis anime persone dilecte vel ecclesie²⁷ militantis. Unde Christus Ioh. 13^e dicit pro regula: mandatum²⁸ novum do vobis ut diligatis invicem, sicut dilexi

^d cp. Phil. 3, 19 ^e v. 34

¹³ esse ACDEGH¹ eum BASH ¹⁴ inf. ABCEH¹Ash esse inf. DG ¹⁵ dicimur ABCDHG¹Ash, E¹ in mar. dicuntur (ud.)E, in A also the word is written so, that it can be easily read for dicuntur ¹⁶ ypocritice ABDEGAsh ypocrate H¹ ypocrice C, but in mar. ti C¹ (therefore ypocritice) ¹⁷ in D is add. in mar.: Contra secundum mandatum D¹ ¹⁸ offenditur ABCDEGAsh offendere H¹ ¹⁹ deum ABCDEGAsh om. H¹, but added in mar. by the texthand (now H¹) ²⁰ in D is add. in mar.: Contra tertium mandatum D¹ in C in mar.: Tercio C³ ²¹ offendunt BH¹Ash offenduntur ACDEG ²² quando ACDEGH¹Ash quod B ²³ aut ABCDEGAsh autem H¹ ²⁴ honorant ABDEGH¹Ash honorat C ²⁵ capuciacione D, G in mar., H¹ (capicōē) capiacione ABCEG decapiciacione Ash ²⁶ gen. ACDEGH¹Ash vel gen. B²⁷ ecclesie ACDEGH¹Ash ecclesia B ²⁸ mandatum ABCDEGAsh mandatis H¹

vos, ut²⁹ et vos diligatis invicem.³⁰ Ex quibus patet, quod honor vel amor, quem³¹ Cristus precipit, non consistit in terrenorum cumulacione,³² cum Cristus non sic suos dilexerat, sed sepe vergit ad dampnum anime et strangulacionem hominis contra deum; sed cum sit³³ sepe ad³⁴ salutem anime hominis pauperari, patet, quod honor vel amor consistit in rationabili³⁵ substraccione istorum stereorum, dum cedit ad commodum anime pro beatitudine consequenda.

Contra secundum mandatum³⁶ secunde tabule innaturaliter offendunt plurimi in affecione, verbo et opere, cum multi iniuste volunt fratres suos occidi, ut patet de multis odientibus fratres suos. Multi eciam in verbis irrationabilibus perpetrant hoc³⁷ homicidium, sicut et multi occidunt corporaliter, tam per manus proprias, quam³⁸ eciam per³⁹ consensum. Et dum ad nullum istorum habent auctoritatem a domino, patet, quod sunt iniusti proximi occisores.

15 Et conformiter prevaricatur in mandatum tertium⁴⁰ huius tabule non solum deturpando uxorem proximi, sed in honeste volendo perpetrare hoc⁴¹ facinus; sed tertio communius⁴² in personam, que debet esse de ecclesia, deturpando.

In quartum mandatum⁴³ huius tabule offenditur multis modis, 20 quia quandocunque⁴⁴ creature aliique, que debent esse bona proximi, sunt abuse. Et patet, quod multis modis peccatores sunt fures contra deum⁴⁵ et proximum bonis Christi et⁴⁶ ecclesie abutendo.

In quintum mandatum⁴⁷ tam extense offenditur, cum triplex sit locucio, in corde, voce⁴⁸ et opere; et quelibet⁴⁹ illarum debet esse

²⁹ ut *DGH^tAsh, B^t in mar. om. ABCE* ³⁰ invicem *BCDGH^tAsh* in vicis AE (cp. this abbrev. of inv. with the inv. shortly preceding: in both cases both abbreviations in both codd. strikingly agree) ³¹ quem *BCDGH^tAsh* que A quam E ³² cumulacione *ABCDEGAsh* communilacione (? in no case cumulacione) H^t ³³ sit *BCDGH^tAsh* om. AE ³⁴ ad *ABDEGH^tAsh* contra (er. out & ud.) ad C ³⁵ rationabili *ABCDEGAsh* rationali H^t ³⁶ in C is add. in mar.: Secundo C³ ³⁷ hoc *ABCDGH^tAsh, E^t in mar. om. E* ³⁸ quam *ACDEGH^tAsh* tam B ³⁹ per *ABCDGH^tAsh* perost E, but ost ud. ⁴⁰ in C is add. in mar.: Tercio C³ ⁴¹ hoc *BCDGH^tAsh* hac AE ⁴² communius AB *CDEGAsh* corpus H^t ⁴³ in C is add. in mar.: Quarto C³ ⁴⁴ quandocunque (?) *GAsh* quecumque *ABCDEH^t* ⁴⁵ deum *ABCDEGAsh* dominum H^t ⁴⁶ et C atque *ABDEGH^tAsh* at. ecc. ab. *ABDEGAsh* ab. at. ecc. H^t et ecc. ab. C ⁴⁷ in C is add. in mar.: Quinto C³ ⁴⁸ voce *ACDEGH^tAsh* ore B ⁴⁹ in G a corr. word: upon it, quelibet has been written with thick ink

non contra proximum, sed pro bono proximi, et quelibet illarum locutionum est in reo⁵⁰ cuiuscunque criminis satis falsa.

In sextum mandatum⁵¹ secunde tabule prevaricatur cottidie non solum in concupiscendo indebito feminam uxoratam, sed abusum personarum ecclesie tam in feminis quam liberis illicite affectando. 5

In septimum mandatum et ultimum offendunt plurimi, cum bona proximi per media nepharia contra legem domini concupiscunt.

CAP. III.¹

Sed tercio videtur laciens et expressius inferendum² pro declaracione istius materie pro illis, qui in profundiore³ sermone domini delectantur.

10

Et videtur primo,⁴ ut dicunt recentes heretici, quod non est possibile, cristianum servare decalogum mandatorum,⁵ quia cum mandata sint⁶ eterna, pro statu innocencie hominem⁷ obligarunt, sed cum nemo ex peccato suo sic melioratur in condicione, quod nunc minus, quam tunc obligatur⁸ ad observanciam mandatorum, 15 videtur, quod nunc post lapsum homo debet tantum deum diligere, sicut debuit in statu innocencie. Et cum hoc non potest, cum sit tantum vulneratus⁹ in naturalibus, tam corporis quam anime, videatur, quod cuilibet christiano sit impossibilis observancia mandatorum. Quis enim viator citra Cristum potest tam¹⁰ continue et tam in-20 tensa¹¹ cogitare de deo, sicut debuit homo¹² in statu innocencie non tam continue, quia necessitatibus cogitare de temporalibus et ipsa aliquo modo¹³ diligere?

⁵⁰ reo *ACDHG¹Ash, E (ud.) racione B, E¹ in mar.* ⁵¹ in C is add. in mar.: Sexto C²

CAP. III. ¹ tertium *CDash, B (in mar.) om. AEGH¹* ² inferendum *ABCdeg* disserendum *H¹* inserendum *Ash* ³ profundiore *ABCdeg* profundiori *H¹Ash* ⁴ primo *ABCdegAsh* prius *H¹* ⁵ in E is add. below col. 119^a: Arguitur quare nemo posset servare decalogum *E²* ⁶ sint *ACDEGH¹Ash* sunt *B* ⁷ hominem *ABCdeg* homines *Ash* ⁸ obligatur *ABCdegH¹Ash* obligabatur *G* ⁹ vulneratus *ACDEGH¹Ash* volvatur (?) *B* ¹⁰ tam *ACDEGH¹Ash* om. *B* ¹¹ intense *ABCdegH¹Ash* intercise *G* ¹² homo *ABDEGH¹Ash*, *C¹* in mar. om. *C* ¹³ i. a. m. *ABCEGH¹Ash* a. m. i. *D*

Sed quis dubitat, quin talis cogitacio¹⁴ atque¹⁵ affeccio mitigant intellectum et affectum hominis citra deum? Et per consequens talis non ex toto corde deum diligit.¹⁶ Si enim occupatio et affeccio circa temporalia in deum foret collecta simpliciter, de 5 tanto dileccio¹⁷ dei in sic cogitante potencior. Et cum tune non deum diligenteret, nisi ex toto corde, patet,¹⁸ quod nunc ista dei dileccio¹⁹ mitigatur. Et sic²⁰ cum vires anime debilitantur ex corpore corrupto, et ipse vires circa creaturas taliter dispergantur,²¹ videatur, quod homo deficit in ista prima particula mandati primi et²² 10 maximi. Et istud videtur ewangelistam sentire I Joh. 1^a: si dixerimus, quoniam peccata²³ non habemus, nos ipsos seducimus et veritas in nobis non est.

In oppositum videtur fides²⁴ catholica, cum nemo potest ad vitam ingredi, nisi servet mandata, ut patet Matth. 19.^b Si ergo 15 nemo potest servare mandata, nemo potest ad vitam ingredi.

Sed que conclusio foret maior desperacio contra fidem, cum sepe dicit Cristus suis apostolis,²⁵ quod erunt beati, alias tribus Israel iudicantes?^c Multi ergo erunt salvati,²⁶ ut patet Matth. 25,^d quia totidem,²⁷ quot forent homines in statu innocencie servato ex 20 integro, et quot spiritus cum lucifero ceciderunt, quia aliter Cristus non redemisset genus humanum, nisi ex virtute passionis sue superhabundaverit gratia²⁸ supra hoc, quod delictum primi hominis habundavit.²⁹

CAP. III. ^a v. 8 ^b v. 17 ^c cp. Matth. 19, 28 ^d v. 33 ff.

¹⁴ qu. t. c. ABCDEGAsh om. H¹, but in mar. qu. t. c. texthand (H¹)

¹⁵ atque ACDEGH¹Ash sive B ¹⁶ de. di. BCDGASH (also in the original of H¹, see note 18) di. de. AE diligit H¹, (i. e. de. om.) ¹⁷ dil. ABCD

EGLH¹ foret dil. Ash ¹⁸ patet ABCDEGASH deum diligit Si enim occup.

et a. e. t. i. d. f. e. s. d. t. d. dei (ud.) patet H¹, the original of H¹, therefore,

read deum (see note 16), H¹ copied negligently ¹⁹ i. de. di. ACDEGH¹ di. i.

de B ²⁰ sic ABCDEGH¹ sicut Ash ²¹ dispergantur ACE disperguntur

BDGH¹Ash ²² pr. et ABCDEH¹Ash fe. G ²³ peccata ABCDEG pecca-

tum H¹Ash ²⁴ fi. ABDEGH¹Ash esse (ud.) fi. C from this place in H darker

ink, but the same hand ²⁵ s. a. ABCDEGASH a. s. H¹ ²⁶ in D is add. in

mar.: Multi erunt salvati D¹ ²⁷ E reads quia (cr. out) totitem (ud.), but in

mar. is add.: quia totidem E¹ (A also reads: totitem) ²⁸ gratia ABCDEGASH

om. H¹ ²⁹ hab. ACDEGH¹Ash superhab. B

Teneamus hanc³⁰ fidem firmiter, quod³¹ possibile est, omnem predestinatum servare decalogum,³² sicut fuit sibi possibile³³ in statu innocencie et erit³⁴ possibile³⁵ post diem iudicij; et derideamus istam arguciam: non est possibile cristianum in vita ista³⁶ fragili sine peccato servare decalogum, ergo³⁷ non est possibile⁵ simpliciter ipsum servare decalogum.³⁸ Verum tamen bene concluditur, quod non est possibile, cristianum hoc facere nisi mediante³⁹ virtute et gracia domini Iesu⁴⁰ Cristi, nec est possibile cristianum viventem⁴¹ in ista vita carnali omnino sine defectu servare decalogum,⁴² verum tamen dolens de isto defectu continue,⁴³ et manens¹⁰ in sancto proposito, quod decalogum observaret nec gratis in prevaricacione deum⁴⁴ offenderet, habet⁴⁵ ex⁴⁶ speciali gratia unam morulam ante⁴⁷ mortem,⁴⁸ in qua virtute meriti Cristi potest sine defectu istum decalogum observare.

Et hec est una ratio, quare debemus dolere continue et, ut¹⁵ dicit Iohannes,^e peccata nostra pro vita ista carnali et fragili non negare. Et ad istum sensum videtur iste Iohannes loqui, quod, si dixerimus, quod peccata⁴⁹ non habemus,⁵⁰ hoc est, in tota vita ista integra non peccamus, nos ipsos seducimus.

Et quantum ad primum assumptum patet, quod est verum,²⁰

^e ep. I Joh. 1, 8

³⁰ hanc *ABCDEFGH¹* ergo hanc *Ash* ³¹ quod *ABCDEFGHI* quia *H¹*
³² in *E* is add. in mar.: Responsio *E²*, likerise abore the col.: Decalogum mandatorum potest homo servare *E²* ³³ poss. *ABCDEFGHI Ash, C¹* in mar. om. *C*
³⁴ in sta. i. et er. *ABCDEFGHI Ash, E¹* in mar. om. *E* ³⁵ poss. *ABCDEFGHI Ash, E¹* in mar. sibi poss. *D* om. *E* ³⁶ ista *ABCDEFGHI Ash* sua *G* ³⁷ ergo *ACDE GH¹ Ash* igitur *B* ³⁸ in *E* is add. with mark of ref. below the col.: Decalogum servare nemo potest sine defectu *E²* ³⁹ mediante *ABCDEFGHI Ash* mediate *DH¹* ⁴⁰ Ie. *ACDEG Ash* nostri Ie. *BH¹* ⁴¹ cr. viv. *ABCDEFGHI Ash* cristianum viventem (viv. cr. out & nd.) cristianum viventem *H¹* ⁴² in *D* is add. in mar.: Nota bene *D³* ⁴³ in *E* is add. with mark of ref. above the col.: Dolemus continue, quia peccatum habemus *E²* ⁴⁴ de. *ABCDEFGHI* huiusmodi *Ash* in *C* is add. in mar.: Nota *C³* ⁴⁵ habet *ACDEGH¹ Ash* om. *B* ⁴⁶ ex *ACDEGH¹ Ash* de *B* ⁴⁷ ante *ACDEGH¹ Ash* anime *B* ⁴⁸ in *E* is add. in mar.: Morula ante mortem *E²* ⁴⁹ peccata *ABCDEFGHI Ash* peccatum *H¹* ⁵⁰ in *D* is add. in mar.: Quod si dixerimus, quod peccata non habemus *D⁴*

cum secundum Gregorium,^{51f} dum augentur dona,⁵² raciones etiam crescent donorum. Tanto ergo esse humilior atque ad serviendum deo prompctor quisque debet esse ex munere, quanto se obligacionem esse conspicit in reddenda ratione. Et probabile⁵³ videtur, quod Paulus in raptu⁵⁴ et hora mortis, sicut et multi alii sancti dilexerunt deum sincerius,⁵⁵ et fortificati sunt in mentis viribus⁵⁶ ad deum plus unice⁵⁷ diligendum, quam dilexerunt⁵⁸ in statu innocencie viatores.

Et patet ulterius, quod falsum assumitur, dum dicitur, quod nullus cristianus potest deum⁵⁹ tantum diligere, quantum diligeret in C fol. 173^a statu innocencie,⁵⁹ quia voluntario in naturalibus anime ex dei gracia est sanata, et per passionem domini specialiter est⁶⁰ adiuta. Et patet defectus argucie consequentis.

Et quantum ad confirmationem dicitur, quod quilibet cristianus et⁶¹ specialiter in mortis articulo debet intelleccionem et affectionem omnium terrenorum postponere et ipsas⁶² pure in deum⁶³ infligere.⁶⁴ Et tunc mediante dei gracia potest faciliter intellectum et affectum, qui fuerunt in viatore⁶⁵ pro statu innocencie supra illum statum erigere. Et deficiendo ab isto⁶⁶ citra gradum peccati⁶⁷ irreversibilis in purgatorio est purgandus.⁶⁸ Et patet,⁶⁹ quomodo pro morula in mortis articulo homo potest habere dilectionem dei satis continuam, licet non fuerit ista diurna, sicut fuisse in statu in-

^f Gregorii Opp. (Edit. of the Benedictines, Paris 1705) tom. I lib. I, homil. IX p. 1463 E: Cum enim augentur dona, rationes etiam crescunt donorum

⁵¹ in D is add. in mar.: Gregorius D^t ⁵² dona ABCDEH^tAsh bona G
⁵³ prob. AC, E, but in mar. si (not: sic) E^t sic prob. BDGH^tAsh ⁵⁴ in E
 is add. in mar.: Paulus in raptu E² ⁵⁵ sicut. in H^t indistinctly written ⁵⁶ vi-
 tribus ABCDEG^tAsh virilius H^t ⁵⁷ unice AEGH^t unite BC^tAsh vince D
⁵⁸ dilexerunt ABCDEGH^t diligent Ash ⁵⁹ in E is add. with mark of ref.
 below the col.: Diligere potest cristianus deum, sicut in statu innocencie E²
⁶⁰ sp. e. ABCDEH^tAsh e. sp. G ⁶¹ et ABCDGH^tAsh est E ⁶² ipsas
 ACDEGH^t ipsos B ⁶³ pu. i. d. ABCDEG i. d. pu. H^tAsh ⁶⁴ in E is
 add. with mark of ref. above the col.: Mortis in articulo, quando cristianus se
 disponeret E² ⁶⁵ in viat. in D in mar. ⁶⁶ isto ABCDEGH^t ipso Ash
⁶⁷ peccati Ash peccatum ABCDEGH^t ⁶⁸ purg. Ash om. ABCDEGH^t
⁶⁹ patet BCDGH^tAsh, E^t in mar. om. AE

nocencie. Et pro illa morula non debet affici circa hec temporalia et sic habet uberiorem graciam,⁷⁰ quam in statu innocencie⁷¹ habuisset.

CAP. IV.¹

Cum satrape et pharisei nostri^a dicunt, quod homo non debet predicare nec colligere ewangelium in wlgari,² ne forte ex eius diwlgacione in anglico sit suspectum, sed septem peccata mortalia^b et mandatorum decalogus^c sunt in anglico populo explananda, vindendum est, quid probabiliter sit ex observancia decalogi viris istis specialiter inferendum.

Dixit autem quidam, quod hec est³ racio, quare hec rudimenta fidei ex ewangelio nollent populo in anglico predicari, quia cum ex fide debent⁴ vivere Christo conformiter et in moribus sequi ipsum,⁵ detecta conversacione Christi pateret luce clarius, quod in vita sunt sibi contrarii et non fideles vel cristiani ab aliis⁶ salutandi, sed pocius superiores discipuli antieristi. Ideo ad detegendum⁷ hoc facinus nollent ewangelium taliter diwlgari, sed cum Christus dicit Matth.⁸ ultimo^d suis sacerdotibus: euntes in universum mundum predicate ewangelium omni creature, iudicent⁹ isti heretici, si obedire oportet plus¹⁰ deo quam homini.

CAP. IV.^a that is, the Pope and his followers, but above all the clerici dotati, cp. Matthew, E. W. h. u. 2; 27; 312; also below p. 127, l. 3 & 9 ^b cp. W.'s English Tract On the Seven Deadly Sins, Arnold, III, Nro. IX ^c cp. above cap. I note b ^d Matth. 28, 19

⁷⁰ in E is add. with mark of ref. below the col.: Uberior gracia in statu innocencie, quando habetur E² ⁷¹ quam i. st. in ABCDEH¹Ash quam quam G

CAP. IV.¹ quartum CASH, D in mar., G¹ in mar. om. AEGH¹ in B after habuisset: sequitur capitulum sextum B ² in D is add. with mark of ref. below the col. (266^d): Utrum ewangelium ex latino in wlgare est interpretandum et predicanendum D² ³ hec est CDGH¹ hoc est ASH hec esset ABE ⁴ deb. BCDEGH¹Ash scripture (nd.) deb. A ⁵ ipsum ABCDEH¹Ash Cristum G ⁶ aliis BCDGH¹Ash hiis AE ⁷ detegendum CDG tegendum ABEH¹Ash ⁸ Mt. CDGH¹Ash, E¹ in mar. Mr. B om. AE ⁹ iudicent ABCDEGAsh vi-derent H¹ ¹⁰ o. p. ACDEGH¹Ash p. o. B

Videtur igitur,¹¹ quod iste secte¹² quatuor^e prevaricantur in isto primo et maximo mandato decalogi.

Et incipiamus primo a papa, qui videtur esse abbas¹³ et patronus^f omnium istorum ordinum privatorum.¹⁴ Fingit enim, quod sit immediatus Cristi vicarius in terris¹⁵ et simillimus sequax¹⁶ Cristi in moribus, cum sit pauperrimus, humillimus et secundum hoc maxime operativus ad edificacionem ecclesie et sic maxime consolativus et nulli parti ecclesie onerosus.

Sed ut testantur cognoscentes statum huius satrape¹⁷ et fidem scripture de Cristi conversacione,¹⁸ nullum¹⁹ est manifestius mendacium in hoc mundo, cum pene declinando ad eius contrarium non est²⁰ superstes superbior,²¹ mundo dicior, ab²² edificacione²³ ecclesie Cristi elongacior²⁴ et sic²⁵ ovibus Cristi onerosior et per consequens per fraudem ypocrisis et alia mendacia pauperum spoliatiavlor.²⁶ Et sic in verbis crescit in obligacionibus supra Petrum, sed decrescit in operibus Petri vicarii et crescit in maliciis anticeristi. Et hinc orant fideles illud Psal. 124:^g declinantes autem in obligaciones adducet²⁷ dominus cum operantibus iniquitatem, pax super Israel.²⁸

Tales autem discipuli anticeristi, licet declinent a mandatis domini, tamquam satrape maledicti et sic incurront debitum dei ac sue²⁹ ecclesie, et per consequens ad penam acriorem continue

^e viz. the cleris cesareus, canonici, monachi and fratres, cp. De Quat. Sect. novell. cap. I, commencement ^f cp. De Quat. Sect. nov. cap. I, commencement ^g Ps. 125, 5

¹¹ igitur BCDG ergo H¹Ash om. AE ¹² secte in H¹ in mar. (H¹) abbas ACDEGH¹Ash, B¹ in mar. om. B ¹³ in E is add. below the col. 120^a: Prevaricatores mandatorum, quomodo sunt superiores E² ¹⁴ in D is add. with mark of ref. below the col.: Papa est patronus quatuor sectarum, fictus vicarius Cristi D² ¹⁵ sequax ABCDEG.Ash sectarum H¹ ¹⁶ satrape BCDGH¹Ash pape AE ¹⁷ conversacione CDGH¹Ash comiseracione AEB ¹⁸ nullum ABCEGH¹ ullerum (?) D quod nullum Ash ¹⁹ est DGH¹Ash om. ABCE ²⁰ superior ABCDEG.Ash superior H¹ ²¹ ab ABCDGH¹Ash, E¹ in mar. om. E ²² ed. BCDEGH¹Ash ecclesie Cristi (ud.) ed. A ²³ elongacior ABCDEH¹Ash prolongacior G ²⁴ sic ABCEGH¹Ash sit D ²⁵ in A uncertain whether adducet ²⁶ spoliatiavlor ACDEGH¹Ash spoliacivior B ²⁷ in D is add. in mar.: Pax super Israel D¹ ²⁸ sue ACDEGH¹Ash om. B

obligantur. Deus tamen³⁰ non potest penam huiusmodi³¹ obli-
visci.

Sed quomodo cuncte sit de illis suscitatoribus bellorum³² at-
que discordie,^h rōgemus, quod sit pax super Israel. Et inter omnia
peccata hominum, que iam regnant, istud est magis nepharium at-
que blasphemius,³³ plus ecclesie turbativum. Nam mentiri super
persona³⁴ gravi in vita et moribus,³⁵ dum cederet sibi ad scanda-
lum, foret peccatum detestabile. Sed quanto peccatum gravius est,
mentiri super dominum Iesum Cristum, seducendo oves suas per
latam viam inferni? Et quantum est in isto mendaci blasphemando³⁶ 10
et³⁷ scandalizando dominum Iesum Cristum dicendo assertive vel³⁸
innuitive, quod Cristus taliter vixit et vivere taliter suo vicario im-
peravit.³⁹ Et sic stante fide scripture et veritate mendacii⁴⁰ istius
supposita foret Cristus, qui ex fide est prima veritas, mendacissimus
homo mundi. Sed quis unquam⁴¹ audivit plus horrendam blas- 15
phemiam?

Unde quidam applicant illud Psal. 49ⁱ huic anticeristo, ac si
deus sibi⁴² pro continuacione huius sceleris minaretur: estimasti⁴³
inquit,⁴⁴ quod ero tui similis, arguam te et statuam contra faciem⁴⁵
tuam. Licet enim⁴⁶ iste refuga^k vendicat nunc⁴⁷ iudicare totam 20

^h Allusion is here made to the Friars (who were foremost in preaching the Crusade against Clement VII.) and, in a wider sense, to the Pope's followers at large ⁱ Ps. 50, 21 ^k It is uncertain which of the contending Popes is here alluded to. — Clement VII. was refuga in the year 1379, see Walsingham, H. A. I, 393; Urban VI. in 1383, when, on his escape from the rebellious Romans, he had retired to Naples,

³⁰ tamen ABCDEGH¹ enim Ash ³¹ huiusmodi ABCDEGAsh huius H¹
³² in D is add. in mar.: De suscitatoribus bellorum D^t ³³ in E is add. with
mark of ref. above the col.: Peccatum plus nepharium et blasphemius prelatorum
quid? E² ³⁴ in D is add. in mar.: Mentiri super personam D^t ³⁵ mor. AC
DEGH¹Ash in mor. B ³⁶ blasph. ACDEGH¹Ash blasphemando blasphemando
(twice) B ³⁷ et ABCDEGH¹ ac Ash ³⁸ vel ABCDEGAsh om. H¹
³⁹ in E is add. in mar.: Vivere contrarie Christo E² ⁴⁰ mendacii ABCDEGH¹
om. Ash ⁴¹ umquam DGH¹Ash inquam ABE propinqua C ⁴² sibi ABCD
EH¹Ash om. G ⁴³ estimasti ABCDEGH¹ existimasti Ash ⁴⁴ inique BCD
GH¹Ash inquit AE ⁴⁵ fac. ABCDEGAsh te fac. H¹ ⁴⁶ enim ACDEGH¹
Ash ergo B ⁴⁷ nunc ABCDEGAsh om. H¹

ecclesiam militantem, et quod habeat plene⁴⁸ sensum domini, quem necesse est sibi assistere, totum quod fecerit, confirmando et sic quod Cristus fuit in moribus sibi⁴⁹ similis, sicut et erit in⁵⁰ die iudicii. Cum tamen ista existimacio sit blasphemia⁵¹ et per consequens iniqua, non dubium, quin in die iudicii verus iudex seculi arguet ipsum et blasphemiam istam statuet contra faciem mentis sue. Et sicut fidelis iste existimat,⁵² non est superstes aliqua persona, que plus perturbat ecclesiam militantem, vel que plus facit ipsam⁵³ a lege domini⁵⁴ declinare. Numquid credimus ipsum specialiter ser-
10 vare dei decalogum? Constat expertis,⁵⁵ quod non diligit debite dominum deum suum, cum non diligit vitam suam conformari legi sue, sed vivendo Christo contrarie est nimis contrarius trinitati. Et,⁵⁶ ut dicitur, multa scit de antieristi legibus,⁵⁷ sed de Christi⁵⁸ legibus scit parum speculative vel practicee, cum sit in articulis
15 fidei satis stolidus ydiota. Sed quomodo emanaret a deo gracia, virtus sive sciencia per talem fistulam sic corruptam? Nec dubium, quin non diligit proximum, ut se ipsum, quia⁵⁹ se ipsum non diligit, et proximo tam propinquuo⁶⁰ quam distanti, tam in spiritualibus quam in temporalibus⁶¹ multum nocet. Cum enim tantum seducit
20 militantem ecclesiam et mentitur⁶² de Christo, patet, quod prevaricatur in primum mandatum secunde tabule, et cum tantum⁶³ nocet spiritualiter militanti ecclesie, patet, quod occidit spiritualiter multas animas,⁶⁴ quod est infinitum peius quam occisio corporalis.⁶⁵ Ideo

cp. for particulars Walsingham, H. A. II, 105—106. Th. de Niem, Hist. sui temp. II. 4, Argentorati 1609, I 31 ff. and L. Maimbourg, Hist. du Grand Schisme d'Occid., Paris (without date „dernière édition“) tom. I, 162.

⁴⁸ h. pl. ABCDEGAsh pl. h. H¹ ⁴⁹ i. m. s. BCDGH¹Ash s. i. m. AE
⁵⁰ in ABCDEGH¹ om. Ash ⁵¹ blasphemia ABCDEGH¹ blasphemia Ash
⁵² existimat ACDEGH¹Ash existimet B ⁵³ ipsam ACDEGH¹Ash om. B ⁵⁴ domini ABCDEGAsh dei H¹ ⁵⁵ numquid er. i. sp. s. d. d. c. expertis BCDGH¹
⁵⁶ Ash, E¹ in mar. om. AE ⁵⁶ et CDGH¹Ash sed AE om. B ⁵⁷ Et ut dic.—
⁵⁷ legibus ACDEGAsh, H¹ (cp. note 58.) om. B ⁵⁸ legibus, sed de Christi ACDEG
⁵⁸ Ash, B (cp. not. 57.) om. H¹ ⁵⁹ quia ABCDEGH¹ qui Ash ⁶⁰ propinquuo
⁵⁹ CDGH¹Ash, E¹ in mar. proximo ABE ⁶¹ sp. q. i. t. ABCDEH¹Ash t. q.
⁶⁰ i. sp. G ⁶² mentitur ABC sic ment. DGH¹ sic mentit Ash ⁶³ tantum
⁶¹ ABCEGH¹Ash om. D ⁶⁴ m. a. ACDEGH¹Ash a. m. B ⁶⁵ o. c. ABCDEG
⁶² Ash c. o. H¹

de corporali occisione per excommunicacionem,⁶⁶ incarceracionem vel omissionem hortacionis⁶⁷ ad pacem, que pertinet Cristi⁶⁸ vicario, taceamus.¹

Et mechatur⁶⁹ cum dyabolo et furatur bona⁷⁰ ecclesie contra legem⁷¹ domini spoliando.⁷² Iniquissime eciam⁷³ per bullas et alia 5
 || c. fol. 174^a signa mendacia contestatur, quod ista persona sit || digna ducere⁷⁴ per semitam oves Cristi et quod ista persona,⁷⁵ quantumcunque facinorosa fuerit, dum tamen⁷⁶ pecuniam vel lucrum mundanum sibi accumulat,⁷⁷ absolvit a pena et a culpa, contestans, quod est iustissima in celum statim post mortem ex dei iudicio volatura. 10

Et sic concupiseit domum proximi generalius, quam persone alie⁷⁸ militantes, dum curatos, qui custodirent in exteris⁷⁹ provinciis oves pauperes, ut Cristus precipit, facit propter⁸⁰ spem lueri in sua curia residere.

Et sic a primo usque ad ultimum non est manifestior 15 prevaricator decalogi quam est papa, et per consequens magis a caritate dei et proximi⁸¹ elongatur.

Et fere idem est iudicium de alis⁸² suis,⁸³ hoc est, de clericis suis cesareis, quos sic docet.

¹ Had the Crusade into Flanders (Summer 1383) been already entered on, or even been imminent, it would, most probably, have been referred to here

⁶⁶ excommunicacionem *B, E¹ with mark of ref. above the col.* excitacionem *ACDEGH¹ Ash* ⁶⁷ hortacionis *ABCDEGAsh* ortalisionis (*lis ud.*) *H¹* ⁶⁸ Cristi *ACDEGH¹ Ash* ipsi *B* ⁶⁹ mech. *AC* sic mech. *BDGH¹ Ash, E,* but here sic has been subjected to corrections ⁷⁰ bona *ABCDEH¹ Ash* bonum *G* ⁷¹ legem *ABC DEGAsh* bona *H¹* ⁷² in *CD* and *G* is add. in mar.: Nota quomodo antieristus prevaricatur in totum decalogum *C³, D² (or texthand), G (texthand)* ⁷³ eciam *ABCDEGH¹ om. Ash* ⁷⁴ ducere *ABCDEGash* docere *H¹* ⁷⁵ digna d. p. s. o. C. e. q. i. persona *ACDEGH¹ Ash, B¹ with mark of ref. below the col.* *om. B* ⁷⁶ tamen *CDEH¹ Ash* tantum *ABG* ⁷⁷ accumulat *Ash* accumulat *ABCDEGH¹* ⁷⁸ p. a. *ABCDEH¹ Ash* a. p. *G* ⁷⁹ exteris *ABCDEGash* exteiis *H¹* ⁸⁰ propter *ACDEGH¹ Ash* per *B* ⁸¹ et prox. *ABCDEH¹ om. Gash* ⁸² alis *ACEG* aliis *BDH¹ Ash* ⁸³ suis *ACDEGH¹ Ash* *om. B*

CAP. V.¹

Restat videre, si secunda secta monachorum vivit religiose in observancia mandatorum.

Et videtur primo, quod peccant² graviter in odiendo deum et proximum. Et quia ista³ secta plus cum temporalibus invisc(er)atur,⁴ 5 ideo intendo discurrere⁵ per septem mandata secunde tabule istud odium declarando.

Videtur enim primo, quod prevaricantur in primo mandato secunde tabule Cristum et suam ecclesiam contempnendo. Contempnunt quidem Cristum sponsum ecclesie, qui debet esse illis 10 abbas vel pater, cum dimittunt et postponunt istam⁶ regulam et preeligunt pro regula tradicionem humanam, que in multis est frivola et contraria legi Christi. Cum autem idem sit Cristum contempnere⁷ et contempnere legem suam, manifestum videtur, quod dehonrant culpabiliter patrem patrum et per consequens se ipsos 15 et proximum.

Et quantum ad Christi ecclesiam, patet ex conversatione eorum, quomodo⁸ tam in redditibus secularibus, quam in appropriatis⁹ basilicis^a faciunt sue matri ecclesie iniuriam manifestam. Debent enim abdicare seculari dominio ut veneno et in vita pauperi servire ec- 20 clesie, ut patres eorum priores fecerant.¹⁰ Et sic cum manifeste

CAP. V. ^a The appropriation by the Sects of parochial churches is very often referred to by W. in his polemical works, see Matthew, E. W. h. u., 97; 116; 190; 223; 236; 419; 427. He says that, in consequence of this practice, the spiritual care of the congregations is injured and that also the exterior of the churches, their roofs, walls etc. are falling into decay, see below p. 132 l. 20 ff. and 134 l. 10

CAP. V. ¹ quintum CDash,E (after docet) om. AGH¹ 7^m B in mar. in E above the chap. is add. in red ink: de secta monachorum cap. 6 ² peccant AC DEG peccat BH¹Ash ³ ista ABCDEGASH,H¹ in mar. om. H¹ ⁴ inviscatur ABCDEGH¹ inniscatur Ash ⁵ discurrere GH¹Ash discernere ABCDE 6 istam ABCDEH¹ illam G suam Ash ⁷ Cr. c. ABCDEH¹Ash c. Cr. G in D cont. is the last word of col. 267^d, below it: XXII ⁸ quomodo ABCDEG Ash quoniam H¹ ⁹ q. i. app. ABCDGH¹Ash,E¹ with mark of ref. below the col. om. E ¹⁰ fecerant ACDEGH¹Ash feerunt B

vivant contrarie, patet, quod nedum iniuriatur¹¹ seculari brachio, sed cuilibet membro ecclesie militantis. Et cum plus ponderanda sit spiritualis iniuria quam corporalis, sicut preeligenda est spiritualis iusticia supra iusticiam corporalem, patet, quam late et quam intense extenditur ista iniuria in ecclesiam militantem. 5

Ideo mirantur quidam, quomodo hec secta tam attente exequitur debitum temporale secundum tradiciones humanas, que sepe deviant a iusticie complemento et tamen¹² parvipendit dei iusticiam et continuat eius iniuriam dictatam non humanis tradicionibus, sed expressius lege dei. Et sic frons meretricis facta est secundum induracionem dampnabilem isti secte.^b Colant quidem culicem et deglucunt camelum, sicut Cristus Matth. 23^c recitat de ypercritis phariseis.

Et eodem modo patet de spirituali iniuria, que est amplius ponderanda. Debent enim secundum ultimum sue potencie citra¹⁵ honorem dei¹³ prodesse sancte¹⁴ matri ecclesie; sed cum tam multipliciter in isto deficiunt, patet, quante¹⁵ incurruunt debitum erga deum et proximum, nec disponunt se ad resipiscendum,¹⁶ sed ad continuandum in isto scelere sine fine.

De appropriaionibus autem basilicarum¹⁷ est nimis manifesta 20
|| c fol. 174^b iniuria. Ideo, ut dicit Lincolniensis,^d ecclesiarum|| appropriacio¹⁸ est iniurie militantis ecclesie perpetuacio. Constat quidem, quod appropria ecclesia,¹⁹ oblationes et decime stricte ad nidum²⁰ abbacie²¹ colliguntur. Et cum necesse²² sit, curatum de istis vivere, patet,

^b see below *De Demon. Merid.*, in the beginning ^c v. 24 ^d The works of Grossetête were not accessible to me, not being in the Royal Public Library of Dresden.

¹¹ iniuriatur CG iniuriantur ADEH Ash ¹² tamen BH¹Ash, E¹ in mar. cum ACDEG ¹³ dei ABCDEG Ash om. H¹ ¹⁴ sancte BGH¹Ash sancti ACDE
¹⁵ quante ABCDEGH¹ quantum Ash ¹⁶ res. ABCDEG Ash se res. H¹
¹⁷ in D is add. in mar: De appropriaionibus basilicarum D² ¹⁸ in E is add. above the col.: Ecclesiarum appropriacio, quare nociva E², also below the col.: Religiosi privati appropriantes ecclesias acute tanguntur E² ¹⁹ ecclesia BCGH¹Ash ecclesie ADE ²⁰ nidum ACDEGH¹Ash mundum B ²¹ A's text reads abbachie, in mar. is add. abbacie by A¹, likewise E's text abbachie, the h is erased, but can still be recognised under the erasure, in mar. is add. abbacie by E¹ ²² necesse CDGH¹Ash necessario ABE

quod necesse sit²³ propter talem²⁴ subtractionem officium²⁵ pastoris deficere. Unde vel preficitur vicarius nimis inhabilis ad regendum se ipsum conformiter legi dei, et per consequens nimis ydioticus ad ducendum hunc populum per artam viam, que ducit ad celum,
5 vel preficitur unus antieristi vicarius, qui²⁶ secundum cautelas tradicionis humane seit et optat²⁷ de temporalibus suum populum spoliare.

Et quantum ad curam spiritualem anime omitendo predicare ewangelium exemplare²⁸ suis ovibus vitam rectam in sua conversacione secundum legem domini parvipendit. Et cum ista spiritualis²⁹ iniuria sit infinitum gravior quam iniuria corporalis,³⁰ sicut spiritus est infinitum³¹ melior corpore,³² patet, quam iniusti sunt tales appropriatores ecclesiarum et istud peccatum absconditum parvipensum³³ est nimis contra spiritualem edificationem ecclesie et con-15 trarium legi Christi.³⁴ Christus enim ordinavit semina verbi dei³⁵ dispergi in populo³⁶ instar pluvie et ordinavit temporalia tamquam necessaria peripsimata³⁷ pro isto officio in singulis parochiis remanere.³⁸ Sed antieristus, ac si vellet effundere³⁹ pluvias celi per gurgites, colligit finum⁴⁰ fetentem temporalium in unum nidum dyaboli, in quo nido peccata plurima⁴¹ nutriuntur. Si enim collecta foret saneta societas ad ecclesiam postmodum edificandum, debet tale collegium iuste vivere cavendo de iniuria proximi, quia

²³ sit *CDGH¹Ash* est *ABE* ²⁴ talem *ABCDEFGHI* istam *Ash* ²⁵ officium *ACDEGH¹Ash* officii *B* ²⁶ qui *BCDGH¹Ash* cum *AE* ²⁷ in *A* first was written operat, afterwards the strok through the p was erased ²⁸ exemplare *ABCDEFGHI* et exemplare *Ash* ²⁹ spiritualis *ACDEGH¹Ash* om. *B* ³⁰ in *D* is add. in mar.: Iniuria spiritualis est infinitum gravior quam corporalis *D¹* corporalis *ABCDEG.Ash* carnalis *H¹* ³¹ e. i. *ACDEGH¹Ash* i. e. *B* ³² corpore *ABCDEG.Ash* carne (corr. from corpore) *H¹* ³³ parvi pensum *ABCDGH¹* *Ash* per impensum *E* ³⁴ in *E* above the col. (121^c) there is a gloss which, very probably, refers to this place: Ecclesiarum appropriaciones, quare nocive declarantur *E²* ³⁵ semina verbi dei *ABCDEG.Ash* sciencia verbi verbi dei *H¹* ³⁶ in *D* is add. in mar.: Christus ordinavit semina verbi dei dispergi in populo *D¹* ³⁷ peripsimata *ACDEAsh* peripsamata *GH¹* perisomata *B* ³⁸ in *D* is add. in mar.: Ordinavit temporalia tamquam necessaria peripsimata pro isto officio *D¹* ³⁹ effundere *B.Ash*, *E¹* in mar. offendere *CDGH¹,A*, but in mar. obstruere *A¹* obstruere (ud.) *E* ⁴⁰ finum *BCDH¹Ash* fumum *AEG* ⁴¹ pe. pl. *ABCDEFGHI* *Ash* pl. pe. *H¹*

aliter tamquam quedam demonum legio ad nocendum ecclesie est collectum.

Videat igitur⁴² fidelis apostolorum collegium et sanctorum,⁴³ qui postmodum⁴⁴ sunt collecti, et videbit, quod vixerunt vitam pauperem atque parcam et non fuerunt sic cum lapidibus et temporalibus despontati, sicut nec monachi primitivi. Ideo sicut paulatice papa declinavit a Petri vestigiis,⁴⁵ sic iste abbacie⁴⁶ a suorum patronorum vita ad seculum declinarunt,⁴⁷ sic quod omnes iste⁴⁸ nove secte non sunt digne⁴⁹ modo vocari nomine⁵⁰ patronorum. Alii autem attendentes ad seculum horrent, quod iste basilice¹⁰ appropriate tantum deficiunt in tectis et ceteris ornamentiis. Sed infinitum gravior horror est quod populus ille tamquam desertus a domino deficit in spirituali pastore, qui ipsum⁵¹ duceret ad beatitudinem secundum regulas legis Cristi. Tales autem appropriaiones faciunt multos populos infideles, ac si dyabolus infra regnum⁵² Cristi 15 longe laciens quam fideles sparguntur⁵³ per cautelam istam conquireret sibi regnum.

Et quantum ad secundum mandatum, quod est: non occides,⁵⁴ patet, quod ista secta occidit spiritualiter, si non corporaliter plurimos fratres suos.⁵⁵ Temporalia enim, de quibus egeni debent vivere, 20 in tales abbacias⁵⁶ secundum strictam custodiā sunt collecta. Et si⁵⁷ tu occidisti, si iniuste edulium⁵⁸ subtraxisti, videtur, quod ista || C fol. 175a secta occidit corporaliter nedum⁵⁹ parentes et cognacionem propriam, sed se ipsos,⁶⁰ non solum secundum corpus, quia plures occidit

⁴² igitur *CDGH¹* ergo *ABEash* ⁴³ et sanctorum *BCDGH¹Ash* istorum *AE* ⁴⁴ qui po. *ABCEH¹Ash* po. qui *DG* ⁴⁵ in *E* is add. in mar.: Pau-
lative declinavit clerus a Cristi vestigiis et monachi similiter *E²* ⁴⁶ in *A* and *E* clearly abbacie, see above note 21 ⁴⁷ declinarunt *ABCDEGash* declina-
verunt *H¹* ⁴⁸ iste in *G* corr. into the text with pale ink ⁴⁹ digne *BCDGII¹Ash*, *E¹* in mar. om. *AE* ⁵⁰ nomine *ABCDEGash*, *H¹* in mar. om. in
the text *H¹* ⁵¹ ipsum *ACDEGH¹Ash* populum *B* ⁵² regnum *ABCDEGash* legem *H¹* ⁵³ sparguntur *ABCEGH¹Ash* sperguntur *D* ⁵⁴ in *D* is add. in mar.: Non occides *D¹* in *C* in mar.: Secundum occisio *C³* ⁵⁵ in *E* is add. above the col.: Occidunt monachi multipliciter *E²* ⁵⁶ abbacias *AE* (see above note 21 and 46) *BDGH¹Ash* abbacias *C* ⁵⁷ si *BCDGH¹Ash* sic *AE* ⁵⁸ edulium *ABCDEGash* edulium *H¹* ⁵⁹ ned. *ABCDEGH¹* ned. nedum *Ash* ⁶⁰ in *E* is add. with mark of ref. below the col.: Occidunt se ipsos religiosi vocati *E²*

gula, quam gladius,⁶¹ sed secundum animam, cum tam iniuste et pertinaciter defendunt tantam iniuriam contra ecclesiam sanctam dei. Nec oportet ostendere, quomodo spoliant⁶² egenos extraneos,⁶³ quia participacio huius iniurie ad omnia membra dyaboli et quodammodo ad ecclesiam consentaneam se extendit.

Et quantum ad tertium mandatum huius tabule, patet, quod dimittendo desponsacionem cum Christo⁶⁴ mechantur turpissime cum dyabolo in basilicis, domibus atque claustris, que plus diligunt quam iusticiam⁶⁵ legis dei. Et sic sunt ydolatre⁶⁶ nedum in gula ventris proprii, sed in avaricia, que est ydolorum servitus, et non dubium spiritualis fornicacio est cum dyabolo, ad talem avariciam sic temptante. Et ista spiritualis mechia cum dyabolo seducit⁶⁷ plurimos de hiis sectis.

Et idem est iudicium de quatuor mandatis aliis⁶⁸ hic dimissis.

CAP. VI.¹

¹⁵ Cum secunda secta et tercia multum convenient, dicta superiorius^a contra secundum² sunt dicenda contra terciam, sicut dicenda contra terciam applicari poterunt³ ad secundam.

Hec autem secta⁴ tercia canonicorum fuit quondam liberior et propinquior secte Cristi, nunc autem declinando ab ipsa est propinquior secte dyaboli et remocior a lege domini, cum secte iste nove sicut

CAP. VI. ^a see cap. V

⁶¹ in D is add. above the col.: Plures occidit gula quam gladius D^t

⁶² spoliant ABCDEGash spoliavit H^t ⁶³ extraneos ACDEGH^tAsh exneos B (the " is om.) ⁶⁴ Cr. in C not clear in C is add. in mar.: Tercium mechacio C³

⁶⁵ iusticiam ABCDEGH^t iusticia Ash ⁶⁶ ydolatre ABCDEGash ydolatrie H^t

⁶⁷ seducit ACDEGH^tAsh ad talem avariciam sic temptante (cr. out and ud.) seducit B ⁶⁸ aliis ACDEGH^tAsh om. B

CAP. VI. ¹ om. ACGH^t cap. sextum BASH cap. sextum, quomodo tercia secta Canonicorum prevaricatur in decalogi quatuor mandata C³ VI D in mar. secta secunda cap. 6 (afterdimissis) E ² secundam ABCDEGH^t secundum(?) Ash, likewise the following 3^m ³ poterunt ABCDEGash poterint H^t ⁴ autem CDEGash om. H^t

indurantur in crimen, sic a libertate, quam Cristus concessit sue ecclesie,⁵ elongantur.

Restat igitur⁶ videre,⁷ quomodo hec secta⁸ in quatuor mandatis ultimis prevaricatur. Et idem est iudicium de secunda. Videtur enim primo, quod committit furtum in Cristi ecclesiam, quidquid⁹ de bonis ecclesie consumpsert sic private,¹⁰ quia cum Cristus sit capitalis dominus omnium bonorum ecclesie,^{11b} quidquid aliqua secta consumpsert sine Cristi licencia, illud¹² furatur. Et cum hoc¹³ faciunt hee secte¹⁴ parcialiter in abscondito peccatorum, et parcialiter in publico quoad mundum,¹⁵ licet sint absconse per ypocri-¹⁰ sim sub umbra arborum, videtur, quod sint fures quoad deum et latrones¹⁶ quoad ecclesiam militantem. Sic enim dieit Cristus Ioh. 10:^c omnes autem, quotquot venerunt¹⁷ preter summi pastoris licenciam, fures sunt et latrones. Et videtur multis, quod si ad hoc haberent Cristi licenciam, olym cartam istius licencie detixis-¹⁵ sent. Illa enim carta foret preciosior, quam carta humana,¹⁸ quam tamen ostendunt¹⁹ solempniter²⁰ pro sua iusticia ostendenda. Sed cum²¹ deest licencia capitalis domini, ut patet ex lege multiplici tam novi quam veteris testamenti, patet, quod carta humana ad iustificationem huius sceleris nichil valet, cum principium debet esse²⁰ fidelibus, quod non licet donare quidquid²² alteri, nisi prehabita licencia illius domini capitalis. Cum autem tam spissa sit in lege

^b see Matthew, E. W. h. u. 423; 448 ^c v. 8

⁵ ecclesie *DGH¹Ash, E¹ in mar. om. ABCE* ⁶ igitur *ABCDEG* ergo *H¹Ash*
⁷ videre *ABCDEGAsh* dicere *H¹* ⁸ in *D* is add. below the col.: De sectis *D¹*
⁸ quidquid *BCDH¹Ash* quidlibet *AE* ¹⁰ in *C* is add. in mar.: Quartum furtum
C³ in *A* the commata are from the commencement of this chap. in a thick red ink,
from this place in black ¹¹ ecclesie *ACDEGH¹Ash, B¹ in mar. om. B* ¹² illud
ABCDEGH¹ id *Ash* ¹³ hoc *ABCH¹Ash, E¹ in mar.* hec *D* hoc, above the o an
e *G* om. *E* ¹⁴ secte *ABCDEGAsh, H¹ in mar. om. H¹* in the text ¹⁵ mun-
dum *CDGH¹Ash* modum *ABE* ¹⁶ in *E* is add. below the col.: Fures et la-
trones, quomodo convincuntur secte, prima *E²* ¹⁷ venerunt *ACDEGH¹Ash*
venerint *B* ¹⁸ in *E* is add. above the col.: Carta monachorum de sua iusticia
pungitur *E²* ¹⁹ ostendunt *ACDEGH¹Ash* ostendit *B* ²⁰ solempniter *ACDEGH¹*
Ash om. *B* ²¹ cum *Ash* tamen *ACDEGH¹* ²² quidquid *CAsh* quidquam
ABDEGH¹

domini huius prohibicio et nusquam eius licenciacio, videtur prohibicionem istam debere stare suis filiis tamquam legem. Et hec unica racio tollit patenter²³ dotacionem ecclesie iure dei.

Et quantum ad quintum mandatum²⁴ de non loquendo contra proximum falsum testimonium, patet, || quod hec secta sicut alie || C fol. 175^b prevaricatur expresse et pertinaciter contra istud. Cum enim quelibet res dicit se ipsam et modo suo loquitur sentenciam,²⁵ quam²⁶ sic²⁷ dicit, patet, quod hec iniusta detencio bonorum ecclesie et defraudacio in spirituali iuvamine est locucio falsi testimonii contra quemlibet proximorum. Et cum in isto non sit satisfaccio, sed dyabolice induracionis²⁸ continuacio, patet, quod omnes hee²⁹ secte in hoc haberent conscienciam, quod vivunt taliter vel consencidunt sic viventi. Et hec racio moveret conscienciam³⁰ secularium dominorum,³¹ cum ex officio, quod eis Cristus Luc. 14^{32 d} iniunxerat, ipsi debent exire in vias et sepes et compellere intrare in sectam Christi³³ sectas tales privatas contra legem domini delinquentes.³⁴ Et signanter vocantur hee³⁵ secte sepes, quia contra planiciem legis dei suffodiuntur et cum spinis temporalium contra Cristum et suam ecclesiam defenduntur. Nec dubium, quin domini, qui³⁶ debent³⁷ deo servire³⁸ specialiter in isto officio, consencidunt dampnabiliter in ista desidia, quia secundum sanctorum sentencias et legem ecclesie, 'qui emendare potest et negligit',^e absque dubio participem delicti³⁹ se constituit. Seculares ergo domini propter commodum et meritum

^d v. 21 ^e see above p. 19 l. 9 and note g

²³ patenter ABCEGH¹ potenter DASH ²⁴ in C is add. in mar.: Quintum falsum testimonium C³ ²⁵ in E is add. below the col.: Loquitur et dicit se ipsam quelibet res — Falsum testimonium monachorum, unde eliceretur E² ²⁶ quam ABCDEGASH quoniam H¹ ²⁷ sic BCDGH¹Ash, E¹ in mar. om. AE ²⁸ in E with ref. to induracionis is add. in mar. iurisdictionis by E¹ ²⁹ hee ABCDG H¹Ash hec E ³⁰ conscienciam ABCDEGASH om. H¹ ³¹ in E is add. in mar.: Domini seculares quid E² ³² Luc. 14 ACDEG,BASH in mar. om. H¹ ³³ in D is add. in mar.: Exire debent in vias et sepes et compellere intrare in sectam Christi D¹ ³⁴ delinquentes B delicentes CDG,A, with mark of ref. in mar.: id est latentes A¹, H¹, in m. is add.: Luc. 9 delitentes ASH delicentes id est latentes E, with mark of ref. in mar.: delitentes id est latentes E¹ ³⁵ hee ACDGH¹Ash hec BE ³⁶ qui ABCDH¹Ash om. E ³⁷ deb. ABCDEGASH om. H¹ ³⁸ d. s. C s. d. ABDEGASH d. debent s. H¹ ³⁹ delicti ABCDH¹Ash dedelicti E

temporale laxarent in isto ministerio facili membra sua⁴⁰ et dimitterent⁴¹ sic bellare contra regna extera et fideles intrinsecos, cum iste labor sit tediosus et inutilis⁴² et dampnabilis a⁴³ capitali domino, qui generaliter caritatem precipit tam ad amicos quam inimicos, tam⁴⁴ ad intrinsecos quam extrinsecos. Cum omnes illi sint⁴⁵ proximi in natura et iuxta mandatum domini, quilibet debet diligere proximum ut se ipsum. Unde magna gracia⁴⁶ foret, quod hee secte tradiciones suas privatas et bona ecclesie, que iniuste occupant, gratis dimitterent et servarent pure ex integro legem Christi. Sic enim voluit Augustinus relinquere civibus Hipponensibus bona contra legem domini occupata⁴⁷ et vivere de bonis donatis⁴⁸ titulo elemosine^f ut debent esse⁴⁹ oblaciones et decime,⁵⁰ sicut viixerunt clerici tam novi quam veteris⁵¹ testamenti.

Et oro deum meum et sanctos in triumphante ecclesia, ut sic fiat.

15

Ista autem secta properat incipere istud opus, cum sit racionabile,⁵² facile et meritorium, a quibus omnibus ista secta hodie⁵³ est⁵⁴ privata. Non enim est racio contra Cristum ut⁵⁵ legem suam, sed ipse consonat cuilibet rationi. Ideo est manifesta cecatio meridiani demonii,^g quod homines habent conscientiam sine licencia spe-20 ciali⁵⁶ dyaboli, servare pure et integre legem Christi, sed conscientia staret pocius super isto, quod tam diu istam deseruerant puritatem.⁵⁷

^f cp. August. Opp. (Edit. of the Bened.), tom. XI, August. vitae lib. IV p.155—156; 158 ^g Ps. 91, 6; cp. below De Demonio merid., beginning

⁴⁰ in E is add. below the col. (122c): Domini seculares laxarent maius pro reformacione cleri prima E² ⁴¹ dimitterent BCDH¹Ash dimittent AEG
⁴² in E is add. in mar.: Bella inutilia que E² ⁴³ a ACDEGH¹Ash aut B ⁴⁴ tam ACDEGH¹Ash et tam B ⁴⁵ sint ABCDEGH¹ sunt Ash ⁴⁶ gracia ACDEGH¹Ash regula (ud.) racio B ⁴⁷ in D in add. in mar.: Augustinus voluit relinquere civibus yponensibus bona contra legem domini occupata D¹ likewise in E below the col.: Augustinus relinquere voluit cuncta bona etc. iponensibus E² ⁴⁸ donatis ABCDEGAsh colatis H¹ ⁴⁹ esse ABCDEGAsh om. H¹ ⁵⁰ dec. BCDEGH¹Ash eleemosine (ud.) dec. A ⁵¹ tam n. q. v. ABCDEGAsh t. v. q. n. H¹ ⁵² racionabile ABCDEGAsh rationale H¹ ⁵³ hodie ABCDEG Ash, H¹ in mar. om. H¹ in the text ⁵⁴ h. e. BCDGH¹Ash e. h. AE ⁵⁵ ut BCDG et AE nec H¹ vel Ash ⁵⁶ speciali ABCDGH¹Ash spirituali E, add. with mark of ref. in mar.: sua E¹ ⁵⁷ pur. ABCDGH¹Ash potestatem (ud.) pur. E

Lex enim et ordinacio, quam Cristus cum apostolis suis⁵⁸ servaverat, fuit melior quam ista religio hodierna.⁵⁹^h Et ideo sicut ex eundo ab una secta in aliam minus perfectam comitteretur apostasia,⁶⁰ ut⁶¹ viri isti fantastice profitentur, sic foret evidencior apostasia⁶² deserere puritatem legis domini et istas novas sectas || induere, cum sint indubie minus perfecte, ut patet ex patronis proximis et⁶³ regulis, sub quibus militant et ex militibus⁶⁴ agonizantibus in hiis sectis.⁶⁵ Idem enim⁶⁶ videtur has novas sectas putatas⁶⁷ supra sectam domini commendare et dicere, quod Cristus dominus⁶⁸ noster fuit in ordinacione sua stultus et in secta, quam ipse edidit, imperfectus, cum tradiciones istas sensibiles non curavit, sed leges insensibiles⁶⁹ et morales in noviciis suis impressit et ab istis tradicionibus humanis suos filios liberavit. Vel ergo⁷⁰ oportet negare apostasiam, quam iste secte nove affirmant ut ewangelium, vel⁷¹ concedere, quod omnes iste secte nove fuerunt apostate in ingressu. Nec est color dicendi, quod iste sunt secte nove vel religiones, que secte Christi⁷² sunt superaddite, quin per idem homines non sunt⁷³ apostate vel religiones⁷⁴ nove,⁷⁵ quantumlibet⁷⁶ servando decalogum varientur.⁷⁷ Et sic liceret consuetudines vel tradiciones

C fol. 176a

^h see Trial. 371, where the same idea is treated of more elaborately

⁵⁸ suis ABCDEGash om. H¹ ⁵⁹ in D is add. in mar.: Lex et ordinacio Christi et apostolorum fuit melior quam alia D¹ likewise in E below the col. (122^d): Christi secta perfectissima E² ⁶⁰ apostasia BCDGH¹Ash perfecta (ud.) apostasia A perfecta apostasia E in E is add. above the col.: Apostasia perfecta que sit, elice E² in G in mar.: Apostasia quid G¹ ⁶¹ ut ADEGH¹Ash Et (ud.), above it ut C om. B ⁶² ut viri — apostasia ACDEGH¹Ash om. B ⁶³ et ACE ex BDGH¹Ash ⁶⁴ militibus ABCDEGash militibus H¹ ⁶⁵ in G is add. in mar.: Secte sunt apostasie G¹ ⁶⁶ enim in C corr. into the text by the texthand ⁶⁷ put. BCDEGH¹ fe (cr. out.) put. A privatas Ash ⁶⁸ dominus ABCDEGH¹ deus Ash ⁶⁹ non cur. s. le. ins. Ash om. ABCDEGH¹ ⁷⁰ ergo ABCDEGH¹ igitur Ash ⁷¹ vel e. o. n. a. q. i. s. n. affirmant ut ewangelium vel CDGH¹Ash, B¹ with mark of ref. below the col. om. B vel e. o. n. a. q. i. s. n. affirmant apostastein in gressu (ingr. ud.) ut ewangelium vel A vel e. o. n. a. q. i. s. n. affirmant apostate in infensu (infen. not clear because of a correction made here) E ⁷² Christi ABCDEAsh Christo G Cristum H¹ ⁷³ sunt BCDGH¹Ash sint AE ⁷⁴ religionis ACDEGH¹Ash religiones B ⁷⁵ nove BCDEGH¹Ash que secte Christo sunt superaddite (ud.) nove A ⁷⁶ quantumlibet BCDEGH¹Ash quam quantumlibet A ⁷⁷ varientur ABCDEGH¹ varient Ash

humanas relinquere, quando percipitur,⁷⁸ quod difficultant ad obser-
vanciam legis dei. Sed cum istud iste secte odiunt ut venenum
et destructivum⁷⁹ sui ordinis, relinquuntur,⁸⁰ quod oportet ipsos⁸¹
concedere, quod omnes illi fuerunt apostate iu ingressu ordinis sui⁸²
novi. Que igitur⁸³ foret conscientia redire sub tam misericordi et 5
tam pio patrono ac tam graciosa regula, licet ad hoc non licenciet
anticristus, specialiter cum sub ista primeva regula⁸⁴ possent⁸⁵ ho-
mines vivere meritorius, liberius et facilius quoad Cristum?

CAP. VII.¹

Cum omnes hee secte quatuor in parte convenient, prudens
catholicus potest elicere, quid obiectum communiter contra unam 10
moveret² contra³ reliquam et quid communiter contra omnes.

Quarta autem secta fratrum sicut tres alie priores non videtur
esse species specialissima, sed genus ypocriticum introductum. Con-
veniunt autem omnes hee species⁴ in isto blasphemico porismate,⁵
quod honorant suum privatum patronum tamquam dominum Iesum 15
Cristum et regulam suam privatam magnificant ut éwangelium. Et
in ista bimembri blasphemia deserunt sectam Cristi. Ex quo infami⁶
numero inferunt inconveniencia infinita, ut quod religiosum et vo-
luntatis Cristi est, quod talis religiosus subiciat se suo preposito
faciendo quidquid mandaverit, licet fuerit stolidissimus ydiota, quia 20
obediencia,⁷ ut inquiunt, est virtus maxime meritoria et luciferine

⁷⁸ percipitur *A B C E G H¹ Ash* precipitatur *D* ⁷⁹ odiunt u. v. et d. *B C D E G H¹*
Ash om. A destructivum *B D E G H¹ Ash* destructivum *C om. A* ⁸⁰ relinquuntur
A B C D E G H¹ reliquitur *Ash* (*compend. om.*) ⁸¹ ipsos *B C G H¹ Ash* ipsas *A D E*
⁸² or. s. *A C D E G H¹ Ash* s. or. *B* ⁸³ igitur *A B C D E G H¹* ergo *Ash* ⁸⁴ in *E* is
add. above the col.: Primeva regula est optima Cristi videlicet *E²* ⁸⁵ possint *A B*
C D E G A sh possint *H¹*

CAP. VII. ¹ cap. septimum *B A sh, C³ in mar., D in mar. om. A G H¹* secta
quarta cap. ^{7m} *E* (*after Cristum*) ² moveret *B C D H¹ Ash* maneret *A E*
moneret G ³ contra *A C D E G H¹ Ash om. B* ⁴ species *B C D G H¹ Ash, E¹, in mar.*
secte *A, E (ud.)* ⁵ in *E* is add. with mark of ref. below the col.: Porisma blas-
phemum sectarum *E²* ⁶ infami *A B C D E G H¹* insanii *Ash* ⁷ in *D* is add. with
mark of ref. above the col.: Obediencia *D³* in *E* in mar.: Obediencia non bona
que *E²*

superbie maxime depressiva. In ista ergo obediencia supra alios extra has sectas quatuor⁸ incomparabiliter promerentur. Sed idem foret hominem ebullire in istam stulticiam et obligare se dyabolo, ut parate faciat, quidquid mandat, cum multi tales abbates ac 5 priores sunt dyaboli manifesti.

Ideo ingredientes istos privatos ordines videntur specialiter temp-
tare deum,⁹ sicut Cristus innuit Matth. 4^a in secunda tempta-
cione dyaboli. Quando enim quis posset per viam securam in-
cedere, doctam a domino, et ipsam deserit, capiens aliam viam
10 ambiguum¹⁰ preter necessariam,¹¹ temptat deum || sicut potens, de-
scendere de pinnaculo per gradus ab opifice ordinatos, dimittit illum
descensum ac elit saltum sine ratione confidens, quod dei adiutorio
debet¹² liberari. Talis, inquam, secundum verbum domini
temptat deum, et sic videtur quilibet de istis novis ordinibus temp-
15 tare deum,¹³ dum regiam¹⁴ sectam dimittit et preeligit¹⁵ sectam
aliam infundatam.¹⁶ Et in istam temptationem dei videtur incidere
quilibet talis secte, quod est eo¹⁷ periculosius, quo¹⁸ tales religiosi
putant se patrare¹⁹ deo obsequium in hoc, quod diligunt ultra
ewangelium regulam²⁰ talis secte. Et sic videntur imprimis inci-
20 dere in perfidiam legis dei, cum patronum et²¹ regulam suam pre-
diligunt ultra regulam Iesu Christi. Nec dubium, quin ista sit in-
fidelitas contra Cristum.

|| C fol. 176^b

Et istud videtur patencius,²² quod positi in eleccione duarum
sectorum dimittunt sectam Christi et regulam et preeligunt sectam

CAP. VII. ^a v. 5 ff.

⁸ quatuor ABCDEGH¹ multum (?) Ash ⁹ in E is add. in mar.: Temptant deum monachi E¹ in G in mar.: Temptare deum quid G¹ ¹⁰ in D is add. with mark of ref. below the col.: Quando quis posset per viam sec. inc. doct. a dom. et ips. des. ca. al. viam amb. D¹ ¹¹ necessariam BCDGH¹ Ash, E¹ in mar. ecclesiam A, E(ud.) ¹² debet ABCDEGH¹ debeat Ash ¹³ et sic v. q. de i. n. or. t. de. Ash om. ABCDEGH¹ ¹⁴ regiam ABCDGH¹ Ash, E¹ in mar. regina (ud.) E
¹⁵ C reads preelegit, the last e ud., above an i ¹⁶ in E is add. with mark of ref. below the col.: Regiam sectam Christi dimittunt privati religiosi E² ¹⁷ eo CDGH¹ Ash in eo ABE ¹⁸ quo ABCEGH¹ Ash quomodo D ¹⁹ patrare ABCDEGH¹ prestare Ash ²⁰ regulam ABCDEGAsh regularium H¹ ²¹ et ACDEGH¹ Ash suum et B ²² patencius ABCDEGH¹ palencius Ash

et regulam magis duram. Sed que maior stulticia, cum ut sic difficultarent se ipsos ad meritum, onus Cristi leve et liberum dimitendo? Et cum obligacio talis privata²³ occupat multum de capacitate hominis ad vite regulas observandum,²⁴ manifestum est, quod tales se ipsos inhabilitant ad regulas Cristi²⁵ faciliter observandum. 5 Occupata quidem tota capacitate humane observancie²⁶ ad regulam seete Cristi, vix sufficeret²⁷ viator aliquis ipsam²⁸ ex integro, ut patet de apostolis, observare, quanto magis²⁹ dirupta ista capacitate et aliis extraneis observanciis introductis?

Videtur igitur,³⁰ quod hec secta quarta specialiter prevaricatur 10 in duo³¹ ultima mandata secunde tabule. Concupiscit enim indebit uxorem³² et liberos sui proximi. Dimittam autem carnalem concupiscenciam, qua ad actus venereo concupiscunt³³ uxores et filias proximorum. Dimittam et³⁴ illicitas concupiscencias, quibus furtive rapiunt³⁵ liberos proximorum, et notemus, quomodo³⁶ dirumpunt 15 ordinacionem Cristi in sua ecclesia, ac si sanitatem dirupta in humano corpore niterentur monstruose inducere novam partem.

Ex tali, inquam, inducione totum corpus ecclesie patitur discrasiam.³⁷ Et cum talis monstruosa pars adiecta sugit³⁸ ad suam nutricionem partem notabilem alimenti, videtur,³⁹ quod de toto alimento, quod Christus ordinavit sue ecclesie primeve, iste private secte partem suam avide spoliant et faciunt in toto corpore ecclesie defectum notabilem, cum Christus non propter tales dei temptationes variat suam regulam in cibaria sua ecclesie ministrando.⁴⁰ Et sic se ipsos necessitant ad concupiscencias bonorum proximi usque ad 25

²³ in E is add. in mar.: Obligacio privata E² ²⁴ observandum ABCDEGAsh servandum H¹ ²⁵ r. C. ABCDEGAsh C. r. H¹ ²⁶ in E is add. in mar.: Capacitas humana E² ²⁷ in E is add. below the col.: Vix homo sufficit Christi sectam regulam obserbare, quid tunc? E² ²⁸ ipsam ACDEGH¹Ash om. B²⁹ magis ABCDGH¹Ash, E¹ in mar. om. E ³⁰ igitur ABCDEGH¹ ergo Ash³¹ duo BCDGH¹Ash domino A, E (ud.) in duo E¹ in mar. ³² ux. ABCDEGH¹ ux. uxorem Ash ³³ concupiscunt ABCDEGAsh concupiscuncium H¹ ³⁴ et ABCDEGH¹- eciam Ash ³⁵ rapiunt ACDEGH¹Ash capiunt B ³⁶ quomodo AC DEGH¹Ash quo B (compend. om.) ³⁷ in E is add. with mark of ref. above the col.: Discrasiant totam ecclesiam religiosi privati E² ³⁸ sugit ABCDEGAsh sugerit H¹ ³⁹ videtur ACDEGH¹Ash videtur quod de toto alimento, quod Christus ordinavit (cr. out and ud.) videtur B ⁴⁰ ministrando ABDEGH¹Ash monstrando C

minimum pro construendis edificiis suis et aliis superfluis ornamentis. Et sic talis monstruositas in sectis necessitat⁴¹ ad simulanda mendacia, ad seminandum discordias et dogmatizandum hereses nimis multas, ut patet de mendicacionibus,⁴² quas sibi fundamentaliter contra Cristum constituunt, de sanctitate habitus^b et signi corporalis multiplicis,⁴³ que⁴⁴ induunt, et omnino de vendicionibus particionis sui largi meriti,⁴⁵ ut patet de literis fraternitatum,^c || de sepuleris⁴⁶ magnatum^d et aliis blasphemis satis multis. C fol. 177^a

^b cp. below p. 198, l. 10; also *Sermo de Matth. 23, cap. III. (cod. Ashburn. fol. 72^a)*: *Ut quod sint habitus fatrum tam sacri et virtuosi, quod nullus mortuus in istis habitibus dampnabitur ad infernum; likewise in Purgat. Secte Chr. (cod. Ashb. fol. 51^b)*; with ref. to this idea, see Matthew, *E. W. h. u.* 316; also *Erasmus Colloquia, Funus et exsequiae seraphicae*. As to the matter, *W.* frequently refers to it, see above p. 35 l. 8 ff.
^c cp. above p. 35 note g; also Matthew, *E. W. h. u.* 489; Trial. 349 ff.; 367
^d In his English writings *W.* very frequently recurs to the burials of the rich see Matthew, *E. W. h. u.* 9; 15; 212; 224; 492. The reproach of the, text is made in reference to the 'Trental', an office of 30 masses, to be said on as many successive days for the dead. The term includes the offerings, to be made to the Church on consideration of such masses. On the 30th day from the death special rites were performed. The testament of Sir Thomas Cumberworth († 1450), printed by Peacock, Academy, Oct. 18, 1879, gives us a good example of the way, in which money was extorted by the Church on such occasions and distributed among those present at the Trental: 'I will the interment be made at my XXX day & the abbot of Thoronet do the masse derige & the exquies & have XX^s & the V^s III^d that he owes me aforesaid & I will the abbot of Neusom & the abbot of Welhow yf they both come to the XXXday haf ather of tham XII^s LII^d and ilke prior & prioris that comes to the XXXday hafe VI^s VIII^d and ilke chanon or none that comes to the said XXXday have XX^d & ilke prest & frere that comes that day to deryge & masse hafe IIII^d? Further two priest are to sing at the altar, and that 'ilken of tham haf C^s to say the Trentall for hus in all the hast. So common was the custom of having said a Trental for the dead, that we may notice in the Poor Men's Gild of Norwich an order, 'þat any broþer

⁴¹ in E is add. below the col.: Monstruositas in sectis ad que necessitat E²

⁴² mendicacionibus ABCEH^t Ash meditacionibus DG ⁴³ multiplicis ACDEGH^t

Ash multiplici B ⁴⁴ que ABCEGH^t Ash om. D ⁴⁵ in E is add. with mark of ref. below the col.: Meritorum vendicio blasphema est E² ⁴⁶ sepuleris

ABCDEFGHI^t sepulturis Ash

Et obiectus, qui fiunt ad stabiliendum has sectas, non sunt digni memoria, ut solvantur.⁴⁷ Assumunt⁴⁸ enim sepe, quod multi sancti, qui iam triumphant in celo, servaverant⁴⁹ istas sectas. Ideo necesse⁵⁰ est, ut iste secte remaneant ex post sancte.^e — Sed non recolunt,⁵¹ quomodo istud assumptum est apocrifum citra fidem⁵² 5 et quomodo isti modo⁵³ superstites non vivunt istis patronis conformiter, sed tam varie, ac si constituerent novam sectam. Pictacie⁵⁴ quidem superaddite hiis novis regulis constituunt unum novum, ac si foret regula saracenica compilata. Et hec racio, quare Christus prohibuit sue legi vel regule fieri⁵⁵ addiciones huiusmodi, ne lex¹⁰ sua foret in sua substancia variata.

Conceditur ergo, quod⁵⁶ extra has quatuor sunt in qualibet trium parcium ecclesie^f prevaricatores notabiles, sed non ita communiter ut in istis. Ideo qui appetit⁵⁷ libertatem legis domini et exoneracionem ecclesie, appetit⁵⁸ puritatem secte Christi secundum 15 caritatem, quam habet ad deum et quemlibet proximorum.⁵⁹ Dya-

or sister of þis gilde deye VII mile abuten þe Cite, or wiþinnen þe cite, alle þe breþevin and sistrin shullen ben at þen enterwyng of þe dede corps, and offeriu at his messe, and ȝeuuen XXX^d for XXX messes singing for þe soule, and for alle cristen soules, cp. English Gilds (publ. by Early Engl. Text Soc.) No. 40 p. 41. In the Missa pro Defunctis of the Sarum Missal, a special secret prayer is inserted, and a post-communion ordered on the 30th day, see Sarum Breviary, ed. Proctor & Wordsworth II, 529. Sometimes the 30 masses were all said on one certain day. In the ordinance for the Gild of St. Katherine, Aldersgate, the wardens are to summon the friars to say the dirge, ‘and on þe morwe to seiȝ a trent of masses at same freres’ cp. ibid. p. 8. As to the matter, see Wetzer & Welte, Kirch. Lex. (first edit.) VII, 103. ^e With ref. to this, cp. Trial. 356 ^f cp. De Christo et suo Adv. I, beginning

⁴⁷ solvantur ACDEGH¹Ash salvantur B ⁴⁸ assumunt CDEGH¹Ash, A (the last stroke cr. out.) assumuntur B ⁴⁹ servaverant ACDEGH¹Ash servaverunt B ⁵⁰ nec. ABCDEGAsh nunc nec. H¹ ⁵¹ recolunt ABCDEGAsh recolant H¹ ⁵² in E is add. with mark of ref. above the col.: Apocrifum citra fidem est assumptum monachorum E² ⁵³ isti modo ACEAsh isto modo BH¹ isti vere DG ⁵⁴ pictacie ABCDEG putacie Ash pictatice H¹ ⁵⁵ fieri ACDGH¹Ash, E (ud.) fidei B, E¹ in mar. ⁵⁶ quod ABCDEGAsh om. H¹ ⁵⁷ appetit ABCDEG Ash appetit H¹ ⁵⁸ appetit ACDEGH¹Ash appetat B ⁵⁹ here ends in A col. 191^b, above it: De prevaricancia mandatorum decalogi A²

bolus enim sic cecavit⁶⁰ et induravit has sectas, quod⁶¹ putant se patrare⁶² deo obsequium in defendendo illas et in⁶³ ipsis pro vite termino persistendo. Et cum tunc debent dolere de prevaricancia in hiis sectis et dilectioni dei pure⁶⁴ intendere, in mortis 5 articulo necessitati sunt, dolorem istum et amorem dimittere et pro suo errore in suis privatis ordinibus plus zelare.

CAP. VIII.¹

Restat finaliter colligendum de prevaricancia mandatorum decalogi, cum non solum hee secte quatuor, sed multi de secta Cristi in decalogum peccaverunt,² verum tamen³ non ita regulariter, sicut 10 ypocrite in hiiis sectis quatuor, qui ex evagancia⁴ a secta domini sunt quodammodo infideles. Et ex fide quidam⁵ fideles eliciunt, quod deus disposuit ecclesiam suam in tam debita armonia,⁶ sicut 15 disposuit⁷ de membris humani corporis, et sive extrinseca sive intrinseca infirmitatem,⁸ dislocacionem vel discrasiam aliquam paciantur, ipsa nocent toti corpori.—Proporcionaliter⁹ est de corpore ecclesie 20 nunc esse.

Ideo quidam declinant a mandatis domini¹⁰ et sunt tamquam ligna tortuosa in sua malicia indurati. Et omnes tales sunt indubie

⁶⁰ cecavit ABCDEGAsh peccavit H¹ ⁶¹ quod DGH¹Ash que ABCE
⁶² patrare ACEGH¹Ash prestare BD ⁶³ in DGH¹Ash om. ABE ⁶⁴ di. de. pu. ABCDEGH¹ pu. di. de. Ash

CAP. VIII. ¹ the number of the chap. not given in GH¹,A, instead of it:
Tractatus de prevaricancia A³ octavum B cap. 8^m CEAsh VIII D ² peccaverunt ABCDEAsh peccarunt H¹ peccaverint G ³ verumtamen ACDEGAsh utrum B,H¹ (not clear) ⁴ evagancia ACDEGH¹Ash vagancia B ⁵ quidam ACDEGH¹ quidem BASH ⁶ in E is add. with mark of ref. above the col.: Ecclesia quare bene ordinata in suis membris E² ⁷ disposuit ABCDEGASH disponuit (?) H¹ (disponit) ⁸ infirmitatem ACDEGASH infirmitate BH¹ ⁹ proporcionaliter ABCEGH¹Ash proporcionabiliter D ¹⁰ in E is add. in mar.: Declinant quidam varie E²

maledicti, cum sint ad dampnacionem perpetuam ordinati; alii autem¹¹ tamquam plante fragiles¹² declinant ad horam et tunc¹³ virtute¹⁴ gracie predestinacionis finaliter ad rectitudinem revertuntur.

^a Unde¹⁵ quidam mussitant de requie animarum, si omnes post mortem immediate vadant ad infernum vel ad beatitudinem, vel 5
|| C fol. 177^b tercio sit || pausacio¹⁶ temporalis in loco, qui dicitur purgatorium, in quo ad tempus quiescunt anime post salvande.¹⁷

Et videtur¹⁸ quibusdam,¹⁹ quod multa verba terrifica, que dicuntur in ista materia, cum²⁰ non habeant fundacionem patulam ex scriptura, sunt per antieristum ad spoliandum homines ad has 10 sectas ditandas²¹ infundabiliter sompniata.

Et hinc currit forum²² indulgenciarum, suffragiorum spiritu-alium sacerdotum et multe alie symoniace mercandie.^{23b} Propterea videtur multis fidelibus,²⁴ quod in ista materia cum prudencia et²⁵ fundacione probabili est loquendum. 15

CAP. VIII. ^a This last part of the Tract is also mentioned as a separate work of W.'s under the title *De Purgatorio*, see Shirley, Catal. p. 12, No. 31 ^b W. frequently recurs to this accusation, cp. Trial. 357; also Matthew, E. W. h. u. 81; Sermo de Matth. 24, cap. V (cod. Ashburnh. fol. 60): Sic enim ex sibi dubio concedit has fictas vanas indulgencias pro multis milibus annorum ultra diem iudicii; sed valeant iste prelatis huiusmodi in vacuo infinito, quia in mundo isto non prosunt Christi fidelibus, sed multipliciter magis obsunt.

¹¹ autem ABCDEGash vero H¹ ¹² plante fragiles ACDEGH¹Ash fragiles planete B in E in mar.: Fragiles plante E² ¹³ tunc ABCDGH¹Ash tamen (corr. from tunc) E ¹⁴ virtute ABCDGH¹Ash virtutem E ¹⁵ from this on cod. 1387 of the Vienna Libr. (K), fol. 108^c lin. 55 contains the text of our Tract in D is add. in mar.: Nota D³ in G in mar.: Purgatorium G¹ in A above the col. (191^d): Nota de Purgatorio et triplici ecclesia, militancium, dormientium et beatorum ¹⁶ pausacio ACEGH¹KAsh pausatativa B pulsacio D ¹⁷ salvande ABCDEGH¹Ash salvende K ¹⁸ in E is add. below the col.: Terrifica sompnia multa de purgatorio E² ¹⁹ quibusdam ABCDEGKASH, H¹ in mar. om. H¹ in the text ²⁰ cum ACDEGH¹KAsh om. B (erasure) ²¹ ditandas ABCDEGK Ash dicendas H¹ ²² for. ABCDEGH¹Ash ad for. K ²³ in E is add. above the col.: Simoniace mercandie indulgenciarum etc. currunt ex purgatorii sompniis E² mercandie ACDEGH¹Ash mercande K mercando B ²⁴ fidelibus BCDGH¹KAsh om. AE ²⁵ et BDGH¹KAsh in ACE

Videtur autem illis,²⁶ quod ecclesia sit hodie tripartita,²⁷ sicut fuit in veteri testamento, sicut ecclesia militancium viatorum superstutum, ecclesia dormientium, cuiusmodi²⁸ est ecclesia fidelium mortuorum beatitudinem in purgatorio expectantium, et tercia est ecclesia triumphantium,²⁹ scilicet sanctorum plene³⁰ in celestibus beatorum.³¹^c Sic³² enim fuit in lege veteri, cum spiritus angelici fuerunt in beatitudine confirmati, et fideles predestinati in via ad patriam³³ meruerunt,³⁴ mortui vero usque ad ascensionem domini in spe felici in loco, quem deus elegerat, quieverunt. Unde Luc. 16^d 10 narrat Cristus expresse, quomodo Lazarus post mortem³⁵ suam in synum Abrahe est delatus. Nec dubium, quin sancti patres de lege veteri non ante ascensionem Christi in³⁶ plena beatitudine celestia penetrarunt. Et cum anime salvande sint³⁷ modo a multis terrenis affectionibus expurgande,³⁸ evidens est, quod modo pausant in loco, 15 quem deus elegerit, antequam beatitudinem celestium assequantur. Ymo, ut videtur multis probabile, anime carebunt complemento³⁹ sue beatitudinis usque ad diem iudicii, quando participantes plena societatis solacii nullum ulterius gaudium expectabunt. Et in ista expectacione sunt gradus multiplices,⁴⁰ ut inquit apostolus⁴¹ I Cor. 3:^e 20 fundamentum, inquit, aliud nemo potest ponere preter id quod

^c the same division is found, in nearly the same terms, *De Christo et suo Advers.* cap. I commencement ^d v. 22 ^e v. 11—15

²⁶ in G is add. in mar.: Racio pro purgatorio G¹ ²⁷ in C is add. in mar.: Ecclesia triplex C² in D with mark of ref. below the col.: Ecclesia tripartita D¹ in E in mar.: Ecclesia tripartita sicut olym E² ²⁸ cuiusmodi BCDGKash cuius AH¹, E, but in mar.: modi E¹ ²⁹ et tercia e.e. triumph. BCDGH¹Kash om. AE ³⁰ plene ABCDEGKash plane H¹ (the a ud.) ³¹ in E is add. to beatorum in mar.: Tercia est ecclesia triumphantium E¹ (E¹ has carelessly put it in the wrong place, cp. note 29) beatorum ABCDEGH¹Ash bonorum K ³² sic ABCEGH¹Kash sicut D ³³ patriam ABCDEGH¹Ash proximam K ³⁴ meruerunt ABCDGH¹Kash merunt E, but in mar. rue E¹ ³⁵ mortem in K a corr. word ³⁶ in ABCDEGH¹K om. Ash ³⁷ sint ABCDEGKash fuerunt H¹ ³⁸ in E is add. in mar.: Anime salvande purgande sunt E² ³⁹ complemento ABCDEGH¹Ash complemente K ⁴⁰ in E is add. below the col.: Expectacio plene (?)p[er] beatitudinis habet gradus multiplices E² ⁴¹ in G is add. without a mark of ref.: Septima G¹

positum est, quod est⁴² Cristus Iesus. Si quis autem superedificat supra fundamentum hoc aurum, argentum, lapides preciosos, ligna,⁴³ fenum, stipulam, uniuscuiusque opus manifestum erit, dies domini declarabit, quia in igne revelabitur uniuscuiusque opus,⁴⁴ quale sit, ignis probabit; si cuiusque⁴⁵ opus⁴⁶ manserit, quod superedificavit,⁴⁷ 5 mercedem accipiet. Si cuius opus arserit,⁴⁸ detrimentum pacietur,⁴⁹ ipse autem salvus erit, sic tamen quasi per ignem.

Videtur autem fidelibus,⁵⁰ quod sententia ista de purgatorio sufficiat ecclesie militanti. Unde verba doctorum sequencium, de quanto se fundant in fide scripture vel racione, et non amplius 10 sunt credenda. Unde stultus foret,⁵¹ qui de loco, quantitate aut qualitate illius pene foret nimis⁵² sollicitus, ut quidam fabulantur de purgatorio sancti Patricii,^f quidam, quod anime quiescent in die C fol. 175a dominica⁵³ et quidam, quod⁵⁴ papa concedit indulgencias || pro spiritibus⁵⁵ mortuorum. Et omnes hee fabule sunt a fidelibus⁵⁶ 15 deridende.

Hoc⁵⁷ autem videtur probabile, quod omnes spiritus salvandi,⁵⁸ cum sint de sua beatitudine⁵⁹ securi, sunt feliores post mortem, quam fuerunt sua corpora hic in via.⁶⁰ Et sic pene corporales non cruciant talem animam, quin⁶¹ quodammodo sit beata. 20

^f There was shown in Ireland, according to an old fabulous legend, a cavern, which went by the name of 'Purgatorium S. Patricii': a great many miracles were said to be connected with it, cp. *Vita S. Patr.*, auct. R. Stanihurst, Antwerp 1587, p. 65

⁴² quod est *ABCEGH¹KAsh* om. D ⁴³ ligna *ABCDEFGHIAsh* lignum *K*
⁴⁴ manifestum erit, d. d. d., q. in i. r. u. opus *ACDEGH¹KAsh* om. *B* in *D* in *mar.*: De purgatorio *D¹* ⁴⁵ eiusque *ABCDE¹GH¹Ash* cuius *K* om. *E* ⁴⁶ quale s. i. p. si e. opus *ABCDGHI¹KAsh, E¹* with mark of ref. above the col. om. *E* ⁴⁷ superedificavit *CDEGH¹KAsh* superdificant *B* superdificavit *A* (compend. om.) ⁴⁸ op. ars. *ABCDEGKAsh* ars. op. *H¹* ⁴⁹ pacietur *ABCDEGKAsh* paciatur *H¹*
⁵⁰ fidelibus *BCDGHI¹KAsh* multis *AE* ⁵¹ in *E* is add. above the col.: Stultus, qui de loco, quantitate qualitateve purgatorii *E²* ⁵² f. n. *ABCDEFGHIAsh* n. f. *K*
⁵³ die do. *ABCDEFGHIAsh* do. die *H¹* die *K* (do. therefore is om.) ⁵⁴ anime q. in d. d. et q. quod *ACDEGH¹KAsh* om. *B* ⁵⁵ in *Ash* spiritibus, likewise in the following lines ⁵⁶ *K* reads: sunt a spiritus (spir. cr. & ud.) di a fidelibus ⁵⁷ in *G* is add. in *mar.*: Prima *G¹* ⁵⁸ salvandi *ABCDEFGHI¹K* salvande *Ash* ⁵⁹ s. b. *ABCDEFGHI¹Ash* b. s. *K* ⁶⁰ in *E* is add. below the col.: Spiritus salvandi feliores sunt quam in via *E²* ⁶¹ quin *ABCDGHI¹KAsh* quando *E*

Videtur secundo fidelibus,⁶² quod licet viatores merere⁶³ debeat⁶⁴ pro spiritibus illis, qui dormiunt, tamen⁶⁵ tota vita superstitionis debet tendere ad commodum ecclesie militantis. Quod videtur Cristum docere Matth. 8,^g dum⁶⁶ dicit: sequere me et dimitte mortuos sepelire mortuos suos.

Ideo quidquid fuerit utilius edificacioni⁶⁷ ecclesie militantis, illud plus proderit talibus spiritibus mortuorum.

Et tertio videtur⁶⁸ credibile, cum spiritus tales sunt securi de sua beatitudine et mediis antecedentibus ad eandem,⁶⁹ quod perpetuales⁷⁰ elemosine et indulgencie impetrare sunt nimis sophistice,⁷¹ ecclesie turbative. Deus enim per se partitur indulgencias et beatitudinem⁷² sine aliquo medio alio hic in via vel patria requisito, quia deus est ille, qui dixit et facta sunt et correspondenter⁷³ ad dignitatem personae sine suo fastidio premium⁷⁴ parcietur.⁷⁵

15 Unde iste videtur⁷⁶ locus blasphemie⁷⁷, heresis, quo anticeristi discipuli sedueunt multum populum⁷⁸ et spoliant stolidos de virtutibus et meritoriis laboribus et singulariter de bonis temporalibus pro⁷⁹ suffragiis false fictis.

Ideo necesse est fidelem in ista materia fidem suam constanter infigere et temptare spiritus loquentes in ista materia,⁸⁰ si ex deo

^g v. 22

⁶² in CG is add. in mar.: Secunda C²G¹ in E with mark of ref. below the col.: Utilius quid purgandum E² (the mark of ref. is at the wrong place; ought to be a few lines further on) ⁶³ merere ACDEGH¹ mereri BKAsh ⁶⁴ debeat ABCDEH¹KAsh debent G ⁶⁵ tamen BASH,E¹ in mar. cum ACDGK,E (ud.) tum H¹ ⁶⁶ dum ABCDEKAsh cum GH¹ ⁶⁷ edificacioni BCDGH¹Ash ad edificationem K om. AE ⁶⁸ in G is add. in mar.: Tercio G¹ ⁶⁹ eandem BCDEGH¹KAsh eandum (?) A ⁷⁰ perpetuales ACE perpetue indulgencie sophisticate sunt E² ⁷¹ in E is add. below the col.: Elemosine perpetue indulgencie sophisticate sunt E² ⁷² in E is add. below the col.: Deus partitur merita sicut wlt E² ⁷³ correspondent ABCDEGKash correspondent H¹ ⁷⁴ premium KASH,C² in m. premium ABDEGH¹,C (ud.) ⁷⁵ parcietur ACDEGH¹KASH partitur B ⁷⁶ videtur ACDGH¹KASH,E (ud.) dicitur B,E¹ in mar. ⁷⁷ blasphemie ABCDEGK Ash blasphemie H¹ ⁷⁸ m. p. ABCEGH¹KASH p. m. D ⁷⁹ pro BCDGH¹KASH et AE ⁸⁰ fidem suam con. i. et t. sp. l. in i. m. ABCDEGKASH om. H¹, but added by the texthand after spoliantes at the close of the Tract

sunt et se fundaverint⁸¹ in fide scripture vel ratione et aliter⁸² ipsos dimittere tamquam dyabolos⁸³ a bonis homines spoliante.

Excipit tustaract nodeau vacana-
ciripre darumtoman ameni.⁸⁴

⁸¹ fundaverint *CDKash* fundaverunt *AEH¹* fundant *B* fundaverit *G*

⁸² aliter *A BCDEH¹Kash* alio *G* ⁸³ dyabolos *BCDGKash* dyabolas (?) *AEH¹*

⁸⁴ i. e. Explicit tractatus de nova prevaricancia mandatorum, ameni *C* Explicit tractatus de nova prevaricancia mandatorum *Aash* Explicit de nova prevaricancia mandatorum De condempnacione 19 conclusionum *B* etc. Explicit tractatus de nova precaricancia mandatorum etc. *D* Explicit de nova prevaricancia mandatorum Incipit tractatus de Cristo et suo adversario antichristo *E* et sic est finis huius tractatus de nova prevaricancia mandatorum *G* Explicit tractatus de nova prevaricancia mandatorum *H¹* hoc totum habetur in tractatu de nova prevaricancia mandatorum cap. 8^o sive ultimo De clavibus ecclesie *K*

IV.

DE TRIPLICI VINCULO AMORIS.

DE TRIPLOCI VINCULO AMORIS.

I. Division.

A. *General Part.* *The three vineula amoris considered in their relation to the Holy Trinity and to Mankind, chap. I—III.*

B. *Special Part.* *The vineula of the Sects, chap. IV—X.*

Attack on the Sects:

- (1) *they are neither founded by God, nor by Christ, chap. IV—V;*
- (2) *they are, especially the Friars, opposed to the Sect of Christ, chap. VI—X;*
Their obedience, chap. VII;
The mendicity a) of the friars chap. VIII—XI;
b) of the dotati, chap. X.

II. Summary of Contents.

Chap. I. *The three vineula amoris (of the blood, of wedlock, and of charity) correspond to the Trinity p. 161, and described according to their nature (natural, conjugal, supernatural bond) p. 162; particular stress is laid on the conjugal bond between Christ, the Church and His believers p. 163—165.*

Chap. II. *The last relationship is particularly disturbed by unworthy men, who falsely call themselves Christ's servants p. 166, and by human laws which put heavy burdens upon believing Christians p. 166, (Polemics against certain Roman marriage laws p. 167—168).*

Chap. III. *But the most powerful of all bonds is the caritas, the love to God p. 169, which must permeate all human bonds p. 169—170 (definition and modification of the term accepcio personarum p. 171—173).*

Chap. IV. *Of late a twofold diabolical bond is opposed to this*

threefold bond: the four Sects and their traditions, which are contrary to the simple Sect and the Gospel of Christ p. 173. — They are founded neither by God nor by Christ p. 174, nor are they based upon Scripture; neither their founders, nor their so-called miracles give them the right to be in the Church p. 176; they are culpabiliter introduced p. 176.

Chap. V. The arguments advanced in favour of the Sects should be carefully examined p. 176—177; whether their founders and members attain to eternal salvation is uncertain p. 177; some of them may; only in so far however, as they keep aloof from the particular abuses of the Sects p. 178—179.

Chap. VI. As no Christian can remain indifferent to the Sects, it is to be proved in how far they are opposed to the law of Christ p. 179: without being founded in Scripture, they introduce, in addition to the Gospel of Christ (the Friars are, in particular, referred to) innovations p. 180, which they strive to hold more strictly and scrupulously than the Gospel p. 181 (proved by Gal. I. and Rev. XXII p. 182—184).

Chap. VII. If they glory in their strict and unconditional obedience to their superiors p. 184, it is to be considered, whether the superior be a morally good man, or a child of the devil p. 185, for there were many such amongst them; it is a sin to give up with such lightheartedness the freedom which Christ has won for His Church, and to serve man instead of Christ p. 186—187.

Chap. VIII. As to their begging, the correct meaning of the term mendicacio ought to be explained (three kinds) p. 187—188; at any rate, the poverty of the Friars is a wrong one p. 189; they falsely appeal to Christ's example; for theirs is not an infirmitas, but a defectus p. 189—190.

Chap. IX. Likewise their poverty is proved neither by reason, nor by Scripture p. 190; neither in the Old Testament (Deut. VII), nor in the New, where the busy and clamorous mendicity of the Friars can in no way be proved from Christ's example p. 191. — While Christ and St. Paul also wished on no account to be burdensome to the congregations, the 4000 Friars cost the English realm the sum of £ 40,000 p. 192, principally on account of their costly buildings p. 193: the temporal Lords should, therefore, put a stop to this spoliation 193—194.

Chap. X. This measure should all the more be resorted to because the Possessioners, as well as the Friars lay claim to the wealth

of the land p. 195; the former are all the more dangerous, as in their case the question is not of minucie, but of partes grosse p. 195. Here the Author attacks the Pope and his temporal dominion p. 195, as well as the common practise of the first Sect, which appropriates large churches for sectarian uses p. 296, on the evidence, not of Scripture, but of diabolical lies, which are too transient that it is superfluous even to mention them p. 196—197. — Thus the disturbing, by the Sects, of the Church will not cease, until to a stop is put to them by those interested in this national matter p. 198.

III. Date of Composition.

From the passage, chap. II p. 168: quod nobilis regina Anglie, soror cesaris, habeat ewangelium in lingwa triplici exaratum etc. the Terminus ‘a quo’ is to be inferred. Anna, the sister of Wenzel, King of Bohemia, German Emperor from 1378, came to England, via Calais, towards the end of 1381, and was married as Queen to King Richard II. on January 14, 1382 (cp. Höfler, Anna v. Lux. 68; Rymer, Foed. VII, 398). — Also a hint of Spenser’s Crusade into Flanders (May—October 1383) is found p. 186: papa potest precipere occidere fratres etc., unless the expression is a general one and refers to the papal struggles which were the result of the Schism, cp. Th. a Niem, Hist. s. t. lib. I. chap. III ff. Compare also, for dating the Tract, chap. IV notes d; l; also h; k; l. Provided the conjecture which is here expressed be right, the composition of the present work would have to be fixed after ‘De Fundacione Sectarum’, that is to say, somewhere about the end of the year 1383. See above p. 7. — The assertion, chap. II p. 168, which expresses the desire for the Gospel in the English mother tongue, corresponds very well to this, as one has to think of it in connection with the institution of W.’s itinerant preachers, cp. Lechler, J. v. W. I, 420 ff.

IV. Genuineness.

External evidence:

- (1) cp. cod. B, inner side of the front-cover, see above General Introduction IV, Description of the codd.¹

¹ Cp. also cod. E front-cover; cod. a, inner side of the front-cover, where the Tract is to be found between the writings of the ‘Ewangelicus’; cp. above, General Introduction IV, Description of the codd.

- (2) *Walden, Doctr. Fidei II, chap. 77.*
- (3) *Hus, Replica contra J. Stokes in Cod. Bibl. Gersd., Bautzen, MSt. 8. v. 7 fol. 2^a.*
- (4) *Wielif-Catal. of the Vienna codd. (except cod. 7980), see above p. 7.*
- (5) *Bale, Illust. Ser. Summ. 156, cp. Lewis, History of Life and Suff. 165, No. 180.*
- (6) *Shirley, Catal. 19, No. 49; also Denis, Cod. MS. Theol. II, where the codd. in question are described.*
- (7) *Lechler, J. v. W. II, 564.*

Internal evidence:

- (1) *see above, General Introduction V, e.*
- (2) *cp. the arguments against the four Sects known from the other polemic treatises and the Trialogus; see for example chap. IX note n.*
- (3) *the repeated references to Oxford and England, chap. II, also especially chap. IX, p. 192—193.*
- (4) *especially compare the striking and, at the same time, in part verbal uniformity of chap. VIII, p. 187—188, with Trial. 341 ff.; chap. IX, p. 193, with Trial. 369 and 349.*
- (5) *cp. also chap. I nn. a; h; chap. II, f; chap. IV, a; b; c; h; k; chap. V a; b; c.*

V. *Not yet printed.*

VI. *Extant in*

<i>cod. 3933 = B fol. 80^d—86^d</i>	$B^1 = \text{only Corrector}$
<i>cod. 4527 = C fol. 162^a—169^a</i>	$\begin{cases} C^1 = \text{Corrector (pale hand)} \\ C^2 = \text{Corrector (small hand)} \\ C^3 = \text{Glosser (red hand)} \end{cases}$
<i>cod. 3930 = D fol. 168^d—178^d</i>	$\begin{cases} D^1 = \text{Corrector (small black hd.)} \\ D^2 = \text{Corrector (addere)} \end{cases}$
<i>cod. 1337 = E fol. 25^a—33^a</i>	$\begin{cases} E^1 = \text{Glosser} \\ E^2 = \text{Corrector (black hand)} \\ E^3 = \text{Glosser} \end{cases}$
<i>(all in the Imperial Library at Vienna)</i>	
<i>cod. X. E 9 = α fol. 138^a—146^a</i>	$\begin{cases} \alpha^1 = \text{Corrector (black hand)} \\ \alpha^2 = \text{Glosser (pale hand)} \end{cases}$
<i>(in the University Library at Prague)</i>	

VII. *The Manuscripts.*

A. Their relationship. Also here, as formerly, *E* is of very little value; but any closer connection of *E* with one of the other cod. cannot be ascertained; it is probably taken from some original not belonging to the Vienna and Prague Codex-series; compare (1) the frequent differences from the other cod., which appear in the — irrelevant — order of words, *inq. fle. I*, note 30; *prep. patr. etc. VII*, 4; *suam sub. VII*, 6; *i. s. IV*, 50; *VII*, 35; *min. fid. IX*, 80; *ma. mer. IX*, 29 and so on. The number may easily be increased; (2) the passages *nec loquamur etc. VIII*, 4 and 5; *cum fratr. etc. VIII*, 49; *ad resist. in h. vir. X*, 2. —

(1) *Class E—B.* On the other hand, the whole of the readings appear to me to show, that

E and *B*, without having any very close connection with each other, belong to the same family; compare their frequent agreement which varies from the consensus of the rest: *et so. I*, 59; *a (om.) I*, 33; *est (om.) I*, 72; *eum III*, 43; *suppos. III*, 77; *sic III*, 79; *int. III*, 71; *ear. IV*, 27; *mult. IV*, 32; *scio. IV*, 74; *cit. V*, 39; *ut (om.) V*, 42; *sint VI*, 45; *proph. VI*, 94; *cont. VII*, 29; *nost. Ie. VII*, 53; *et sp. VIII*, 13; *Matth. VIII*, 38; *san. VIII*, 30; *fundab. IX*, 4; *exp. IX*, 67; *quid X*, 69; *en. (om.) X*, 27; especially *oner. IX*, 28 and many others. This agreement would have been greater, if *B* and *E* also had not been copied in a remarkably careless manner. The following readings can scarcely be attributed to orthographical mistakes or to errors of reading; they are therefore of special value for showing the connection of both codices: *stult. II*, 50; *ad IV*, 47; *pruden. VII*, 70; *pleb. X*, 31; *quam X*, 80. The lacuna *Sed cum etc. IV*, 64 proves the matter decisively.

That *B* is not copied from *E*, *cp. ideo qu. V*, 56; *quia c. s. etc. VIII*, 48; *et nov. etc. IV*, 6; *leg. et al. III*, 16; *et s. ob VI*, 102; *coll. in c. X*, 4; *eccl. IX*, 81; *ad res. etc. IX*, 94; *E not from B: cp. cum fratr. etc. VIII*, 49; *cl. ces. etc. X*, 19; also *non sol. ad res IX*, 2; *fid. m. etc. IX*, 80. — Their large agreement proves rather that they were derived from the same original in the second or third degree.¹

¹ Perhaps *B¹* had for his original *E*, *cp. in pers. pr. IX*, 18; *not a, cp. domin. II*, 61; *ad hoc VI*, 86; *not D, cp. ad hoc VI*, 86; *domin. VII*, 61; *not C, cp. in pers. prop. IX*, 18.

On the contrary, a comparison of the respective readings seems to me to prove, that either C¹, the corrector of C, had E itself before him, or a codex very closely connected with it, for nearly all the corrections of C¹ agree with E; again, from null. ess. I, 36; legitt. IV, 53; per ill. IV, 54; et V, 37; fratr. V, 20; erunt VI, 18; intell. VI, 76; iste VI, 95; induc. VII, 36; dei VI, 42; contrah. III, 3; nec VI, 63; ap. VI, 81; aliqu. VI, 97; omn. III, 53; tal. III, 56; ostiat. VIII, 17 and from mult. hodie VIII, 51 which is especially characteristic, their close connection decisively follows, as BD α must be excluded as originals used by the correctors just mentioned. That E itself is not the original, may be proved by (1) ei III, 24, where, on the supposition that E be the original of C¹, it is curious that C¹ did not also correct dic.; ep. also prepos. III, 57; by (2) nec fund. s. alt. IV, 70; where C¹ omits in hoc which is given by E; lastly by (3) the important finis V, 38. If one supposes, however, a close connection, C¹ must have corrected, in any case, from E, after it had been already corrected by E², ep. esset III, 49 etc.; but it seems to me more probable that E² and C¹ corrected from the same (unknown) original.

(2) *Class D- α . D- α belong also of a family of their own. Among the decisive 450 readings, these MSS. agree 375 times; the 75 deviations may all be attributed to carelessness, especially to slight errors in reading. But I have found no passage which proves their close connection decisively. 17 times in the whole of the readings they read the same, against the consensus of the rest: sic I, 12; cum III, 82; domin. VII, 62; gentib. VIII, 40; id VI, 74; non VI, 20; celo I, 31; trah. III, 34; et (om.) IV, 21; sect. VI, 3; qua VI, 107; ad h. VI, 86; pers. X, 22; 4 times: nos VI, 71; causa VIII, 47; hec X, 71; 4 VI, 54 they give independently from the rest the correct reading against the (false) consensus of the other codi.; but there is not sufficient material for exactly determining the degree of their connection.*

(3) *The cod. C stands next in degree to the last group. Among the decisive 450 passages, the three (D- α -C) agree with each other about 300 times. This number is all the more important, because in at least 48 passages the group D- α -C has an independent reading of its own as compared with the consensus of the rest; 23 times in irrelevant passages: s. p. II, 41; deum III, 43; om. (om.) III, 53; supp. III, 68; dic. IV, 60; Bene. IV, 66; deter. V, 14; circa*

V, 39; isto. *V*, 40; contem. *VI*, 35; sunt *VI*, 45; ne *VI*, 63; scr. *VI*, 87; proph. *VI*, 93; do. dei *VI*, 98; abd. *VI*, 100; cont. *VII*, 29; und. *VII*, 43; Ie. *VII*, 53; fr. etc. *IX*, 58; exp. *IX*, 67; en. *X*, 27; temp. *X*, 30; 25 times in the number of decisive passages: a *I*, 33; est etc. *I*, 58; so. *I*, 59; coniung. *III*, 9; int. *III*, 71; eor. *IV*, 27; mult. *IV*, 32; scio. *IV*, 74; ut *V*, 42; ill. *VI*, 69; pac. *VII*, 20; 27^o *VII*, 24; omn. *IX*, 7; ple. *X*, 31; sym. (?) *X*, 59; quid. *X*, 69; quod *X*, 80; add to this as of particular importance null. ess. *I*, 36; sup. *II*, 50; ad in i. con. *IV*, 47; 48; 49; obst. *VIII*, 17; salv. *VIII*, 30; funda. *IX*, 4; ep. 9; non sol. *X*, 2; as of decisive importance for the common pedigree, cp. sed cum *IV*, 64.

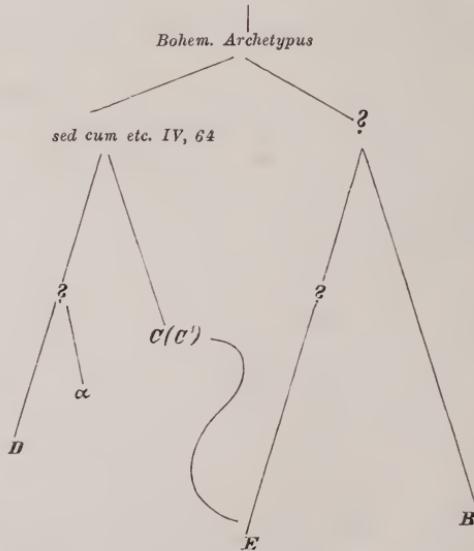
B (not *E*) stands next in order to this group.

B. The best Codex. Carelessness is remarkably shown in *E*, that it may be at once withdrawn from the competition; it often gives a continuous number of incorrect readings, ep. (for example) chap. *I*, from dicitur (om.) n. 52 on; chap. *II*, from the beginning; chap. *VI*, from the beginning, also chap. *VI*, from note 81 on, chap. *IX*, from rogand. n. 36 on. The copyist often could not read his original, and wrote nonsense, ep. convenientur *I*, 9; ext. *II*, 3; cogn. *II*, 19; int. *II*, 20; plen. *II*, 33; *II*, 53; *III*, 47; *IX*, 85; *IX*, 90; *IX*, 91 &c. &c. Among the 450 readings in question, *E* gives incorrect readings about 260 times (over 58%). Notwithstanding this high percentage, I give its readings along with the other, because (1) the greater number of its incorrect readings consist of graphical errors; (2) because its original was by no means a bad one; (3) because of the following passages: contract. *III*, 3; esset *III*, 49; legit. *IV*, 53; cr.nec fund. *IV*, 70; fratr. *V*, 20; honor. *VI*, 24; aliq. *VI*, 97; induc. *VII*, 36; dei *VI*, 42; infic. *VI*, 44; ostiat. *VIII*, 17; qued. hum. *VIII*, 20; de eo *VIII*, 28; cum frat. *VIII*, 49; 15 *IX*, 6; in pers. pr. *IX*, 18; quod *IX*, 59; reliq. *IX*, 66; 40 *IX*, 72; ut *X*, 17; of which the last eleven seem to me to be decisive, as here *E* alone gives the correct, or at least a characteristic reading; the passage cum frater etc. *VIII*, 49 alone would suffice for retaining *E* when the forming of the text comes in question. — Its corrector *E*² is also not without importance. But it is uncertain, from which codex he has corrected: elic. *IX*, 35 (eventually also sym. *X*, 59) excludes *B*, although I would not consider it of great importance. — Of those codices which remain and which

almost entirely agree with E^2 , D only comes into question because of clamorosa IX, 19. The corrections patronum IV, 11; scripta VI, 16; ne argu. VI, 64; singul. VII, 42 appear to me to indicate that E^2 had a codex before him which did not belong to the codex-series made use of here. E^1 and E^2 are correctors of little importance.

After E , B may also be excluded from the competition, as it gives the lectio falsa 114 times; further, D with 98 false readings. α with 62, and C with only 56 incorrect readings, would come next in competition as a basis of the text. Of these two, I give the preference to cod. C , (1) because of the passages *fimant* I, 14; *rebecce* II, 34; *abhorri*. II, 36; *quod* III, 30; *tamen* III, 82; *part.* X, 22; (2) because of in *cumul.* X, 4; *cler. res.* X, 19; and because (3) C^1 appears as a trustworthy corrector,¹ where C does not give the lectio vera.

From the above, the following diagram may be drawn as a pedigree of the MSS:



¹ This is the case especially in those passages, where α gives the incorrect reading.

JOHANNIS WICLIF

DE TRIPLOCI VINCOLO AMORIS.

Plexitic tuscatare ed temsep
snido Sps sci^t

CAP. I.

||²Tria sunt vineula amoris, quibus fideles viantes ad invicem ||^{C fol. 162a}
colligantur, scilicet vinculum consangwineitatis,³ vinculum affinitatis
et vinculum caritatis.

Primum est inter parentem et prolem, | secundum inter virum
et coniugem et tertium inter fidelem et suum⁴ proximum. Primum
autem⁵ habet correspondiam deo patri, qui necessario⁶ ad intra
gignit filium sibi⁷ naturalem; secundum vero habet correspondiam
verbo dei, qui induens hominem novo modo ecclesiam de-
sponsavit; et tertium habet correspondiam sancto spiritui,^a qui

CAP. I. ^a As to this passage, cp. Trial. 87

CAP. I. ¹ i. e. Explicit tractatus de septem donis Spiritus sancti *Explicit tractatus de septem donis sp. s. De triplici vinculo amoris Cap. primum B,*
in the Index of this cod. (on the inner side of the front-cover) the title runs thus:
De triplici vinculo amoris a domino Christo Iesu exemplato et de duplicitate
vinculo infami a dyabolo introducto seu ad invento without Expl. a, also D, the
present Tract is preceded by de solucione sathanae, which ends thus: fidei lucem
yeram etc. Et sic est finis huius tractatus De triplici vinculo amoris E ² B fol.
80^d lin. 8 D fol. 168^d lin. 25 E fol. 25^a lin. 1 a fol. 138^a lin. 1 ³ con-
sangwineitatis BCD consangwinitatis Ea ⁴ et suum in E corr. later in mar.
⁵ autem E,C^t in mar. om. BCDa ⁶ necessario BCEa necesse D ⁷ fi. si.
CDa si. fi. BE

est caritas vel amor, quo⁸ due persone priores originaliter substancialiter connectuntur.⁹

Et sic primum¹⁰ vinculum est naturale, secundum vinculum coniugale et tertium supernaturale. Sicut autem in consangwineitate¹¹ pater plus diligit filium, quam e contra, sicut¹² humor naturaliter contrahitur a¹³ radice et folia defluencia ex ramis firmant¹⁴ radicem et quandoque sibi proficiunt, sic proporcionaliter est de deo. Ipse enim plus amat homines, quos ex gratia sua genuit, quam homines illi possunt patrem illum quomodolibet reamare;¹⁵ folia tamen verborum et fructus operum¹⁶ debent sibi reverenter¹⁰ rependere.

Secundum autem vinculum¹⁷ amoris est satis forte, sicut Cant. (8)¹⁸ scribitur:^b fortis est ut mors dileccio. Et hinc tam Cristus, quam suus apostolus allegant illud¹⁹ Gen. 2,^c ut patet Matth. 19^{20 d} et Eph.²¹ 5:^e propter hoc, inquit,²² relinquet homo patrem et matrem et¹⁵ adhærebit uxori sue et erunt duo in carne una.²³ Ego, inquit apostolus,^f dico hoc sacramentum magnum²⁴ in Christo et²⁵ ecclesia.

De istis autem tribus vinculis multe sentencie²⁶ diffusius sunt dicende, sed in hoc loco sunt causa²⁷ multiplici transcurrēnde;²⁸ quoad primum, cum²⁹ videtur illud apostoli Eph. 3^g memorandum:²⁰ flecto, inquit,³⁰ gēnua ad patrem domini nostri Iesu Christi, ex quo

^b v. 6 ^c v. 24 ^d v. 5 ^e v. 31 ^f Eph. 5, 32 ^g v. 14—15

⁸ quo *BDα* (*cp. cap. III, note a*) ergo *CE* here ends in *D* fol. 168^d, below it: De 3^{ei} vinculo *D*² ⁹ connectuntur *BCDα, E*² in mar. convenientur *E*
¹⁰ in *E* is add. in mar.: 1 *E*¹ ¹¹ consangwineitate *BCD* consanguinitate *Eα*
¹² sicut *BCE* sic *Dα* ¹³ a *Cα* ex *BDE* ¹⁴ firmant *BC* firmant *D* finiant
Eα ¹⁵ in *E* is add. above the col.: Amat deus plus homines quam reamant *E*¹
¹⁶ operum *CDα* operis *B* verborum (*ud.*) operum *E* ¹⁷ in *E* is add. in mar.:
2 *E*¹ ¹⁸ the codd. read 6 ¹⁹ illud *BCDα* idem *E* ²⁰ in *C* there is above
the 9 in 19 a dot, in mar. is add.: 9 ²¹ Eph. *BCDα* ad Phi. (*ud.*) *E*, but in
mar. ad epke (*ud.*) *E*² ²² inquit *BCα* ergo *D* om. *E* ²³ car. un. are in *B*
add. later below the col. (81^a, the last word of which is una) *B*^t ²⁴ magn.
Cα esse magnum *BDE* ²⁵ et *CDEα* Christo erunt duo in carne una (*ud.*)
et *B* ²⁶ mu. se. *BCDα* om. *E* ²⁷ causa *BCα* ex causa *D* d (*ud.*) causa
E, in mar. is add. duo *E*² ²⁸ transcurrēnde *BCDα* transcurrēndo *E* ²⁹ cum
BCα tamen *DE* ³⁰ fl. in. *BCDα* inq. fl. *E*

omnis paternitas in celis³¹ et in terra nominatur.³² Non enim dubium fideli, quin a prima persona divina, sicut a³³ natura divina³⁴ procedit quelibet creatura,^h et super hoc due persone divine, scilicet filius et spiritus sanctus, procedunt originaliter ab eadem persona.
 5 Et sic verum est verbum apostoli,ⁱ ut dicit Dionysius,^k quod a prima persona || divina nominatur omnis vera paternitas, sicut et || C fol. 162^b nominatur bonitas cuiilibet³⁵ creature. Verum tamen natura et essencia vel substancia³⁶ trinitatis est ille pater, quem rogamus in oracione dominica, et ipse pater est ineffabiliter deus pater nec sine 10 vinculo, quod sibi correspondeat.³⁷

Vinculum autem tertium valet³⁸ nobis, ut nisi homo crearetur a deo et unus³⁹ ab alio⁴⁰ processisset,⁴¹ numquam caritas ecclesie quoad membra sua ex dei sapientia prodiisset. Ipsa ergo natura⁴² divina, que⁴³ est prima persona, est origo cuiuslibet⁴⁴ creature.⁴⁵
 15 Sed de secundo vinculo loqui potest fidelis familiarius, cum Cristus sit gigas gemine substancie, natura divina scilicet et humana.⁴⁶ — Secundum hoc, quod⁴⁷ est natura divina, volens sibi ecclesiam⁴⁸ desponsare, est intra se eterna sponsacio⁴⁹ et sponsalia perpetua celebrantur. Et ista desponsacio secundum unum extre-
 20 mum⁵⁰ quandoque dicitur eterna⁵¹ et secundum aliud vere dicitur⁵² perpetua. — Secundum autem humanitatem Cristi, que processit

ⁿ cp. *Trial.* 76 ⁱ *Eph.* 3, 14—15 ^k *Dion. Areopagita, De dir. Nom.* 1, 4 ff.; 2, 1 ff. (ed. by Corderius, Antwerp 1634)

³¹ celis BCE celo Da ³² in E is add. above the col.: Paternitas omnis a deo declaratur E¹ ³³ a CDa om. BE ³⁴ sic. a na. di. CDEa om. B ³⁵ cuiilibet CDEa cuiuslibet (us ud.) B ³⁶ natura et essencia vel substancia E, C¹ above the col. nulla essencialis substancia CDa nulla et essencia substancia B ³⁷ corr. BCda contrare (ud.) corr. E ³⁸ vinc. autem tere. val. Ca vinc. secundum aut tertium ED vinc. secundum autem tertium B in E in mar. 2 c. and 3 E¹ ³⁹ unus CDEa vivis B ⁴⁰ alio BCD altero Ea ⁴¹ processisset BCda processerit E ⁴² natura BCda om. E ⁴³ que BCda potentia que E ⁴⁴ cuiuslibet Ca cuiilibet BDE ⁴⁵ in E is add. in mar.: Prima persona origo omnium E³ ⁴⁶ nat. div. sc. et hu. CDEa nat. sc. hu. et div. B ⁴⁷ autem (ud.) quod C autem quod BDEa ⁴⁸ ecclesiam BCda om. E ⁴⁹ sponsacio DE, C¹ in mar. dispositio Ba, C (ud.) ⁵⁰ extremum BD exemplum CEa ⁵¹ in E is add. below the col.: Desponsacio ecclesie quandoque nominatur eterna E¹ ⁵² vere dicitur CDa dicitur vere B de (cr. out) vere E, but in mar. is add. dicitur E²

in fine temporis, fidelis sibi familiarius potest loqui,⁵³ cum sit vere frater noster eiusdem nature vel generis cum quolibet fratre suo. Ideo cum tantum fecit ecclesie divinitus atque humanitus, signanter dicit apostolus I Cor. ultimo:^l si quis non⁵⁴ amaverit dominum⁵⁵ Iesum Cristum, anathema sit. Omnis autem causa veri amoris in ipso secundo supposito^m reperitur. Ideo signanter dicitur⁵⁶ Matth.⁵⁷ 12:ⁿ quicunque fecerit voluntatem patris mei, qui est in celis,⁵⁸ ipse meus frater, soror⁵⁹ et mater est.⁶⁰ In quibus verbis modo mirabili, tam speculative⁶¹ quam practice, summa theorica est edocta.

Docemur primo⁶² contra errores grammaticae⁶³ sub forma masculini generis omnem hominem vere intelligere; docemur secundo speculative cognoscere, quod quelibet persona humani generis, dum tota et completa fuerit,⁶⁴ est vere duplex⁶⁵ natura, scilicet corpus et anima, sicut secundum naturam alteram,⁶⁶ scilicet spiritum, est natura⁶⁷ terna⁶⁸ ad ymaginem dei facta, scilicet memoria, racio et voluntas. Et ita⁶⁹ secundum spiritum est homo frater Christi,⁷⁰ secundum corpus autem,⁷¹ quod est natura fragilior, est⁷² soror Christi, sed⁷³ secundum naturam totam compositam est eadem persona vere et realiter mater Christi, cum dicat apostolus I Cor. 4:^o in Christo Iesu per ewangelium ego vos genui. Fidelis autem theologus pari evidencia gignit Christum in cordibus fidelium,⁷⁴ quos

^l v. 22 ^m viz. the second Person of the Trinity, cp. *De 7 Don. Spir. Sanct. cap. I commencement* ⁿ v. 50 ^o v. 15

⁵³ fid. si. fa. po. lo. *BCa* fid. si. po. fa. lo. *D* fid. po. si. fa. loq. *E*, in mar. is add. by *E²* familiarius ⁵⁴ non *BCDa* nisi non *E* ⁵⁵ dominum *BCDa* deum *E* ⁵⁶ dicitur *BCE* dicit *Da* ⁵⁷ Matth. *BCDa* Marc. *E* ⁵⁸ est in ce. *CDA* in cel. est *BE* ⁵⁹ so. *CDA* et so. *BE* ⁶⁰ in *E* is add. above the col.: Frater soror mater (? matri) Christi efficitur fidelis *E¹* ⁶¹ speculative *BCDa*, *E²* in mar. speculatam (tem ud.) *E* ⁶² pr. *BCa* autem pr. *DE* ⁶³ in *E* is add. in mar.: Grammatice error spernitur *E³* ⁶⁴ to. et co. fuerit *CDEa* co. et to. fuit *B* ⁶⁵ in *E* is add. in mar.: Humana persona quam multiplex *E³* ⁶⁶ na. al. *BCEa* al. na. *D* ⁶⁷ nat. *BCDa* vera (cr. out) nat. *E* ⁶⁸ terna *Ca* trina *D* terrena (? terna) *BE* ⁶⁹ ita *BCDEa*, *a²* in mar. om. *a* ⁷⁰ in *E* is add. with mark of ref. above the col. a gloss: Frater etc., cp. note 60 ⁷¹ c. aut. *BCDa* aut. co. *E* ⁷² est *CDA* om. *BE* ⁷³ sed *BCDa* et *E* ⁷⁴ in *E* is add. below the col.: Fidelis theologus gignit Christum in cordibus *E¹*

convertit,⁷⁵ iuxta illud Gal. 4:^p filioli mei, quos iterum parturio, donec formetur Cristus in vobis.— Et tertio docemur mixtum, quod tota ista cognacio consistit causaliter in hominis libera voluntate⁷⁶ et per consequens debemus omnino agere, quod homo faciat voluntatem dei patris, cum in hoc consistit causacione quasi materialista cognacio benedicta. Quicunque, inquit,^q fecerit voluntatem patris mei, qui in celis est,⁷⁷ ipse meus frater, soror⁷⁸ et mater est. Eciā⁷⁹ nominat matrem tertio, quia toti et⁸⁰ complete nature debetur⁸¹ accio. Et sicut⁸² Cristus, loquens humanitus cum summa reverencia, prefert⁸³ matrem⁸⁴ et tacendo reservat paternitatem,⁸⁵ cum ab ipso sit omnis paternitas ubilibet⁸⁶ generata, sic fideles debent evidencius⁸⁷ in opinionibus de preeminencia⁸⁸ potestatis servare⁸⁹ deo singulariter, quod est suum. Non enim reperi in scriptura, quod homo, qui non est deus, tollit peccata mundi, || vel ab- || C fol. 163a
15 solvit a peccato simpliciter,⁹⁰ licet remittat quoad suam iniuriam peccatum, quod frater suus fecerit quoad ipsum. Et ista remissio sive dimissio pertinet sub pena dampnacionis cuilibet cristiano, licet principaliter pertinere debeat sacerdoti.⁹¹

CAP. II.¹

Ista autem affinitas, que habet correspondenciam verbo dei, dicit magnam fortitudinem amoris inter duos² coniuges secundum fidem scripture et experienciam. Sed ille amor in affinitate non

^p v. 19 ^q Matth. 12, 50

⁷⁵ convertit *BCDα*, in *E* con is *ud.*, but in *mar.* the abbreviation for con is add.
⁷⁶ in *E* is add. in *mar.*: Libera voluntas causaliter *E*³ ⁷⁷ i. c. e. *BCEα* e. i. c. *D*
⁷⁸ so. *BCDα* et. so. *E* ⁷⁹ eciam *BCDα* et *E* ⁸⁰ et *BCDα, E*² in *mar.* om. *E*
⁸¹ debetur *BCDα* detur *E* ⁸² sicut *BCDα* sic *E* ⁸³ prefert *BCDα, E*² in
mar. prefret (?) *E* ⁸⁴ matrem *BCDα* patrem *E* ⁸⁵ patern. *BCα* sibi patern. *DE* in *E* is add. above the col.: Pater nemo est Christo quare *E*¹ ⁸⁶ ubilibet *BCDα, E*² in *mar.* ubique (*ud.*) *E* ⁸⁷ evid. *BCDα* in (er. out & *ud.*) evidenc. *E* ⁸⁸ preminencia *BCα* preminencia *D* primencia *E* ⁸⁹ servare *DE* generare *BCα* ⁹⁰ simpliciter *CDα, E* (?) similiter *B* in *E* is add. below the col.: Peccata remittere quomodo potest homo *E*¹ ⁹¹ deb. sac. are add. in *B* below the col. (81^c)

CAP. II. ¹ ca.m 2^m *BC* ² *E* in *mar.* om. *Da* ² duos *BCα* duas *DE*

tantum extenditur, sicut extenditur³ in consangwineitate,⁴ sicut patri correspondet eternitas immobilis et omnibus⁵ mobilibus mobilior est sapiencia verbi⁶ dei.

Unde licet in quolibet horum trium⁷ funicularum^a sit⁸ sophisticacio,⁹ tamen specialiter in secundo, cum multi fingunt, se esse 5 eristianos et Cristi vicarios, qui tamen sunt ab eins vestigiis maxime elongati. Unde in affinitate subintrarunt¹⁰ statuta hominum, in ewangelio non fundata, ut¹¹ quidam referunt, quod olym in gradu septimo consangwineitatis¹² non foret affinitas nupciarum et postmodum est cum ista¹³ ordinacione hominum dispensatum.^{14 b} 10 Sed in illa dispensacione de potentibus intercurrit¹⁵ pecunia¹⁶ vel aliud commodum temporale.¹⁷

Et videtur, quod ex hac¹⁸ cautela dyaboli fuit ista cognatorum coningacio¹⁹ interdicta,²⁰ ut ex hoc pateret sophisticalis²¹ pape potentia, et foret pecunia vel sibi equivalens cumulata.^c Et non solum impeditur cognatorum²² coniugacio propter confederacionem²³ amoris²⁴ inter homines dilatandam, cum amor fuit maior in patriarchis tempore legis veteris,²⁵ quando cognacio fuit religiose et re-

CAP. II. ^a cp. cap. I commencement p. 161 ^b by Innocence III. in the year 1215, cp. cap. 8 X de consang. et affin. 4, 14; C. Schmidt, *Essay hist. sur la Société dans le monde Röm.*, 1853. § 36 ^c by means of dispensations from the ecclesiastical law

³ ext. *BCDα, E² in mar.* extend mundi (*cr. out*) *E* ⁴ consanguineitate *BD* consanguinitate *CE* consangwinitate *α* ⁵ omn. *BCDα* de (*ud.*) omn. *E* ⁶ verbi *BCDα* pura *E* ⁷ trium *BCDα* tertium *E* ⁸ sit *BCα* sic *DE* ⁹ soph. *BCDα* sapientia (*cr. out & ud.*) soph. *E* in *E* is add. below the col.: Sophisticacio in funiculis amoris *E¹* ¹⁰ here begins in *E* fol. 26^a, above it: De gradibus coniungandorum *E¹* from here on in *E* the red dots, commas and other interpunctions are om. in *D* is add. below the col.: In affinitate subintrarunt statuta hominum in ewangelio non fundata *D¹* ¹¹ ut *E, C* (here corrected) quod *BDα* ¹² consanguinitatis *B* consanguinitatis *CDEα* ¹³ ista *BCDE* illa *α* ¹⁴ dispensatum *BCα* despousatum *DE* ¹⁵ intercurrit *BCα* incurrit *DE* ¹⁶ pecunia *Cα* pecuniam *BDE* ¹⁷ temp. in *E* a corr. word (le is add. by *E²*) ¹⁸ hac *BCDα* om. *E* ¹⁹ coniugacio *BCDα* cognacio *E* ²⁰ interdicta *BCDα* introducta *E* ²¹ sophisticalis *BCDE* zophilisticalitas *E* ²² cogn. *BCDα* dei (*cr. out & ud.*) cogn. *E* ²³ confederacionem *BCDα* confederacioni *E* ²⁴ amoris *CDEα* hominis amoris *B* ²⁵ maior i. p. t. l. v. *BCDα* maior t. l. v. i. p. *E*

gulariter²⁶ coniugata pocius propter superbiam atque cupidinem prelatorum. Dicitur enim, quod filii Adam de suis sororibus accep-²⁷ perunt sibi coniuges, sicut oportuit, nec deus istud propter peccatum hominum condempnavit, ymo tempore patriarcharum, ut 5 patet de Abraham, Isaac et Iacob, fuit istud cognatorum coniugium tamquam devota religio observatum.²⁸ Nam Gen. 28^d de²⁹ Iacob legitur, quomodo Isaac precepit sibi: noli accipere coniugem de genere Canaan, sed vade et proficiscere in Mesopotamiam³⁰ Syrie ad domum³¹ Betuel, patris matris tue, et accipe tibi inde uxorem 10 de filiabus Laban, awunculi tui,—quod et religiose factum est, sicut³² Abraham et Isaac cum talibus sororibus fuerant coniugati, ut patet Gen. 20^e de Abraham et Sara, quam rex Abimelech voluit propter sui pulcritudinem^{33f} despousasse, et de Isaac patet Gen. 24^g et infra de coniugio Isaac et Rebeccae.³⁴ Striccius tamen loquitur lex 15 mosaica de tali coniugio cognatorum, ut patet Levit. 20.^{35h} Semper autem lex nature abhorruit,³⁶ quod pater et sua filia aut mater et³⁷ suus filius sint ad invicem coniugati, quia coniugati debent esse consocii, ut patet Gen. 2,³⁸ⁱ sed inter patrem et filiam et matrem et filium debet esse subieccio naturalis.

20 Hoc tamen videtur probabile, quod si despousacio³⁹ cognatorum sit licita, est prius licita, antequam a papa ipsa licencia sit concessa. Et conformis est consideracio de affinibus coniugandis⁴⁰ et aliter confederatis, ut levantibus baptizatum de fonte.

^a v. 1—2 ^e v. 12 ^f as to this use of *sui*, peculiar to *W.*,
cp. *De Christo et s. Adv. cap. IX*: alteram sui partem; *cap. VII*:
post ascensionem *sui*; *XIII*: *sui* cum illis societas *and frequently so*
^g v. 4; 67 ^h v. 10 ff. ⁱ v. 24

²⁶ regulariter *BCDα* responderter (?) *E* ²⁷ acceperunt *BCEα* accipe-
rent *D* ²⁸ in *E* is add. below the col.: Coniugium cognatorum quando licitum
supra *E*¹ ²⁹ de *BCDα* dicitur (*cr. out & ud.*) de *E* ³⁰ α reads mesapo-
miam, above po the copier has corr. ta ³¹ ad domum *BCDα* ad domum ad
domum *E* ³² sicut *BCDα*, *E*² in mar. sub (*cr. out*) *E* ³³ pulcritudinem *BC*
Dα, *E*² in mar. plenitudinem (*ud.*) *E* ³⁴ rebecca *BCDE* reliete α ³⁵ 20 α
26 *BCDE* ³⁶ abhorruit *CE*, *B*⁴ in mar., α² in mar. om. *BDα* ³⁷ et *BCD*, *E*²
in mar. aut (*cr. out*) *E* ³⁸ 2⁰ *D* ³⁹ *BCEα* ⁴⁰ despousacio *BCDα* dispen-
sacio *E* in *E* is add. in mar.: Licitum ex se *E*³ ⁴⁰ coniugandis *CDEα* con-
iugandum *B*

V

c fol. 163b Ex istis colligitur,⁴¹ quam periculosum⁴² et stultum est imponere hominibus et specialiter mundi principibus, quod non sunt heredes legitimi propter causas tales humanitus adinventas. Si enim sunt legitimi quoad deum⁴³ secundum legem suam, scilicet legem gracie, tunc sunt vere legitimi, quomodounque lex hominum contradicat, et ex eodem patet eorum stulticia, qui volunt dampnare scripta tamquam heretica propter hoc, quod scribuntur in anglico et acute tangunt peccata,⁴⁴ que conturbant illam provinciam.^k Nam possibile est, quod nobilis⁴⁵ regina⁴⁶ Anglie, soror cesaris,^l habeat ewangelium in lingwa triplici exaratum, scilicet in 10 lingwa boemica, in lingwa teutonica⁴⁷ et latina, et hereticare ipsam⁴⁸ propterea implice⁴⁹ fore luciferina superbia.⁵⁰ Et sicut⁵¹ Teutonic⁵² volunt in isto racionabiliter⁵³ defendere lingwam propriam,⁵⁴ sic et Anglie debent de ratione⁵⁵ in isto defendere⁵⁶ lingwam suam.

15

^k W.'s *itinerant preachers and their sermons in English, as well as W.'s own literary activity are here, I believe, alluded to. The itinerant preachers had made Oxfordshire and Leicestershire the centre of their pastoral work, cp. Wilkins, *Conc. M. Brit. III*, 158 ff.; *Fasc. Ziz.* 275; *Knighton, X Ser. col. 2658 ff.*; *Walsingham, Hist. Angl. I*, 324 ff.; they were at work at Bristol also, cp. *Chron. A. de Usk* (ed. H. M. Thompson 1876) 3*

^l Anna, the daughter of Wenzel, King of Bohemia, who was elected Roman King in 1376, Emperor in 1378, came to England at the end of 1381. Shortly after Epiphany 1382 she was married to King Richard II., cp. *Walsingham, Hist. Angl. II*, 46; 47 ff. On January 14th, the royal rings were exchanged, on the 22^d she was coronated as Queen of England (and probably also of France), and on Febr. 8th, the marriage ceremonies and festivals had come to an end, cp. *Wright, Pol. Poems*, 458; *Rymer, Foedera VII*, 398 and 343; Höfler, *Anna von Luxemburg*, 68 ff.

⁴¹ in D is add. in mar.: Nota bene D¹ ⁴² periculosum BCEα periculum D
⁴³ in E is add. in mar.: Legitimi secundum deum E³ ⁴⁴ in E is add. below the col.: Wlgaria scripta confundentes punguntur E¹ ⁴⁵ nobilis BCDα nobis E
⁴⁶ regina CDEα, B¹ in mar. om. B ⁴⁷ Theutonica C teutonica B theotunica DEα ⁴⁸ ipsam BCDα eam E ⁴⁹ im. BCDα eciam im. E ⁵⁰ superbia CDα stulticia BE ⁵¹ sicut BCDα sic in isto E .⁵² Theutonicⁱ C teutunici B theotunici DE theotonici α ⁵³ racionabiliter BCDα, E² in mar. robir (cr. out) E ⁵⁴ li. pro. BCEα li. pro. lingwam D ⁵⁵ de racione BCDα racionabiliter E ⁵⁶ in i. def. BCDα def. in i. E

CAP. III.¹

Tercium autem vinculum caritatis debet esse fortissimum, licet tres² persone divine sint pares, quia in isto vinculo contrahitur³ racio duplicitis prioris vinculi.^a

Omnis enim homines⁴ debent esse filii Christi et sue ecclesie,
 5 et hoc est plus quam cognacio naturalis.⁵ Cristiani eciam secundum fidem ewangelii Matth. 12^b faciendo voluntatem divinam sunt fratres, sorores et matres domini⁶ Iesu Christi, ut supra^c exponitur. Et propter istud vineulum caritatis et non per se⁷ propter duo⁸ vineula priora sunt homines deo in patria coniugandi.⁹ Ideo signanter dicit Christus Matth. 10:^d qui amat patrem¹⁰ aut matrem, fratrem vel¹¹ sororem plus, quam me, non est me dignus.

Et¹² ex ista sentencia colligitur ista benedicta conclusio, quod in quounque contractu vel causa humana lex dei et causa sua est plus quam lex vel racio alia ponderanda.¹³ Nam sicut Christus est veritas Ioh. 14,^e sic est¹⁴ et caritas Ioh. 4.^f Et utinam legiste¹⁵ g intromittentes se de humanis legibus et alii ponentes intromittentes se de humanis¹⁶ contractibus debite crederent et practi-

CAP. III. ^a cp. above cap. I p. 162 l. 1 ff. ^b c. 50^c cp. cap. I p. 164 l. 6 ff. ^d v. 37 ^e v. 6 ^f v. 7 ff. ^g According the terms used in the Middle Ages, the Legists were the teachers of the roman, the Decretalists the teachers of the canonical law, cp. with ref. to this below De Christo et suo Adv. cap. IV

CAP. III. ¹ cap. 3^m BC 3 E in mar. om. α, D, here the text tertium autem etc. runs on without being interrupted ² tres CDEα triplices B (the abbreviation is 3^{es}) ³ contrahitur E,C¹ in mar. contrariatur BCDA^α ⁴ hom. BCDA^α filii (cr. out & ud.) hom. E ⁵ in E is add. above the col.: Cognacio fraternalis caritativa antecellit naturalem E¹ ⁶ domini CDEα,B¹ in mar. om. B ⁷ per se BC persone EDα ⁸ duo BCDα om. E, but in mar. 2^{do} (therefore secundo) E² ⁹ coniugandi BE,C¹ in mar. coniungendi CDα ¹⁰ patrem BDE,C¹α¹ in mar. om. Ca ¹¹ fratrem vel BCDA^α et E ¹² Et CDEα om. B ¹³ in E is add. in mar.: Lex dei preponderanda in omnibus E³ ¹⁴ est in α corr. into the text ¹⁵ in E is add. with mark of ref. below the col.: Legiste videntur acceptores personarum E¹ ¹⁶ legibus et a. p. i. de hum. BCDA^α om. E

zarent¹⁷ hanc fidem ewangelii¹⁸ in suis operibus. Tunc enim non foret tanta accepcio personarum. Scribit enim¹⁹ Iacobus 2^o cap.: fratres²⁰ mei, nolite in personarum accepione habere fidem domini nostri Iesu Cristi glorie, etenim²¹ si introierit in conventum vestrum vir, annulum aureum²² habens in veste candida, introierit autem²³ et pauper in sordido habitu et intendatis in eum, qui induitus est veste preclara et si ei²⁴ dixeritis:²⁵ tu sede hic bene,²⁶ pauperi autem dicatis: tu sta illuc aut sede sub scabello pedum nostrorum,²⁷ nonne iudicatis apud vosmet ipsos et²⁸ facti estis iudices cogitationum iniquarum? Audite, fratres mei dilectissimi, nonne deus²⁹ elegit pauperes in hoc mundo divites in fide et heredes regni, quod³⁰ repromisit deus diligentibus se. Vos autem exhonrastis³¹ pauperem. Nonne divites per potentiam opprimunt³² vos³³ et ipsi trahunt³⁴ vos ad iudicia? Nonne ipsi blasphemant bonum nomen, quod invocatum est super vos?

15

Ex ista fide scripture colligitur cum facto³⁵ hominum, quod personarum accepcio est peccatum absconditum,³⁶ licet publicum nimis perturbans ecclesiam militantem. Que, rogo, racio apud fideles, ¶ C fol. 162a quod plus ponderant aureum³⁷ annulum vel aliud || sensibile ornementum, quam ponderant fidem vel aliam virtutem anime, que infinitum preciosior est³⁸ quam illud? Aut que cecitas, quod homo prepondereret in amore sepe filium dyboli et heredem regni ac dei filium

^h v. 1—7

¹⁷ practizarent *BCDα* baptizarent (*cr. out & ud.*) *E*, but in mar. practicarent (*sic!*) *E*² ¹⁸ ewangelii *BCDα* ewangelicam *E* ¹⁹ enim *BCDα* autem *E* ²⁰ fr. *BCDα* Ego (*cr. out & ud.*) fr. *E* ²¹ etenim *BCDα* item *E* ²² ann. aur. *BCDα* aur. ann. *E* ²³ int. au. *BCDα* et (*annihilated by erasure*) intr. *E*, in mar. is add. autem *E*² ²⁴ ei *C*¹ in mar. om. *BCDEα* ²⁵ dixeritis *BCDα* dicatis *E* ²⁶ bene *BCα* bone *D* om. *E* ²⁷ nostrorum *CE* meorum *BDα* ²⁸ et *BCEα* eciam *D* ²⁹ deus *BCDα*, *E*² in mar. deuus (*cr. out*) *E* ³⁰ quod *CE* quibus *BDα* ³¹ exhonrastis *CE* exhonratis *BDα* ³² opp. *CDEα* suam opp. *B* ³³ vos *BDEα*, *C*¹ in mar. om. *C* ³⁴ trahunt *BCE* trahent *Dα* ³⁵ facto *CDE*, *B*¹ in mar., α (add. by the copier above the line) om. *Bα* ³⁶ in *D* is add. with mark of ref. above the col.: Accepcio personarum est peccatum absconditum *D*¹ in *E*: Personarum accepcio peccatum occultum *E*¹ ³⁷ aureum *BCE* aurum α aure *D* ³⁸ pr. est *BCEα* est pr. *D*

inhonorat³⁹ — Non dubium, quin istud⁴⁰ sit peccatum⁴¹ abhomina-
nabile apud deum. Ideo dicit Petrus Act. 10ⁱ: in veritate comperi,
quoniam non est personarum acceptor deus, sed in omni gente,
qui timet deum⁴² et operatur iusticiam, acceptus est illi.

5 Cum ergo omnes cristiani debent sequi Cristum in moribus et
non potest esse personarum accepcio apud deum,⁴³ omnes homines
debent illud⁴⁴ peccatum, quod est personarum accepcio, preavare.

Unde quidam dubitant, quid est personarum accepcio ad men-
tem scripture. Et dicitur communiter, quod personarum accepcio⁴⁵
10 est preponderancia unius persone in amore⁴⁶ supra aliam, contraria
legi dei, et sumitur ‘amor’ in proposito non solum pro affecione
mentis abscondita, sed pro beneficie in signo sensibili, sicut est
honor, munere vel⁴⁷ dignitate impensa homini. Et istarum⁴⁸ perso-
narum accepcio est in humanis tradicionibus nimium usitata.

15 Unde si nullum aliud est⁴⁹ periculum, concernens statum
pape⁵⁰ instituendo provisiones beneficiorum in ecclesia et alia, que
papa sibi vendicat tamquam specialis Christi vicarius, status iste
cum suo nomine expiraret. Nam si alicubi sit personarum accepcio,
ipsa est originaliter in⁵¹ hoc statu.

20 Modicum autem est⁵² preponere personas in honore mundano,
cum omnes⁵³ tales honores⁵⁴ sacerdotes auffugerent, sed preponere
ypocritas in dignitate prepositure est nimis realis preponderancia,
inficiens ecclesiam militantem.

Sed duo sunt, que moverent⁵⁵ moderate talem⁵⁶ preposicio-

ⁱ v. 34—35

³⁹ inhonorat BC_a, (corr. from inhonoret by the texthand) inhonoret E inhonoraret D ⁴⁰ istud CDE_a illud B ⁴¹ sit peccatum CD_a peccatum sit B preeium sit E ⁴² deum BCD_a eum E ⁴³ deum CD_a eum BE ⁴⁴ illud BCD_a istud E ⁴⁵ quid est p. a. ad m. sc. et d. c. q. p. a. CDE_a, B^t with mark of ref. above the col. om. B in C is add. in mar.: Accepcio personarum C³ ⁴⁶ in amore BCD_a om. E ⁴⁷ honor munere vel BCD_a horarum in numero vel E ⁴⁸ istarum C_a ista BDE ⁴⁹ est BD_a esset E² in mar. om. E est et (et is corr. later into the text by C², therefore esset) C ⁵⁰ in E is add. below the col.: Accepcio personarum demonstratur prelatis in quo E^t ⁵¹ in BCD_a in in E ⁵² au. est BCD_a est au. E ⁵³ omnes E, C^t in mar. om. CD_a ⁵⁴ hon. BCD_a homines (ud.) hon. E ⁵⁵ moverent BCD_a, E² in mar. moverunt (runt cr. out) E ⁵⁶ talem E, C^t in mar. om. BCD_a

uem,⁵⁷ scilicet iusticia operis⁵⁸ in vivendo et dignitas hominis in ecclesiam⁵⁹ regulando. Sicut enim Cristus dicit Ioh. 10:^k operibus credite, sic prudens qualitas iustorum operum moneret⁶⁰ ad hominem honorandum, sed honor talis debet esse cum moderamine non mundanus et semper condicionatus cum suppositione probabili citra fidem. Reges autem et maiores in seculo debet⁶¹ eciam homo cum prudencia honorare,⁶² cum deus instituit⁶³ ipsos deitatis vicarios ad subditos ecclesie cum austeritate et cum moderata potencia mundana⁶⁴ regulandum. Et sic⁶⁵ David honoravit Saulem⁶⁶ racione dignitatis regalis,⁶⁷ licet supposuerit⁶⁸ hunc⁶⁹ dampnandum. Electus 10 est enim in regem⁷⁰ ex ordinacione divina ultra papas ex humanis institutionibus introductos⁷¹ et regnavit⁷² in gracia secundum presentem iusticiam per biennium,⁷³ ut dicitur ex scriptura, et postmodum ex simulacione⁷⁴ sui officii, licet male fecerit fidelibus multa bona, patet historia I Reg. 15 et 23.

15

Unde sacerdotes fideles domini reges⁷⁵ honorificant prudenter ex doctrina Petri et a statu nimium necessitante ad illam honorificenciam propter periculum⁷⁶ se excludunt, cum habeant probabilem suspicionem⁷⁷ ad dignificandum sic⁷⁸ homines citra fidem. Et sic⁷⁹ Iacobus^l prohibet honores faciendo proporcionaliter homini, 20 ut splendide est ornatus, quia sepe sic ornantur reprobi⁸⁰ et in

^k v. 38 ^l Iac. 2, 2 ff.

⁵⁷ prepositionem *BCDα* prepositum *E* ⁵⁸ op. *BCDα* hominis (*cr. out & ud.*) op. *E in C* is add. in mar.: Nota duo moderancia acceptionem personarum *C³* ⁵⁹ in ecclesiam *BCDα* om. *E* ⁶⁰ moneret_{*} *BCEα* moveret *D* ⁶¹ debet *BCEα* debent *D* ⁶² in *E* is add. above the col.: Reges superiores honorandi prudenter *E¹* ⁶³ institut *BCDE* constituit *C¹* (con is corr. above in) constituit *α*, but above con the copier has add. in ⁶⁴ mundana *E,C¹ in mar.* om. *BCDα* ⁶⁵ sic *BCEα* sicut *D in D* is add. in mar.: Nota *D²* ⁶⁶ Saulem *BCDα* saumelem (*the last stroke of the m and the u ud., therefore saumelem*) *E* ⁶⁷ in *E* is add. in mar.: David honoravit Saul *E³* regalis *BCDα* regularis (gularis *ud.*) galis (*therefore regalis*) *E* ⁶⁸ supp. *D,C*, but in mar. enim *C¹* enim supp. *BEα* ⁶⁹ hunc *CDEα,B¹ in mar.* hoc *B* ⁷⁰ reg. *BCDα* d (*ud.*) regem *E* ⁷¹ introductos *CDα* introductas *BE* ⁷² regnavit *BCDα* regnat *E*, but in mar. uit *E²* ⁷³ biennum *BCDα* vigennium *E* ⁷⁴ ex simulacione *E,C¹B¹ in mar.* om. *BCDα* ⁷⁵ reges *CDEα,B¹ in mar.* om. *B* ⁷⁶ in *E* is add. in mar.: Periculum *E²* ⁷⁷ suspicionem *Cα* suppositionem *BE* suspicionem *D* sumpcionem *B¹ in mar.* ⁷⁸ sic *BCDα* om. *E* ⁷⁹ si *CDα* sic *BE* ⁸⁰ repr. *CDEα* sic repr. *B*

operibus iniusti, ideo ista non est bona regula ad homines hono-
randum, quia pocius tunc honoraret homo⁸¹ huiusmodi ornamenta,
quam vitam vel opera, que a iusto statu hominis secundum legem
domini producuntur. Et tamen⁸² debemus ut fidem accipere, quod
5 in omnibus talibus honoribus vicariis debemus deum principaliter
honorare.

CAP. IV.¹

¶ Post istud triplex amoris vineulum a domino exemplatum restat
tangere duplex² infame³ vinculum, a patre mendacii adinventum,
scilicet novitatem sectarum quatuor super sectam domini Iesu⁴ Cristi,
10 et novitatem suarum tradicionum super legem domini Iesu⁵ Cristi.⁶

C fol. 164^b

Quantum ad has sectas quatuor⁷ suppono, ipsas esse descriptas
alibi^a et distinctas, scilicet clerum cesareum, monachos, canonicos
atque fratres.^b

Clerus autem cesareus habet papam patronum et legem suam
15 pro regula; monachi dicuntur⁸ habere beatum⁹ Benedictum et re-
gulam, quam beatus¹⁰ Gregorius compilavit; canonici dieuntur ha-
bere beatum¹¹ Augustinum et regulam, quam ipse fratribus suis et
sociis suis compilavit; fratres autem dicuntur habere varios¹² pa-
tronos et regulas, cum ipsi¹³ ab unitate fidei domini magis distant.^c

CAP. IV. ^a in *De quatuor Sectis novellis* ^b cp. *De quat. Sect. nov. cap. I commencement* ^c as to this, cp. *De quat. Sect. nov. cap. I commencement; cap. III commencement*

⁸¹ pocius tunc honoraret homo C tunc poe. hon. hom. B pocius tunc homo
honor. D peius honoraret tunc homo E pocius hon. homo ^a ⁸² tamen CE
cum Da, B (?).

CAP. IV. ¹ eam 4^m sequitur C quartum B 4 E in mar. om. a, D, (here
no mark of a new chapter is given, cp. cap. IV n. 1) ² duplex BCD α om. E
³ in fame BCE α infamie D in D is add. in mar.: Duplex infamie vineulum
a patre infamie adinventum D¹ ⁴ Ie. CD nostri Ie. BE α ⁵ Iesu BC α nostri
Ie. D om. E ⁶ et novit. s. t. s. l. d. I. C. BCD α om. E ⁷ in E is add.
above the col.: Quatuor septe cum suis patronis describuntur E¹ ⁸ dicuntur
CDE α dicunt B ⁹ beatum BCD α om. E ¹⁰ beatus BCD α om. E ¹¹ beat.
BCD α , E, but here in mar. patronum E² ¹² varios BC α , E² in mar. vicarios
D, E (ud.) ¹³ ipsi E, C¹ in mar. om. BCD α

Dictum est insuper,^d quod omnes hee¹⁴ secte non a deo fulcuntur, sicut¹⁵ secta phariseorum,¹⁶ quam dominus destruxerat¹⁷ paulative.¹⁸ Et multas personas illius secte dilexit ad beatitudinem, quamvis¹⁹ sectam dilexit²⁰ ad perditionem. Paulus enim fuit de illa secta, ut patet Phil. 3^e et²¹ Nicodemus fuit de eadem secta, 5 ut patet²² Ioh. 3^f et ambas istas personas, sicut supponitur de multis reliquis, Cristus ad beatitudinem predilexit. Et patet obscuracio cecitatis quorundam, qui arguunt, quod secta fratrum et tres alie precedentes^g sunt omnino laudabiles, licet quedam persone earum²³ sint religioni²⁴ sue graviter adversantes. Non, inquiunt, 10 est verisimile, quod iste²⁵ secte per annos totidem perdurarent,²⁶ et non foret percepta eorum²⁷ nequicia per sapientes aliquos²⁸ ecclesie militantis et claret,²⁹ inquiunt, ex eorum vita et operibus, quod³⁰ in sectis istis³¹ sunt multe³² persone graves ad honorem et ornacionem³³ ecclesie militantis. 15

Sed dictum est diffuse alibi,^h quod argucie iste non faciunt fidem prudentibus ad³⁴ ista sectarum genera probandum,³⁵ quia notum est, quod errores isti potuerunt³⁶ per tantum temporis³⁷ et longe amplius per hypocrisim et alias cautelas dyaboli colarari, ut

^d in *De Fundatione Sect.*, where not the foundation of the Sects in its first sense, but their foundation in Scripture is spoken of v. 5
^e v. 1 ^g the clerici cesarenses, the monachi and canonici ^h in *De quat. Sect. novellis cap. IV^r* commencement and conclusion, and in *De Fund. Sect.*, cp. above p. 75

¹⁴ hee *BCDα* iste *E* ¹⁵ sicut *CDEα* scilicet *B* ¹⁶ phariseorum *BDEα* philosophorum *C*, cp. phariseorum as given in cod. *C* a few lines on (p. 175 l. 2) ¹⁷ in *E* is add. below the col.: Sectam phariseorum Cristus destruxit, personas eius dilexit *E*¹ ¹⁸ paulative *BCDα* paulate *E* ¹⁹ quamvis *CE* quam *BD,α*, but here vis is add. above it by *α²* ²⁰ dilexit *CE,α²* corr. into the text om. *BDα* ²¹ et *BCE* om. *Da* ²² patet *BCDα* om. *E* ²³ earum *CDEα* eorum *B* ²⁴ religioni *BCEα* religionis *D* ²⁵ iste *BCDα* ille *E* ²⁶ perdurarent *BDα,C* here the last e is erased perdurarent *E* ²⁷ eorum *CDA* earum *BE* ²⁸ aliquos *BDE*, alias *Cα* ²⁹ claret *BCα* clare *ED* ³⁰ quod *BCDα* qui *E* ³¹ istis *BCDα* om. *E* ³² multe *CDA* multo *BE* ³³ ornacionem *BCEα* one- racionem *D* ³⁴ ad *BCDα,E*. illegibly written, repeated by *E²* in mar. ³⁵ probandum *BCDα* aprobandum *E* ³⁶ potuerunt *CDE* poterunt *Bα* ³⁷ temporis *BCα* tempus *E,D* (corr. from temporis)

notet homo longitudinem temporis secte fratrum³⁸ et notet celacionem secte phariseorum in lege veteri et celacionem maledicte dotacionis cleri³⁹ cesarei in lege gracie cum multis aliis erroribus in sectis paganis ex cautela dyaboli conservatis, et inveniet, quod 5 longe diurnior error subiacet potestati dyaboli, quam est error, quem quidam vocant novissimum secte fratrum. Ideo ista evidencia non moveret aliquem circumspectum⁴⁰ nec est ista persona vel ista persona remurmurans contra errores hos quatuorⁱ cum erroribus eis⁴¹ similibus, sed deus⁴² excitavit multas personas priores longe 10 plures quam nos cognoscimus,⁴³ ad invehendum acueius contra⁴⁴ illas.^{45k} Et hec una evidencia moveret⁴⁶ fideles ad⁴⁷ in ista⁴⁸ contrariacione⁴⁹ viriliter persistendum: nulla sectarum istarum⁵⁰ habet fundacionem^l ex lege domini Iesu Christi,⁵¹ ergo nulla earum⁵² in corpus ecclesie legitime⁵³ subintravit. Patet consequentia 15 per illud⁵⁴ Ioh. 10:^m qui⁵⁵ non intrat per ostium in ovile ovium, sed ascendit aliunde, ille est fur et latro.

Si ergo aliqua persona⁵⁶ istarum sectarum⁵⁷ vel etiam⁵⁸ quivis dyabolus⁵⁹ posset dicere,⁶⁰ quod intravit aliqua istarum sectarum per auctoritatem Christi, qui est ostium domus dei, foret 20 evidencia,⁶¹ quod genus talis secte non foret ad mentem⁶² domini

ⁱ viz. the Four Sects ^k cp. above De Ordin. Fratrum p. 9ⁱ ff.

^l in proof of this, W. wrote his De Fundatione Sect. ^m v. 1

³⁸ in E is add. above the col.: Sectarum vetustas non arguit bonitatem E^t
³⁹ dotacionis cleri BD α dotacio cleri C secte tali (?) E ⁴⁰ circ. BCD α pro-
 fectum (ud.) circ. E ⁴¹ eis CDE α eius B ⁴² deus BCD α om. E ⁴³ cog-
 noscimus CDE α agnoscimus B ⁴⁴ contra BCD α citra E ⁴⁵ illas CE illos
 BD α ⁴⁶ moveret CDE α movet B ⁴⁷ ad DE,C α ² corr. into the text above
 in in B, add. above ad ⁴⁸ in ista D α ista BC infra E ⁴⁹ contrariacione
 CD α contrariacionem B contra rationem E ⁵⁰ s. i. BCD α i. s. E ⁵¹ in E
 is add. above the col.: Secte quatuor non habent fundamentum ex lege Christi E^t
⁵² earum BCD α , E² in mar. eorum E ⁵³ legitime E,C^t in mar. om. BCD α
⁵⁴ per illud E,C^t in mar. om. BCD α ⁵⁵ qui BCD α Et (cr. out & ud.) qui E
⁵⁶ persona BCD α om. E ⁵⁷ D reads as a rule sect. ist. ⁵⁸ etiam BCE α
 om. D ⁵⁹ dyabolus BCD α istarum sectarum (ud.) dyab. E ⁶⁰ docere BE,C^t
 (the o add. above the i) dicere CD α ⁶¹ evidencia BCD α evidenter (?) E
⁶² mentem CD invicem BE α

|| C fol. 165^a fur et latro. Sed cum non potest, evidens || debet esse fideli, quod ista secta⁶³ remanet fur et latro.⁶⁴

Et sanctitas istorum patronorum scilicet pape Silvestris,⁶⁵ⁿ Benedicti,⁶⁶ Augustini, Dominici et Francisci non moveret sciolum ad credendum, quod iste secte fuerunt per dominum⁶⁷ introduce, quia certum est ex fide, quod multi sancti ut Petrus, Paulus, filii Zebedei, Magdalene⁶⁸ et multi sanciores istis patronis graviter peccaverunt. Si ergo nullus fidelis debet illis in hoc⁶⁹ credere, nec fundacioni sue attendere,⁷⁰ nisi de quanto ipsi decreverint⁷¹ se secutos fuisse dominum Iesum Cristum, manifestum videtur, quod non debet 10 fuisse evidencia eciam neophyto ad credendum, quod iste secte sunt propterea licite sive⁷² bone. Et multo evidencius vocata eorum miracula non facerent ad hoc fidem, cum dyabolus habet potestatem facere plura mirabilia, quam eorum aliqui usque hodie perfecerunt.

Iste ergo evidencie topice debent resolvi⁷³ ad primum principium sive fidem, sed cum non possunt, patet, quod ex illis deficiunt sciolo⁷⁴ evidencie concludere, quod iste secte sunt⁷⁵ licite, non culpabiliter introduce.

CAP. V.¹

Sed pro solucione obiectuum² laicorum³ notanda est distinccio 20 istorum quinque conceptuum, scilicet scire, ex fide credere, com muniter credere, supponere et dubitare.⁴

ⁿ *Silvester is here also mentioned, because the dotation of the Church is generally connected with his name. W. takes him for this reason as the patron of the clerics cesareus, cp. Suppl. Trial. 407; 413*

⁶³ secta CD, ⁶² in mar. om. BE^a ⁶⁴ Sed cum non p. e. d. e. f. q. i. s. r. f. et latro CD^a om. BE ⁶⁵ Silvestris BCDE Silvestri ^a ⁶⁶ Bene. CD^a et Bene. BE ⁶⁷ dominum BCD^a deum E ⁶⁸ Magdalene CDE^a Magdalena B illis in hoc CD in hoc illis E^a eis in hoc B ⁷⁰ nec fundacioni sue attendere C¹ in mar. nec fund. sue in hoc att. E om. BCD^a ⁷¹ ipsi decreverint BCD^a docuerit E ⁷² sive in a a corr. word ⁷³ in E is add. in mar.: Evidence opice rense (?) solverentur E³ ⁷⁴ sciolo Ca sciole BE, C¹ (e corr. above o) sciolo (?) a D ⁷⁵ i. se. su. CDE^a i. su. se. B

CAP. V. ¹ cap. 5^m C Quintum B 5 in mar. E II in mar. D¹ (in D the single chapters are not marked out, instead of it the main parts of the Tract are indicated by roman figures, cp. cap. IX) om. a ² obiectuum BCD^a obiectorum E ³ laicorum CDE laycorum a laicorum Bu ⁴ scire, ex fide cr., co. cr., sup.,

Ex fide autem credimus⁵ illas veritates generi humano quantum ad raciones⁶ absconditas, que in fide scripture patule ostenduntur. Credulitate autem simplici⁷ tali⁸ sentencie adheretur,⁹ que non habet demonstracionem sensualem, noticiam vel fidem catholicae, qua probetur. Et tali sentencie consentit unus et dissentit reliquus, et ille¹⁰ vocantur sentencie¹¹ citra fidem, et error magnus est homines circa sentencias illas contendere tamquam fidem,¹² ut de illis patronis predictis non est fides, quod in celestibus sunt beati, cum non sequitur: papa ipsos canonizat¹³ vel determinat,¹⁴ quod est ita,¹⁵ ergo verum.¹⁶ De Augustino autem evidenter suppono, quod sit beatus in patria propter evidencias, quas¹⁷ ex scripturis suis elicui. De Benedicto autem hoc idem suppono plus leviter. Et hoc idem qui volunt possunt supponere de Dominico et Francisco. Et evidencius est istud de sectis¹⁸ patronos istos sequentibus,¹⁹ ut multis hominibus non est fides, quod de tota secta fratrum²⁰ aliquis est beatus. Alii tamen²¹ supponunt hoc tamquam eis probabile, aliqui dubitant, et aliqui supponunt contrarium tamquam verum. Circa tales autem²² sentencias non est fidelis²³ contendere, sed relictis heresibus in fide vivere domini Iesu Christi.

Unde videtur magna prudencia evacuare tales contenciones²⁴ ab hominibus et monere, quod tales evidencie non ipsos²⁵ stabiliant in data sentencia tamquam fide, ut multis non est evidens, quod

et dub. *Cα* scire. ex f. cr. er. ca. sup. et dub. *BD* scire ex fide, cred. com., credere. supponere. dubitare *E* in *E* is add. with mark of ref. below the col.: Differunt scire ex fide credere, credere. supponere. dubitare (*sic*) *E*¹ likewise in *D* below col. 17^{2a}: scire, ex fide credere, communiter credere supponere et dubitare *D*¹ in *D* is add. in mar.: Ex fide credimus *D*¹ raciones *CDEα* racionem *B* in *E* is add. in mar.: Credulitas simplex que *E*³ in *D* in mar.: Credulitate adheretur simplicitati sentencie *D*⁴ tali *BCDα* taliter *E* in *D* adheretur *BCDα* adhereretur *E* ille *BCDα* iste *E* v. s. *BCEα* s. v. *D* in *a* is add. in mar.: Nota *α*² canonizat *BCDα* canouizavit *E* in *E* is add. in mar.: Canonizacio *E*³ determinat *CDα* determinavit *E* declarat *B* ita *BCDE* ista *α* verum *BCDE* est verum *α* quas *BCDα*, *E*² in mar. has (cr. out) *E* de sectis *BCEα* om. *D* to this place refers probably the gloss in *E* below the col.: Patroni sectarum si sancti *E*¹ fratrum *E*, *C*¹ in mar. trium *BDα*, *C ud.* tamen *BCDα* autem *E* tales autem *CDα* autem tales *E* tales *B* fidelis *CDEα* fidieli *B* contenciones *BCDα*, *E*² in mar. condiciones (cr. out) *E* ipsos *CDEα* ipsas *B*

aliquis de istis²⁶ sectis quatuor sit beatus, sed est illis evidens citra fidem, quod omnes illi et singuli ex ypocrisi et ingratitudine, qua deserunt²⁷ sectam Cristi pro suo tempore²⁸ sunt²⁹ dampnati. Non lunt³⁰ tamen circa istud contendere tamquam fidem. De multis tamen,³¹ qui olym fuerunt in istis sectis, possunt fideles supponere, 5 quod ipsas in fine³² relinquant³³ et propter bona opera de genere, que fecerunt,^a habebant finalem gloriam, ut in patria sint beati. Et credi potest evidencius multis hominibus, quod multi simplices, qui non in aliquam³⁴ istarum sectarum intraverant,³⁵ ex sanctitate vite modo in patria sunt beati. 10

Sed relictis istis evidenciis citra fidem potest fidelis in isto

^b C fol. 165^b tamquam in fide quiescere, quod semper manet³⁶ militans ecclesia et³⁷ quod semper aliqua persona, licet ipsam ignoraverit, est salvanda. Et sic est fides³⁸ circa³⁹ genus militancium et de partibus 15 istorum⁴⁰ militancium est opinio citra fidem, nec debet prudens ecclesia graviter ferre istam sentenciam fideliter declaratam, quia certum est, quod inter alios errores cecantes ecclesiam⁴¹ hic est unus, quod sepe capitur probabile, ymo impossibile ex multitudine sibi adherencium tamquam fides, ut multi ut⁴² fidem captiunt,⁴³ quod quilibet papa pro tempore suo⁴⁴ sit beatissimus et quod pec- 20 care non poterit a fide devians,^b sed si aliquid⁴⁵ diffinierit,⁴⁶ illud est tamquam fides a cunctis catholicis defendendum.^c Et in istum

CAP. V. ^a see Trial. 362 ^b cp. the same idea expressed in nearly the same terms *De Christo et suo Adv.* cap. X ^c cp. the same assertion *ibid.*

²⁶ istis BCE α hiis D ²⁷ deserunt BCD α , E² in mar. de secta (cr. out) E
²⁸ tempore BCD α , E² in mar. opere (cr. out) E ²⁹ sunt CE α sint BD ³⁰ no-
lunt BD α volunt EC(?) ³¹ tamen BCD α , E² in mar. om. E ³² fine ED, C¹
in mar. fide Ba, C (ud.) ³³ relinquant CDE (the Perfect, frequently occurs in this form in the codd.) reliquerant Ba ³⁴ aliquam BC α aliqua DE ³⁵ intraverant BCE α intraverunt D in E is add. above the col.: Simplices qui nullam sectam intrarunt beati in patria E¹ ³⁶ manet CD α maneat E om. B
³⁷ et E, C¹ corr. into the text om. BCD α ³⁸ fides BDE α , C ud. finis C¹ in mar.
³⁹ circa CD α citra BE ⁴⁰ istorum CD α illorum BE ⁴¹ in E is add. with mark of ref. below the col.: Error ecclesiasticus cum creditur multitudini adhe-
rencium sibi E¹ ⁴² ut CD α , B¹ (? corr. into the text) om. BE ⁴³ in E is add. with mark of ref. above the col.: Error de prelatis E¹ ⁴⁴ t. s. CE s. t. BD α
⁴⁵ aliquid BCE α aliquis D ⁴⁶ diff. BCDE diffinient (cr. out) diffinierit α

errorem lapsi sunt multi de ipsis duobus papis^d in devium, quia cautela dyaboli est ex⁴⁷ minore errore profundare militantes in heresim ampliorem. Ideo salubre foret fidelibus,⁴⁸ se tenere⁴⁹ de ipsis papis et militantibus aliis ac mortuis citra fidem, ut viator 5 non acceptat⁵⁰ istud, quod ipse salvabitur,⁵¹ tamquam fidem nec⁵² appetit prudenter,⁵³ quod aliquis illud⁵⁴ credat ut fidem, sed contentatur, quod ipsemet illud speret et credat probabiliter citra fidem et quod alii, ut habent evidenciam de sua vita, supponant hoc vel eius contrarium aut dubitent de eodem.⁵⁵ Et stultus foret, qui 10 emungeret ultra istam sentenciam credulitatem vel suppositionem fidelium tamquam fidem.

Ideo quidam prudenter tacent in ipsis sentenciis instar Cristi, quia apparet illis, quod infidele est multas ventilatas sentencias asserere tamquam fidem.⁵⁶

CAP. VI.¹

15 Sed cum conversantes, quorum opera et gesta sunt eis cognita, non debent ipsa² accipere tamquam neutra, videtur considerandum sollicite, quod iste quatuor^a sunt³ contrarie secte Cristi.⁴ Qui⁵ autem ex gratia habent⁶ in fine dierum suorum resipiscenciam, quod tam ingrate deserunt⁷ sectam Cristi et quod fuerunt involuti 20 tot erroribus, nullus debet temere diffinire.⁸ Sed licet arguere, quod una pars sit magis probabilis⁹ propter maiora pericula pre-

^d Urban VI. and Clement VII.; the Great Schism has taken place
CAP. VI. ^a viz. secte

⁴⁷ ex BCD α om. E ⁴⁸ fid. BCD α consilium (*cr. out*) fid. E ⁴⁹ se tenere BCD α secenere E ⁵⁰ acceptat BCE α acceptet D ⁵¹ sal. in B an ambiguous abbreviation ⁵² nec BCD α om. E ⁵³ prud. BCD α vero prud. E
⁵⁴ illud BCD α istud E ⁵⁵ de eodem CDE α om. B ⁵⁶ Ideo quidam — tamquam fidem BCD α om. E

CAP. VI. ¹ 6^m C cap. sextum B 6 E (*in mar.*) om. D α ² ipsa BCD α ipsam E
³ sunt BCE secte sunt D α ⁴ secte Cristi BCD α Cristo E ⁵ qui BCD α quod E
⁶ ex gr. h. BCD α h. ex gr. E ⁷ deserunt CDE α deseruerunt B ⁸ in E
⁹ probabilis BCD α probabiliter E

cavenda semper tenendo fidem scripture ut¹⁰ basim et veritates condicionatas, quod si tales sic¹¹ vel sic discesserint,¹² tunc sunt salvati in beatitudine¹³ vel dampnati.

Videtur ergo, quod iste quatuor secte et specialiter secta¹⁴ fratribus de dampnacionis periculo¹⁵ sunt suspecte, quia iuxta dicta¹⁶ superius^b non in toto corpore sacre scripture¹⁷ vel topice sunt fundate et tunc erunt¹⁸ fures et latrones, tamquam aborigines in ecclesia condemnande et ille, cui evidet,¹⁹ quod in²⁰ fine ab istis erroribus resipiscunt,²¹ habet evidenciam, quod iste secte et persone earum sunt infallibiliter condemnande et sic nullum aut paucum²² honorem facit²³ hiis sectis vel principibus eorundem, licet multum honorarent²⁴ illos, dum sectas illas novellas desererent et caperent fideliter sectam Cristi. Et genus perfeccionis²⁵ laudabilis,²⁶ latens in istis personis, quas reputamus reprobas, honoramus²⁷ ut naturam humanam et subtilitatem ingenii, laudamus supra bestias in dampnatis.¹⁵

Et sic intelligunt²⁸ quidam illud I Pet. 2:^c omnes honorare, sed equivocum valde est hoc individuum secundum rationem sibi propriam²⁹ honorare³⁰ et genus vel rationem consequentem in ipso absconditam honorare.³¹ Ideo dicunt periti logici, quod non repugnat eandem personam secundum rationem³² unam contempnere et secundum aliam honorare,³³ cum secundum peritos³⁴ philosophos honor

^b cp. above cap. IV p. 175; 174; with ref. to the whole passage
De Fund. Sect. ^c v. 17

¹⁰ ut *BCD* α et *E* ¹¹ sic *BCD* α sit *E* ¹² discesserint *CDE* α decesserunt *B* ¹³ in beat. *BCD* α , *E*² in mar. multitudine (*cr. out & ud.*) *E* ¹⁴ secta *BCD* α secte *E* ¹⁵ peric. *BCE* α om. *D* ¹⁶ dicta *BCD* α scripta *E*² om. *E* ¹⁷ quia iuxta d. s. n. in t. c. s. sc. *BCD* α , *E*² with mark of ref. above the col. om. *E* ¹⁸ erunt *E*, *C*¹ in mar. sunt *D* om. *BC* α ¹⁹ et ille c. e. *BCD* α , *E*² in mar. om. *E* ²⁰ in *BCE* non in *D* α ²¹ resipiscunt *BCD* α resipiscunt *E* ²² n. a. p. *BCD* α p. a. n. *E* ²³ facit *BCD* α , *E*² in mar. faciunt (*cr. out*) *E* ²⁴ honorarent *BCD* α honoraret *E* ²⁵ perfeccionis *BCD* α perfeccionis *E* ²⁶ laudabilis *BCE* α laudantes *D* ²⁷ honoramus *CDE* α honoravimus *B* ²⁸ intelligunt *BC* α intelligit *E* intelligut *D* (*compend. om.*) ²⁹ propriam *BCE* α impropriam *D* ³⁰ honorare *BCD* α honore *E* (*sic*) ³¹ hon. *CDE* α in ipso hon. *B* ³² rationem *BCD* α racioni *E* ³³ in *D* is add. above the col.: Honor quid sit *D*¹ in *E* is add. below the col.: Honorare licet secundum unam rationem et secundum aliam non *E*¹ ³⁴ per. *CDE* α om. *B*

sit premium virtutis et secundum theologos omnis prescitus est contemptibilis³⁵ | secundum quod est proditor dei sui.

C fol. 166^a

Sed dimissis istis aliis³⁶ addenda videtur alia racio, que dat fidem fidelibus, ut despiciant³⁷ istas sectas et specialiter quartam 5 sectam fratrum, que videtur cum fundacione maiori³⁸ et subtiliori³⁹ cautela⁴⁰ dyaboli introducta.^{41d} Nam non licet aliquid legi dei⁴² superaddere vel subtrahere,⁴³ quo inficiat⁴⁴ vel diminuat illam legem. Sed sic faciunt omnes iste secte, et fratrum specialiter, ergo de tanto sunt odibiles legi dei.

10 Ex quo sequitur, si in isto sunt⁴⁵ pertinaces, quod sunt⁴⁶ manifesti heretici.⁴⁷ Omnes enim observant et defendunt suas regulas,⁴⁸ ac si forent lex dei, sed manifestum est, quod ab hac lege deficiunt, cum aliter non forent a superioribus, ut papis, taliter⁴⁹ confirmande.

15 Ideo videtur, quod superaddunt tamquam⁵⁰ sibi⁵¹ equivalens legi dei⁵² nec aliter specialiter observarent suam regulam, sed inifferenter foret a cristiano quolibet observanda. Cui sentencie secte iste contradicunt reciproce, et contradicit⁵³ patule fides Cristi. Unde pro assumpto scribitur Deut. 4:⁵⁴ e non addetis⁵⁵ ad verbum, 20 quod ego⁵⁶ vobis loquor, nec auferetis ex⁵⁷ eo, et idem 12 in fine,^f ubi manifestum est, quod hee secte addunt ad verbum domini tam-

^a With ref. to this passage, cp. above p. 57 l. 17 ff. and Arnold I, 274. ^e v. 2 ^f v. 32

³⁵ contemptibilis BEC^t contemptibilis Da,C, but here ni ud., above it ti by C¹ ³⁶ d. i. a. BCda i. a. d. E ³⁷ despiciant BCEa despiciat D³⁸ maiori CEa maior BD ³⁹ subtiliori CEa subtilior BD ⁴⁰ caut. CDEa et sub (cr. out) caut. B ⁴¹ in E is add. in mar.: Fratrum secta infundabilior E³ ⁴² dei EC¹ communi BDa,C (ud.) ⁴³ in D is add. below the col.: Non licet aliquid legi communi superaddere vel subtrahere D^t ⁴⁴ inficiat E,C (?) imperficiat BDa,C (per ud.) ⁴⁵ sunt CDa sint BE ⁴⁶ sunt BCda sint E⁴⁷ m. h. BCda h. m. E ⁴⁸ in E is add. in mar.: Regule defenduntur scilicet(?)E³ ⁴⁹ taliter CDEa,B^t in mar. om. B ⁵⁰ tamq. in E corr. into the text with a new ink ⁵¹ sibi in a inserted later by the texthand ⁵² in E is add. in mar.: Superaddicio mala E³ ⁵³ contradicit BCEa contradicet D ⁵⁴ 4 Da 6 BCE ⁵⁵ in D is add. in mar.: Addere D² ⁵⁶ ego BCda om. E ⁵⁷ ex BCda ab E

quam fidem,^g nec dubium, quin⁵⁸ a verbis suis auferunt effectualiter observanda,⁵⁹ cum ex fide scripture⁶⁰ sit tota capacitas hominis occupanda. Ipsi autem superaddunt novas regulas, quas diligencius quam fidem ewangelicam se asserunt servaturos⁶¹ et Prov. 30^{62 h} sic scribitur: omnis sermo domini ignitus clipeus est omnibus spe- 5
rantibus in se, nec⁶³ addas quidquam verbis illius, ne arguaris⁶⁴ inveniarisque⁶⁵ mendax.⁶⁶

Quamvis autem glosa consona posset⁶⁷ addi verbis domini⁶⁸ et alie veritates extranee a lege domini possunt dici, tamen blasphemum est asserere quidquam contrarium illis⁶⁹ addi⁷⁰ vel paci- 10
ficari illis in auctoritate aliam extraneam veritatem. Et ad idem vadit Pauli sentencia Gal. 1:ⁱ sed licet nos⁷¹ aut angelus de celo ewangelizet vobis preter quam quod⁷² ewangelizavimus vobis, anathema sit, et sequitur: si quis vobis⁷³ ewangelizaverit preter illud,⁷⁴ quod accepistis, anathema sit, ubi patet, apostolum intendere, quod in- 15
tegram fidem catholicam⁷⁵ illis sicut aliis gentibus predicarunt; in- telligit⁷⁶ eciam per ‘aliud quam ewangelizaverit⁷⁷ illi populo’⁷⁸ contrarium sentencie vel⁷⁹ ab illa extraneum, quam illi populo predicavit.

Et cum patet, quod fratrum regula et regule alie in illis sectis 20

^g viz. their traditions and rules, cp. below p. 183 l. 8 ff.; 182 l. 3
and above cap. IV p. 173 ^h v. 5—6 ⁱ v. 8—9

⁵⁸ quin *BCDα om. E* ⁵⁹ observanda *BCEα* observandi (? e) *D* ⁶⁰ scripture *BCDα, E² in mar.* *om. E* ⁶¹ servaturos *BDEα* servaturas *C* ⁶² 30
BCDα ⁶³ 3 *E* ⁶⁴ nec *E, C¹* (corr. from ne) non *B* ne *CDα* ⁶⁵ ne arguaris *E² in mar.*, *C¹* corr. from et arguaris et arguatis (?) *B* et arguaris *Dα* armiens (? cr. out) *E* et (ud.) arguaris *C* ⁶⁶ inveniarisque *D* invenierisque *Cα* et in-
veniaris *E* invenieris *B* ⁶⁷ me. *CDEα* quod me. *B* ⁶⁸ posset *BCDα* possit *E* ⁶⁹ in *E* is add. above the col.: Gloza consona, veritates non con-
trarie possunt addi legi *E¹* ⁷⁰ illis *CDα* illi *B* (*the end-s has been erased*) illis v (v cr. out) *E* ⁷¹ nos *Dα* *om. BCE* ⁷² quod *BCD, E² in mar.*, in α inserted later by the texthand *om. Eα* ⁷³ vobis *BCDα, E² in mar.* *om. E* ⁷⁴ illud *BCE* id *Dα* ⁷⁵ in *E* is add. in mar.: Integrum fidem docuit (?) docet) apostolus *E³* ⁷⁶ intelligit *E, C¹ in mar.* intendit *BCDα* ⁷⁷ ewangelizaverit *BCDα* ewangelizat *E* ⁷⁸ populo *BCDα, E² in mar.* *om. E* ⁷⁹ vel *BCDα* ut *E*

noviter introduce sunt ad illum⁸⁰ sensum alie, quam ewangelizacio ab apostolo⁸¹ predicata, ymo presumpta⁸² parificari⁸³ ewangelii apostolicis⁸⁴ et sub tanta pena⁸⁵ illis hominibus observanda, videatur, quod sunt contrarie fidei scripture apostoli in hac parte. Et 5 Apoc. ultimo^k fides scripture sic loquitur: si quis apposuerit ad hoc,⁸⁶ apponet deus super illum plagas scriptas⁸⁷ in libro isto, si⁸⁸ quis diminuerit⁸⁹ de verbis libri prophecie huius, auferet deus partem eius de libro vite. Sed creditur⁹⁰ ex facto⁹¹ patente, quod secte iste addunt fabulas mendaces⁹² tamquam propheticas,⁹³ ut 10 Apokalipsim domini observandas.⁹⁴ Sed quis dubitat, quin tune sunt secte iste,⁹⁵ ut hic dicitur, puniende et⁹⁶ pari evidencia, qua sic addunt vel minuunt a parte aliqua⁹⁷ legis domini dei?⁹⁸

Cum ergo regule⁹⁹ sue sunt || tam enormiter addite¹⁰⁰ legi dei || C fol. 165^b
et sue observancie innuunt alia subtrahenda, manifeste videtur,
15 quod sunt effectualiter contrarie legi dei,¹⁰¹ et sic secte iste videntur esse¹⁰² manifeste heretice, cum effectualiter parificant, sed blasphemie, patronorum¹⁰³ suorum regulas regulis salvatoris.

Et idem¹⁰⁴ videtur de presumptis suis eleccionibus, quibus postposito mandato domini preferunt minus bonum.

^k v. 18—19

⁸⁰ ad illum *CDEα, B¹ in mar. om. B* ⁸¹ apostolo *E, C¹* (*above is an o is corr.*) apostolis *BDα, C* (*is ud.*) ⁸² predicata ymo presumpta *BCα* predicanda (*er. out & ud.*) predicata presumpta *D* predicata *Immo* (*the first m ud.*) pre assumpta *E* ⁸³ parificari *BCDα* parificavi *E* ⁸⁴ in *E* is add. below the col.: Parificari ewangelii nulla regula fratrum potest *E¹* ⁸⁵ pena *CDEα, B¹* in *mar.* *om. B* ⁸⁶ ad hoc *CE, B¹ in mar.* ad hec *Da* *om. B* ⁸⁷ scr. *CDα* suas scr. *BE* ⁸⁸ si *BCDα* Et si *E* ⁸⁹ diminuerit *BCEα* diminuet *D* ⁹⁰ creditur *BCDα* credunt *E* ⁹¹ facto *BCDα* seo (*cr. out*) *E* ⁹² fabulas mendaces *BCDα* fabulas et mendacia *E* ⁹³ in *E* is add. above the col.: Addunt secte fabulas, mendacia *E¹* propheticas *CDα* prophealias *BE* ⁹⁴ obs. *BCDα* dicitur (*ud.*) obs. *E* ⁹⁵ iste *E, C¹* (*corr. into the text*) *om. BCDα* ⁹⁶ et *BCDα* vel *E* ⁹⁷ aliqua *E, C¹* (*corr. into the text*) *om. BCDα* ⁹⁸ domini dei *CDα* dei *BE* ⁹⁹ regula *BCDα, E² in mar.* regule (*cr. out*) *E* ¹⁰⁰ addite *BE* abdite *CDα* ¹⁰¹ et sue obs. — contr. legi dei *BCDα* *om. E* ¹⁰² esse *BCDα, E² in mar.* *om. E* ¹⁰³ patronorum *BCDα, E² in mar.* paternorum (*cr. out*) *E*, the writer evidently either did not understand the abbreviation, or read his original carelessly ¹⁰⁴ idem *BCDα* illud *E*

Tales sunt¹⁰⁵ multe evidencie fideles, que¹⁰⁶ racionabiliter despicerent istas sectas.

CAP. VII.¹

Restat videre de precipua excellencia istarum sectarum quatuor, qua extollunt² se immerito super quoscunque cristianos de simplici secta Christi.³

Dicunt enim, quod habent unum patronum prepositum aut patrem,⁴ cui vovent obedienciam et simpliciter⁵ subiciunt suam⁶ voluntatem.⁷ Et in isto gradu⁸ humilitatis⁹ non potest aliquis equiparari de secta simplici cristiana. Et sicut Caiphas ignorans¹⁰ vocem propriam verum dixit, sic iste secte in aliquo verum dicunt. 10 Nam Christus non potuit sic homini obligari nec¹¹ apostolis suis licuit, cum Christus ordinavit contrarium; quomodo possunt¹² aliqui equiparari immerito¹³ stultis ex hoc, quod taliter hominibus obligantur?

Similiter tales prepositi, si¹⁴ quandoque ad tempus¹⁵ sint boni; 15 verum tamen sepe contingit¹⁶ ex innaturali¹⁷ statu gignente superbiam, quod statim postmodum sunt¹⁸ perversi, vel si unus per totam suam¹⁹ periodum sit humilitate et pacientia²⁰ decoratus, communiter succedit alius,²¹ qui est dyabolus incarnatus. Que ergo²² prudencia est tali dyabolo²³ obligari? Videtur, quod nulla nisi incurrendo 20

¹⁰⁵ sunt *BCDα* aut *E* ¹⁰⁶ que *BCE* qua *Dα*

CAP. VII. ¹ cam 7um *C,E* (? auc num) Septimum *B* om. *Da* ² extollunt *CDEα* excellunt (*corr. from extollunt*) *B* ³ Cristi *BCDα* Iesu Christi *E* ⁴ patronum prep. aut patrem *BCDα* prepositum patrem aut patronum *E* ⁵ simpliciter *BCDα,E² in mar.* om. *E* ⁶ subi. suam *BCDα* suam subi. *E* ⁷ in *E* is add. below the col.: Obligacio patrono errabili non bona *E¹* ⁸ gradu *CDEα* genere *B* ⁹ humilitatis *BCDα,E² in mar.* om. *E* ¹⁰ ignorans *BCEα* ignarius *D* ¹¹ nec *BCDEα* nam *C¹* (*corr. above nec*) ¹² po. *BCDα* ergo po. *E* ¹³ in merito *BCDα* in mente *E* ¹⁴ si *BCDα* et si *E* ¹⁵ tempus *BCDα,E² in mar.* te (*cr. out*) *E* ¹⁶ contingit *CD* contigit *BEα* ¹⁷ in naturali *CDEα* naturali *B*, but in is add. at the head ¹⁸ sunt *CE* sint *BDα* ¹⁹ totam suam *BCDα* totum suum *E* ²⁰ pacientia *CDα* prudencia *EB* ²¹ in *E* the end-s of alias is add. by *E²* ²² ergo in *E* is add. in mar. after est which is cr. out ²³ dyabolo *BDEα* dyaboli *C*

malediccionem, quam Ieremias prophetat 17²⁴ cap.:^a maledictus vir, qui confidit²⁵ in homine et ponit carnem brachium suum, ut a deo recedat cor eius. — Similiter peccatum notabile est perdere libertatem,²⁶ quam Cristus concesserat, et irrationabiliter hominibus 5 obligari,²⁷ cum hoc excedit alias servitudes,²⁸ sed hoc contingit²⁹ in obligacione ista per dyabolum introducta, igitur.³⁰ est periculosa et stulta. Nam integra obligacio Christo³¹ foret securior, melior et in sua sinceritate³² sufficiencior. Securior quidem, quia, cum ille patronus non potest obligato suo deficere, cum necessaria sit ubique, 10 nec in mandato³³ potest peccare, videtur stulticia sic³⁴ ipsum³⁵ deserere vel saltem obligacionem inducere,³⁶ que tam faciliter diminueret legem suam. Faciliter potest quidem contingere, quod Christus unum³⁷ precipiat et ipse mandet contrarium, ut contingit de papa, episcopo et abate et quoconque minori preposito.

15 Ex eodem patet obligacionis illius³⁸ stulticia,³⁹ cum obligatus deserit tantum bonum et tam gratis et infructuose elegit⁴⁰ tantum malum. Et⁴¹ quoad sufficienciam patet ex obediencia apostolica et Christi sufficiencia, quomodo obligacio sincere⁴² facta Christo sit undiquaque⁴³ sufficiencior, cum omne opus meritorium sub illa obligacione potest fieri. Et contingit faciliter obedienciarios sub obligacione alia condempnari.

Pro declaracione autem assumptorum in ista materia suppono,

CAP. VII. ^a v. 5

²⁴ 17^o BE,C^t (*the 1 inserted above 2*), α^t 27^o CDα ²⁵ confidit CDEα in confidit B ²⁶ in D is add. below the col.: Peccatum similiter notabile perdere libertatem quam Christus concesserat D^t ²⁷ in E is add. above the col.: Stultum est obligari patrono E^t ²⁸ serv. BCDA virtutes (*ud.*) serv. E ²⁹ contingit CDα contigit BE ³⁰ igitur BCDA ergo E ³¹ Christo BCDA deo E ³² sinc. su. BCDA sufficiencia (*ud.*) sinc. su. E in E is add. above the col.: Obligacio facta deo securior melior sufficiencior E^t in D: Obligacio Christo foret securior melior D^t ³³ mandato CDEα mandata B ³⁴ sic BCDA, E² in mar. om. E ³⁵ s. i. BCDA i. s. E ³⁶ inducere E,C^t in mar. om. BCDA in E is add. below the col.: Stultum est obligari patrono E^t, cp. above n. 27 ³⁷ unum in B repeated ³⁸ illius BCDA istius E ³⁹ in E is add. in mar.: Stulticia obligacionis E³ ⁴⁰ elegit BCDE eligit α ⁴¹ Et CDEα Ex B ⁴² sincere BCDA, E (*cr. out*) singulare E² in mar. ⁴³ undiquaque CDα undique E umquam B

quod quilibet talis prepositus prescitus sit unus dyabolus,⁴⁴ sicut Cristus dicit de Scarioth Ioh. 6,^b et apud Cristum non potest esse accepecio personarum. Similiter I Reg. 25^c de Nabal⁴⁵ Carmelo legitur,⁴⁶ quod erat vir durus et pessimus et maliciosus et consequenter,⁴⁷ quod erat filius⁴⁸ Belial, et⁴⁹ III Reg. 21^d legitur, quo-
C fol. 167^a modo duo viri, filii Belial, adducti sunt || in falsum testimonium contra Naboth, et Act. 13^e Paulus vocat Bar Iehu⁵⁰ magum, plenum omni dolo et omni fallacia, filium dyaboli et inimicum omnis iusticie.

Et tales sunt hodie multi⁵¹ prepositi, quibus religiosi novi privati 10 gracia⁵² obligantur. Si ergo Belial interpretatur apostata,⁵³ patet, quod multi tales prepositi Belial sunt apostate, quoad ordinem domini Iesu⁵⁴ Cristi. Nam papa potest precipere filiis suis fideles fratres suos occidere sine causa, et ad⁵⁵ istud fingere⁵⁶ blasphemum mendacium de indulgenciis Iesu Cristi. Et abbas vel prior privatus 15 potest contra Cristi regulam obligare suum subditum,⁵⁷ ut emat symoniace ecclesiam vel temporalem redditum. Et sic de impedimentis plurimis⁵⁸ sequele⁵⁹ domini Iesu Cristi.

Ideo dicunt quidam, quod nimis infidele est obligari tali dyabolo, cum idem sit istud et verbum sancti spiritus deserere, dictum 20 Psal. 30:^{60f} in manus tuas, domine, commendo spiritum meum, redemisti me, domine deus veritatis, et implicando dicere: in manus tuas, princeps huius seculi, commendo spiritum meum, seduxisti me, pater mendacii et origo magne falsitatis.

^b v. 70 ^c I Sam. 25, 3 ^d I Kön. 21, 13 ^e v. 10 ^f Ps. 31, 6

⁴⁴ in E is add. below the col.: Prepositus prescitus est dyabolus belial etc.
 E¹ in D is add. below the col.: Prepositus prescitus est dyabolus D¹ ⁴⁵ nabal
 CD^a nabel BE ⁴⁶ legitur in E in mar. by the texthand ⁴⁷ consequenter CDE^a
 per consequens B, but per is erased, and traces of erasure are still to be seen in
 ens ⁴⁸ erat fil. BCD^a fil. fuit E ⁴⁹ et BCD^a om. E ⁵⁰ in a reads
 barien (not barieu) ⁵¹ h. m. BCD^a m. h. E,C¹ here transposed by marks
⁵² gracia BCD^a,E² in mar. ga (cr. out & ud.) E ⁵³ in E is add. in mar.:
 Belial apostata E³ ⁵⁴ Iesu CD^a nostri Iesu BE ⁵⁵ ad BCE^a om. D
⁵⁶ fingere BCD^a fingi E ⁵⁷ in E is add. with mark of ref. above the col.:
 Obligacio preposito claustral reprehenditur E¹ ⁵⁸ plurimis CDE^a pluribus B
⁵⁹ sequele BCE^a sequele D ⁶⁰ 30^o CD 3^o EB^a

Ideo rogant quidam fideles a tali⁶¹ obligacione et obediencia per deum⁶² liberari.

Ideo dicunt quidam, quod tales religiones⁶³ private habent⁶⁴ proprium,⁶⁵ religionem Cristi tollere⁶⁶ sive minuere, et religionem⁵ anticeristi cum suis proprietatibus dilatare,⁶⁷ sed Iac. 1^g dicitur: huius vana est religio. Et sicut⁶⁸ dicit apostolus,^h tales prepositi sunt pleni communiter⁶⁹ omni dolo nec excusantur, qui⁷⁰ adorant falsos deos, cum sic deserendo legem Cristi implicant se tradicionibus⁷¹ anticeristi.

CAP. VIII.¹

10 Superest² videre de mendicacione, quam introduxerat novissima secta fratrum. Et ne laboremus in equivocis,^a suppono, quod non loquamur de mendicacione facta deo specialiter, modo, quo Augustinus declarat,^b quod omnis viator est mendicus dei,^c dum necessitatur dicere: panem nostrum cottidianum da nobis hodie; nec de^d
15 mendicacione innuitiva, facta^e homini pro se vel alio, modo, quo

^g v. 26 ^h cp. Act. 13, 10

CAP. VIII. ^a cp. the same idea Trial. 341 ^b cp. Augustini Opp. (Ed. of the Benedict.) Tom. V, Serm. LXXXIII de verb. Matth 18, p. 448 D:Petit te mendicus, et tu es Dei mendicus. Omnes enim, quando oramus, mendici Dei sumus; cp. ibid. Sermo LIII p. 312 D: Mendicum hominem audis, mendicus ipse Dei es; ibid. Sermo LIV p. 326: Quando dicis: panem nostr. quot. da nob. hoc. profiteris te mendicum Dei; also ibid. Serm. LXI p. 353, C and Serm. CXXIII p. 602, G: Quantumvis habeas, quicunque dives es, Dei mendicus es. See also Trial. 341

⁶¹ a tali BCDA, E² in mar. om. E ⁶² per deum CE, B¹ in mar. per dominum Da om. B ⁶³ relig. in B add. by B¹ below obligaciones (cr. out)
⁶⁴ habent BCDA, E² in mar. faciunt (cr. out) E ⁶⁵ proprium BCDA proprium E
⁶⁶ tollere CDEa colere B ⁶⁷ dilatare CDEa dilacerare B ⁶⁸ sicut BCDA
sic E ⁶⁹ pl. co. CDa co. pl. BE ⁷⁰ qui BCDA quando E ⁷¹ trad. BCDA
sic trad. E

CAP. VIII. ¹ Cam. 8 C Octavum capitulum B 8 in mar. E om. Da ² in
a is written Supe (upe cr. out) uperest ³ in E is add. in mar.: Mendicus omnis
viator E³ in D in mar.: De mendicacione D² ⁴ de CDa loquamur de E est
de B ⁵ mend. innui. fac. BCDA mend. insinuativa vel mendicacione innuitiva
facta E in E is add. above the col.: Mendicatio insinuativa (innuitiva, inimi-

quidam dicunt, alios insinuare suas egencias implicite vel egencias⁶ aliorum, sicut beata Maria insinuavit suo filio egenciam convivarum Ioh. 2.^c dum⁷ dixit: vinum non habent. Et mendicacione innuitiva⁸ dicitur Cristum mendicassse sepe ab homine, dum in facto dixit suam egenciam populo ad ipsum elemosinarie⁹ relevandum.^d

5

Et isto modo dicunt quidam Cristum vocatum fuisse mendicum sepe in psalmis¹⁰ non solum in suis membris, sed etiam¹¹ in persona propria, cum pro nobis egenus factus est, ut dicit¹² apostolus II Cor. 8.^e et de sanctis mulieribus ac aliis accepit elemosinas, ut dicitur Luc. 8.^f

10

Sed loquamur specialiter¹³ de mendicacione declamativa,^{14 g} facta homini pro se ipso.¹⁵ Et ipsa dicitur directa vocalis peticio facta homini pro¹⁶ subsidio temporali ad suam vocatam egenciam relevandum, modo, quo fratres mendicant ab hominibus ostiatim;¹⁷ et suppono ex dictis alibi,^h quod fratres non possunt¹⁸ fundare ex ewangelio, quod Cristus taliter mendicavit, cum fuit dominus universorum,¹⁸ non habens rationem, unde taliter mendicaret.

Dicitur autem fratrem quandam publice in congregacione Oxo-
|| C fol. 167b niensi¹⁹ taliter arguisse: Cristus || cepit omnes infirmitates hu-
manas, sed sic mendicare est quedam²⁰ infirmitas, ergo Cristus²⁰
taliter mendicavit. — Sed in ista ratione frater innuit, quod sunt

^c v. 3 ^d cp. the very same ideas Trial. 341 ^e v. 9 ^f v. 3

^g cp. the same division Trial. 341 ^h for instance in Trial. 345 ff.;
cp. also above De Fund. Sect. p. 45 and below De quatt. Sect.
nov. p. 252

tiva?) non reprehenditur E¹ ⁶ impl. vel eg. BCD α , E² in mar. om. E
7 dum BCD α , E² in mar. om. E ⁸ innuitiva CD α B in inimitiva E, cp. above
n. 5 and the gloss of E¹ ⁹ elemosinarie BCD α elemosinare E ¹⁰ psalmis
BCE α primis D ¹¹ etiam BCD α om. E ¹² dicit BCD α , E² in mar. om. E
¹³ spec. CD α et spec. BE ¹⁴ in E is add. below the col.: Mendicacio
declamativa infundabilis E¹ ¹⁵ ipso CE α ipsa B om. D ¹⁶ se ipso et i. d.
d. v. p. f. h. pro BCE α om. D ¹⁷ hostiatim E, C¹ α ² (corr. above obstinati) ob-
securati B obstinati CD α ¹⁸ un. in E a corr. word ¹⁹ Oxoniense (Oxon)
BC α Uxolem(?)E Monac(?)D E and D could not read, I believe, their ori-
ginal, hence their wrong readings ²⁰ quedam C quedam humana E om. BD α

universalia²¹ ex parte rei, cum Cristus multas febres individuatas ex improporcione humanorum et diserasia²² corporalis regiminis non suscepit²³ sicut²⁴ nec fracturam²⁵ ossium ex insolencia collisorum, cum²⁶ Ioh. 19ⁱ allegat ewangelista, quod ministri phariseorum 5 non fregerunt²⁷ Cristi crura, cum Exod. 12^{28k} scribitur: os non comminuetis²⁹ ex³⁰ eo. — Cristus ergo multas infirmitates individuas hominum³¹ non suscepit, sed quando frater mendicat, quod suscepit³² omnes infirmitates humanas,³³ forte intelligit, quod suscepit³⁴ in genere omnes infirmitates, que in³⁵ humano genere sunt 10 sanande,³⁶ modo, quo Cristus precipit³⁷ Marc.³⁸ ultimo:^l predicate ewangelium omni creature, hoc est,³⁹ sine personarum acceptione, Iudeis et Gentibus,⁴⁰ qui cum corpus sunt et⁴¹ spiritus, sunt generaliter ‘omnis creatura’.⁴² — Et sic forte frater innuit, quod Cristus suscepit omnia genera infirmitatis hominum, quia tam spiritualia quam 15 corporalia genera eorundem.⁴³

Sed mussitaret fidelis posterius,⁴⁴ utrum mendicacio, de qua loquitur, sit spiritualis infirmitas vel infirmitas corporalis. Non quidem⁴⁵ spiritualis infirmitas,⁴⁶ quia cum sit causa⁴⁷ caritativa, ut false asserit, non potest esse spiritualis infirmitas,⁴⁸ que est culpa, 20 nec potest esse spiritualis infirmitas, que est dolor, cum fratres sunt gaudentes et volentes, sic mendicare a pauperibus et egenis

ⁱ v. 33 ^k v. 46 ⁱ v. 15

²¹ frater in. q. s. univ. *BCDα* frater (*cr. out*) innuit quot (quot *er. out, above it quod*) sunt (*this in mar. with mark of ref.*) univers. *E* ²² diserasia *BCDE* diserasia *α* ²³ suscepit *BCDα* suscepit *E* ²⁴ sicut *BCEα* sed *D* ²⁵ fract. *in α a corr. word* ²⁶ cum *BCDα* ut *E* ²⁷ *in E* fegerunt ²⁸ 12 *BCDα* de eo *E* ²⁹ comminuetis *BCDα* convivitis (? vinetis) *E* ³⁰ ex *BCDα* de *E* ³¹ hominum in *B* in *mar.* (*B^t?*) ³² sed quando f. m. q. susc. *BCDα, E² with mark of ref. above the col.* om. *E* ³³ humanas *CDEα, B^t in mar.* om. *B.* ³⁴ suscepit *BCEα* suscepit *D* ³⁵ in *BCDα* non (*cr. out & ud.*) in *E* ³⁶ sanande *B, E (a corr. word)* salvande *CDα* ³⁷ precipit *BCDα* praecepit (?) *E* ³⁸ Mr *CDα* Mat *BE* ³⁹ est *BCDα, E² in mar.* om. *E* ⁴⁰ gentibus *Dα, C^t* corr. from gentilibus gentilibus *BCE* ⁴¹ et *BDEα* corpus et *C* ⁴² creatura *BCα* creature *DE* ⁴³ eorundem *BCDα* earundem *E* ⁴⁴ post. *BCDα* cristianus (*cr. out and ud.*) post. *E* ⁴⁵ quidem *CDα, B^t (cp. n. 46)* om. *EB* ⁴⁶ vel infirm. corp. n. q. sp. infir. *CDEα, B^t with mark of ref. below the col.* om. *B* ⁴⁷ causa *Dα* om. *E* tam *BC* ⁴⁸ quia cum s. c. c. ut f. a. n. p. e. sp. infirm. *BCDα* om. *E*

unitim. Ideo sua mendicacio non est dolor⁴⁹ propter inconveniencia alia que secuntur. Nec⁵⁰ est ista⁵¹ fratrum mendicacio infirmitas corporalis,⁵² cum sunt tam⁵³ multi fratres sani et validi mendicantes.

Ideo videtur multis, quod ista fratrum mendicacio non sit infirmitas nisi forte ad hunc sensum, quod est defectus, quo presument sine causa laudabili sic pauperes spoliare. Fratri ergo est necessarium fundare hoc assumptum principium et declarare fundamentaliter sensum suum.

CAP. IX.¹

Sed superest per raciones² vivaces fundare, quod mendicacio¹⁰ non³ sit fundabilis⁴ in racionibus vel scriptura.⁵

In scriptura quidem non, quia Deut. 15^{6 a} scribitur: omnino⁷ indigens et mendicus non erit inter vos. Cum ergo in deo non sunt est et non, patet, quod deus non precipit⁸ sic voluntarie mendicare. Et eadem consideracio est de Cristo. Si enim mendicacio¹⁵ sua, cum ipse sit deus et homo, fuerit fundabilis⁹ in scriptura, spiritus sanctus, cum non potest esse negligens, ipsam ostenderet suis fidelibus regulandis.¹⁰ Cum ergo nusquam ipsam¹¹ ostendit in approbacione hominum vel scriptis,¹² videtur, quod spiritus sanctus ipsam non approbat tamquam regulam, partem sue ecclesie defen-²⁰ dentem.

CAP. IX. ^a v. 4

⁴⁹ cum fratres sunt — est dolor *E om. BCDα* ⁵⁰ nec *BCEα* arguitur sic *D* ⁵¹ ista *BCDα om. E* ⁵² in *E* is in mar. above the col.: Mendicacio fratrum si infirmitas sit, que autem *E¹* ⁵³ tam *BCDα, E² in mar. om. E*

CAP. IX. ¹ Cap. nonum *B 9 E* (here in mar. repeated in red ink) *Cam 9m C III D¹* (in mar.), cp. above cap. *V n. 1 om. α* ² per raciones *CDEα* patronos *B* ³ non *BCDα* ista non *E* ⁴ fundabilis *BE* fundamentalis *CDα* ⁵ in *E* is add. with mark of ref. below the col.: Mendicacio clamorosa fratrum redarguitur *E¹* ⁶ 15 *E 3 BCDα* ⁷ omnino *CDα* omnis *BE* ⁸ precipit *BCDα* precepit *E* ⁹ fundabilis *BCα* fundamentalis *D* dampnabilis *E* ¹⁰ regulandis *CDEα* regulando *B* ¹¹ ipsam *BCDα* illam *E* ¹² vel scriptis *Cα* vel in scriptis *B* vel in scripturis *ED* (?)

Similiter Cristus, quidquid¹³ fecit, fecit summe indefectibiliter¹⁴ et secundum nullam rationem hominis¹⁵ corrigendum. Sed talis Cristi mendicacio¹⁶ non potest racioni isti¹⁷ competere, ergo non est securum, sine magna evidencia ponere Cristum in persona propria¹⁸ taliter mendicare. Si enim Cristus sine voce tali clamosa¹⁹ movisset²⁰ homines ad elemosinas suas liberius conferendum, fuisse utrobique magis congruum²¹ ac meritorium, sed hoc potuit Cristus fecisse summe faciliter, ergo inconsonum est, sine magna evidencia ponere Cristum in persona propria pro²² se ipso taliter²³ mendicare.^b Nam conferens elemosinam sine tali clamore egencie plus confert voluntarie,²⁴ quia ex magis libera voluntate,²⁵ et hinc mendicacio pauperis ewangelici, de quo Luc. 18,²⁶^c avaricie et culpe populi est adscripta. Debuerunt enim ceci egenciam prevenisse, et hinc apostolus in epist. ad Philem.^d edocet, quod elemosinaria libertas, quam retribueret²⁷ Onesimo,²⁸ sit voluntaria, ut ea racione sit meritoria magis,²⁹ qualiter³⁰ ergo non moveret³¹ Cristus suos mundo divites sibi³² elemosinas taliter elargiri, et hinc Prov. 30³³ rogit sapiens,³⁴ spiritu sancto motus: mendicitatem et divicias ne dederis michi, tribue tantum victui meo necessaria, ne forte sacia-

C fol. 165a

^b As to this, cp. Trial. 342 ^c v. 35 ff. ^d v. 14: sine concilio autem tuo nihil volui facere, uti ne velut ex necessitate bonum tuum esset sed voluntarium ^e v. 8—9

¹³ quidquid *BCDα* quodquod *E* ¹⁴ in *D* is add. below the col.: Argumentum optimum *D*¹ ¹⁵ in *E* is written hoomnisminis (omnis cr. out and ud.) ¹⁶ mendicacio *BCDα* mendicacione *E* ¹⁷ isti in *a* inserted later above the line by the texthand ¹⁸ in persona propria *E,B¹* in mar. om. *BCDα* ¹⁹ clamosa *BCα* clamorosa *D,E²* in mar. elemosina (cr. out) *E* ²⁰ movisset *BDEα* novisset *C* ²¹ congruum *BCDα,E²* in mar. cognitum (cr. out) *E* ²² pro *BCα* ut pro *D* per *E* ²³ taliter *BCEα* totaliter *D* ²⁴ voluntarie *BCDα* ultimarie *E* ²⁵ in *E* is add. above the col.: Elemosina foret libera, sed fratres extorquent *E⁴* above this without any mark of ref: Apostolus noluit mendicare sed laborare ne sit onerosus *E¹* ²⁶ 18 *BCDE* 18 (cr. out) *α*, in mar. is add. 6 *α²* ²⁷ retribueret *BCα* retribuere *ED* ²⁸ onerosimo *BE* onosime (? onosimie) *D* onosime *α* in *C* a blank space ²⁹ mer. mag. *CDα* mag. me. *E* meritoria *B*, but in mar. magis *B¹* ³⁰ qualiter *BCDα* quam (cr. out) quare *E* ³¹ moveret *BCDα* movet *E* ³² sibi *BCDE* om. *α*, but add. in mar. later by the texthand ³³ 30 *BCDα,E²* in mar. tertio (cr. out) *E* ³⁴ in *E* is add. in mar.: Salomon *E⁴*

tus illiciar³⁵ ad negandum³⁶ et dicam: quis est deus,³⁷ et egestate compulsus furer et periurem³⁸ nomen domini mei.³⁹ Et non dubium, quin ista sentencia⁴⁰ tam racionabilis⁴¹ foret valde competens Iesu nostro. Imponere ergo sibi mendicacionem⁴² contrariam sine forti⁴³ evidencia foret blasphemia nimis gravis.

5

Similiter blasphemum est Christo tribuere oneracionem sue ecclesie per sectas superfluas, noviter introductas. Sed hoc continget, si Christus necessitaret⁴⁴ has sectas fratrum ad taliter mendicandum. Ergo hoc non est deo catholice tribuendum.⁴⁵ Christus enim docuit tam in se ipso quam Paulo,⁴⁶ quod noluit spirituales prepositos esse ecclesie⁴⁷ onerosos;⁴⁸ ratione quidem huius fecit duo miraculosa convivia, de quibus patet Marc. 6^f et 8.^g Ex hoc eciam⁴⁹ movit⁵⁰ apostolum⁵¹ pro sua egencia et suorum sociorum manibus propriis laborare, ut patet Act. 20;^{52^h} unde apostolus II Cor. 11ⁱ ita scribit:⁵³ alias ecclesias exspoliavi,⁵⁴ accipiens stipendium ve-15 strum. Et cum essem apud vos et egerem, nulli onerosus fui.⁵⁵ Nam quod michi deerat, supplererunt fratres, qui venerunt⁵⁶ de⁵⁷ Macedonia, et in omnibus sine onere me vobis servavi et servabo.

Numquid credimus, fratres gravare istam regulam apostolicam,⁵⁸ cum multis videtur, plus⁵⁹ quam 40⁶⁰ milia librarum⁶¹ acci-20

^f v. 32 ff. ^g v. 1 ff. ^h v. 33—34 ⁱ v. 8—9

³⁵ illiciar *Bα* eliciar *CD, E² in mar.* *eiciatur (er. out)* *E* ³⁶ negandum *BCDα* rogandum *E* ³⁷ deus *BCDα* dominus *E* ³⁸ periurem *BDα* periurer *EC* ³⁹ domini *BCDα* dei *E* ⁴⁰ ista sentencia *BCDα* istam sentenciam (*here the m is cr. out*) *E* ⁴¹ racionabilis *BCEα* rationalis *D* ⁴² mendicacionem *BCEα* mendicitatem *D* ⁴³ forti *BCEα* forte *D* ⁴⁴ necessitaret *BCDα* necessita-retrum *E* ⁴⁵ tribuendum *BCDα* tribuere (?) deum *E* ⁴⁶ Pa. *CDEα* in Pa. *B* ⁴⁷ ecclesie *BCDα* om. *E* ⁴⁸ in *D* is add. in *mar.*: Cristus noluit prepositos spirituales esse ecclesie onerosos *D¹* ⁴⁹ eciam *BCDα* autem *E* ⁵⁰ movit *BCDα* venit *E* ⁵¹ apostolum *BCDα* paulum *E* ⁵² 20 *BCDα* 2^o *E* ⁵³ scribit *BCEα* scribitur *D* ⁵⁴ in *E* an *n* (?) non in *mar.*, which possibly refers to this place ⁵⁵ to this passage, very probably, the gloss is to be referred which stands above col. 31^c, ep. n. 25 ⁵⁶ venerunt *CEα* venerant *B* fuerunt *D* ⁵⁷ de *C* a *BDEα* ⁵⁸ fratres gr. ist. re. ap. *CDα* fr. ist. gr. re. ap. *B* fr. servare et gloriam istam acceperunt (perunt *ud.*) apostolicam *E* ⁵⁹ plus *BCDα* quod plus *E* ⁶⁰ 40 *BCDα* 4 *E*, but *E²* has added a 0 ⁶¹ librarum *BCEα* librorum *D*

piunt⁶² de Anglia annuatim,^k supposito, quod sunt⁶³ in Anglia correspondenter⁶⁴ istis quatuor ordinibus plures quam quatuor milia mendicantium,^l et quod quelibet persona eorum, una iuvante⁶⁵ reliquam,⁶⁶ expendit⁶⁷ de bonis regni in propria persona⁶⁸ centum solidos^m et 5 in expensis extraordinariis, ut sumptuosis edificiis et aliis lauticiis⁶⁹ ac expensis superfluis, expendant⁷⁰ iterum⁷¹ tantum de bonis ecclesie, quibus collectis constat bene calculantibus, quomodo fratres capiunt de bonis Anglie ultra quadraginta⁷² milia librarum pecunie annuatim.⁷³ⁿ

10 Et cum debent⁷⁴ gratis tribuere bona spiritualia,⁷⁵ que secularibus rependerent,⁷⁶ videtur, quod non in hoc imitantur Cristum aut suos apostolos, sed sunt pocius anticeristi, cum apostolus I Timoth. 6° dat regulam episcopis sui temporis: habentes, inquit, alimenta et quibus tegamur, hiis contenti simus.⁷⁷ — Nec 15 dubium quin secte fratrum non obstante tam⁷⁸ sumptuosa et monstruosa⁷⁹ mendicacione fuerunt subdole introduce, quia assistente fideli ministerio aliorum sacerdotum⁸⁰ longe melius serviretur ecclesie,⁸¹ quam modo cum tot || mixtis fraudibus ministratur. Tunc C fol. 165b

20 litere fraternitatum^p nec fratrum usurpata⁸² solaria,⁸³ ut⁸⁴ nunc regnant.

^k according to Trial. 369 60,000 Marks ^l cp. the same number Trial. 369 ^m cp. ibid. 369. ⁿ W. has, perhaps, in mind the 60,000 M. of the Trial. 369. With reference to the passage above, cp. p. 98 l. 14 ff. and 103 n. e and n ^o v. 8 ^p cp. Trial. 349: non dant tales literas

⁶² accipiunt BCD α acceperunt E ⁶³ sunt BCD α sint E ⁶⁴ correspondenter BCD α correspondenter (ter cr. out) E, but ter added in margin ⁶⁵ iuvante BCE α iuvare D ⁶⁶ reliquam E reliqua BCD α ⁶⁷ expendit CD α expendat BE ⁶⁸ pr. pe. CD α pe. pr. BE ⁶⁹ lauticiis BCD α lauaciis E ⁷⁰ expendant BC α expendat DE ⁷¹ iterum BCD α circa E ⁷² 40ta CE, added above 4 by α^2 IIIOr B quatuor D 4 α ⁷³ in E is added above the col. (32^a): Monachi quantum consumunt per annum E¹ ⁷⁴ deb. BCDE g debent α (sic) ⁷⁵ spirit. BCDE temporalia (cr. out) spirit. α ⁷⁶ rependerent BCD α rependerunt E ⁷⁷ simus α sumus BCDE ⁷⁸ tam CDE α causa B ⁷⁹ et monstruosa E om. BCD α ⁸⁰ fid. m. aliorum sac. CD α fi. mi. sac. B min. fid. al. sacramentum (?) E ⁸¹ ecclesie BCD α om. E ⁸² usurpata BCD α usurpare E ⁸³ solaria BCDE salario α ⁸⁴ ut half erased in B

Ymo cum singulis⁸⁵ sint omnia bona communia, ut elicitor⁸⁶ debere esse⁸⁷ ex Act. 4 cap.,⁸⁸ q patet, quomodo fratres magis dites sepe spoliant multa temporalia a plus⁸⁹ pauperibus et egenis. Nec dubium, quin prudenciores et potenciores regni⁹⁰ debent spoliacionibus istis resistere et anticristum⁹¹ in hoc suis famulis ypo- 5 critis⁹² impidire.⁹³

Multas tales evidencias audivi multiplicatas a fidelibus, que monerent partem domini ad resistendum in hoc viriliter anticristo.⁹⁴

CAP. X.¹

Non solum autem perturbat² ecclesiam ista irregularis mendacio fratrum per minacias³ collecta in cumulum monstruosum, sed 10

nisi sub spe et intentione probabili, quod ex eis lucrum temporalium et confoederationem illicitam reportabunt . . . Nec dubium quin implicite sit in isto fraudulenta emptio et venditio, nec dubium quin tale hypocritarum commercium Deus odit etc.; vgl. ibidem 367: tertius abusus est in blasphemia literarum fraternitatis, in quibus innuunt se velle implicare proximos confoederari tamquam fratres suos et filias diaboli cum patrono sui ordinis, qui videtur esse princeps seculi et seductor pessimus antichristus. These Letters of Fraternity were sold to the benefactors of the Convents, and entitled those who bought them to spiritual advantages guaranteed by the prayers of the Friars, or by the privileges of the monasteries. They were frequently made the subject of popular satire, cp. Wright, Polit. Poems II, 21:

*Why aske ye no letters of bretherheads
of other mens praiers,
as ye desire that other men
should aske letters of you?*

^q v. 32; 34—35

⁸⁵ singulis *BCDa* similis *E* ⁸⁶ elicitor *BCDa* eliciti *E* ⁸⁷ esse *BCDa* om. *E* ⁸⁸ cap. *BCDa* quomodo (*ud.*) cap. *E* ⁸⁹ plus *BCDa* om. *E* ⁹⁰ regni *BCDa*, *E*² in mar. et egeni (*cr. out*) *E* ⁹¹ anticristum *BCDa* auxilium *E* ⁹² ypcritis *BCa* ypcriticis *DE* ⁹³ impidire *BCEa* impendere *D* ⁹⁴ ad res. in h. v. ant. *BCDa* om. *E*

CAP. X. ¹ cap. decimum *B* 10 in mar. *E* IIII in mar. *D*², cp. cap. *V* n. 1, cap. *IX* n. 1 om. *CDa* ² Non so. au. pert. *CDa* non au. pert. *B* non sol. ad resistendum in hoc autem viriliter anticristo pert. *E* ³ minacias *BCEa* inimiciencias *D*

mendicacio trium parcium^a cleri dotati collecta⁴ in castra caynitica⁵ per ypocrism secundum particulas ampliores.

Non enim differt⁶ genus mendicacionis huiusmodi⁷ nisi secundum magis⁸ et minus,⁹ ut posito, quod religiosus privati ordinis⁵ accipiat a domino seculari vel per procuracionem¹⁰ ypocrisis vel ex stulticia offerentis magna predia vel mundana¹¹ dominia.

Non dubium, quin ista sit mendicacio detestanda, quia dicit fingendo¹² suum defectum contrarie legi dei. Et sic est multis¹³ verisimile, quod papa acceptando¹⁴ dominium tantum a cesare¹⁰ culpabiliter mendicavit.

Nec sunt tales secte dotate omnino¹⁵ immunes ab heresi, antequam restitucione facta secundum legem domini ab ista¹⁶ mentis macula sint purgate, et sic vere¹⁷ sencidunt, quod¹⁸ fratres, clerus cesareus, monachi et canonici non differunt a mendicis aliis nisi in 15 hoc, quod alii mendicant partes grossas magis sensibiles,¹⁹ fratres autem²⁰ mendicant minucias secundum sollicitudinem plus attentam.²¹ Sed qui excusant has partes²² alterutras, ipsas decipiunt eo, quod non fundatur in lege domini talis mendicacio vel possessio in clero, qui²³ debet ad tempus breve recipere elemosinas hominum 20 moderate.

Et eadem est consideracio de appropriacionibus²⁴ ecclesiarum,²⁵

CAP. X. a viz. of the clerus cesareus, the monachi, and of the canonici

⁴ in cumulum m. s. m. t. p. c. d. collecta *BCDα om. E* ⁵ caynitica *BDE*, *C^tα² corr. from caymitica Cα* ⁶ differt *BCDα* differunt *E* ⁷ huiusmodi *CEα* huius *BD* ⁸ magis *BCDα* maius *E* ⁹ in *E* is add. above the col.: Mendicant omnes secte quatuor quomodo *E¹* ¹⁰ per procuracionem *BCDα* procuracioni *E* ¹¹ mund. *BDEα* humana (cr. out) mund. *C* ¹² fingendo *BCDα*, *E²* in mar. fugiendo (cr. out & ud.) *E* ¹³ mu. *BCDα* de mu. *E* ¹⁴ acceptando *BCα* accipiendo *E* acceptanda *D* ¹⁵ omnino *BCDα om. E* ¹⁶ ab ista *BCDα*, *E²* in mar. ob ceca (cr. out) *E* ¹⁷ vere *BCDα* ut vere *E* ¹⁸ quod *BCDα om. E* ¹⁹ clerus ces. m. et c. n. d. a. m. a. n. in h. q. a. m. p. gr. m. s. *CE,α² with mark of ref. below the col.* *om. BDα* ²⁰ autem α aut *BD* enim *CE* ²¹ attentam *BCα, E²* in mar. attenta est *D* contentam (cr. out.) *E* ²² partes *BCE* personas *Dα* ²³ qui *BCDα om. E* ²⁴ appropriacionibus *BCDα* approbacionibus (?) *E* ²⁵ ecclesiarum *BCDα, E²* in mar. ecclesiis (cr. out & ud.) *E* in *E* is add. in mar.: Appropriacio ecclesiarum *E³*

que²⁶ ex ypocrisi prime secte sunt multipliciter introducte.^b Omnes enim²⁷ sic appropriantes ecclesias suggestunt²⁸ implicite, quod sunt valde egentes, et sic expetunt tales ecclesias, ut secundum divinum²⁹ suffragium releventur.

Et utrobique in tali mendicacione est mendosa duplicitas fundatum, et sic in omnibus istis sectis quatuor est pater mendacii principalis et dampnum temporale³⁰ plebeis³¹ incurritur,³² dampnum autem spirituale ecclesie Cristi, sed dampnum extensius ecclesie anticeristi; et patet³³ discrete³⁴ consideranti, quomodo omnes iste secte quatuor ex mendacio³⁵ sunt fundate. 10

Et quantum ad argacias anticeristi suam practicam colorantes patet fideli, quod non sunt digne memoria. Arguit enim, quod mendicacio³⁶ est in ewangelio commendata,^c cum Lazarus mendicus acceptus est in synum Abrahe cum beatis, ut patet Luc.³⁷ 16³⁸^d et cecus mendicus³⁹ innuitur a Christo multipliciter commendatus, 15 ut patet Luc. 18.⁴⁰^e

Ad illud⁴¹ quidem facile⁴² respondetur, quod isti duo mendici C fol. 169^a supponi possunt⁴³ esse beati, || sed non propter mendicacionem, sed propter iustum sufferenciam avarorum, qui ipsos debuerant sustentasse. Unde si⁴⁴ ista evidencia moveret⁴⁵ fratres validos mendicare, 20 evidencius moveret eos⁴⁶ carnaliter⁴⁷ procreare, cum carnis procreacio⁴⁸ sit evidencius in ewangelio commendata.⁴⁹

^b as to this, cp. above p. 131 n. a ^c cp. Trial. 341 ^d v. 22

^e v. 35, cp. Matth. 20, 39; Marc. 10, 46

²⁶ que *BCDα* *om. E* ²⁷ enim *CDα, B^t* (*corr. into the text*), *E² in mar.* *om. BE* ²⁸ suggestunt *BCDα* finixerunt (?) fixerunt) *E, in mar.* *is add.* finixerunt *E³* ²⁹ divinum *BCDα* dominicum (?) *E* ³⁰ temporale *CDA* corporale *BE* ³¹ plebeis *CDα* plebis *B, E* *is here add. later by E²* ³² incurritur *BCDα, E² in mar.* *inciditur (cr. out) E* ³³ et patet *BCDα, E² in mar.* *om. E* ³⁴ discrete *BCEα* districte *D* ³⁵ mendacio *BCDα* mundano *E* ³⁶ men. *BCDα* mendacia (*ud.*) men. *E* ³⁷ Luc. *BCα* Luc. in *DE* ³⁸ 16 *BCα* in 6 (*cr. out*) 16 *E* 10 (*cr. out*) 6 *D* ³⁹ et ce. mend. *BCα* et ce. *E* *om. D* ⁴⁰ 18 *BCDα* 8 *E* ⁴¹ illud *BCDα* istud *E* ⁴² facile *BCDα* faciliter *E* ⁴³ supp. possunt *BCDα* supponunt *E* ⁴⁴ si *BCDE* fi (*cr. out*) si *α* ⁴⁵ moveret *CDEα* movet *B* in *C* is added in *mar.*: Nota ⁴⁶ eos *BCEα* ipsos *D* ⁴⁷ carnaliter *BCDα, E² in mar.* corporaliter (*cr. out*) *E* ⁴⁸ procreacio *BCEα* procreacio *D* ⁴⁹ commendata *BCDα* procreata *E*

Sed secunda argucia infami arguitur, quod Paulus pro sanctis⁵⁰ in⁵¹ Ierusalem⁵² mendicavit, qui non⁵³ laboraverunt⁵⁴ propriis manibus. Quare ergo non licet⁵⁵ sanctis collegiis taliter mendicare?

Sed responsio⁵⁶ patula stat in isto, quod simea communicat⁵⁷ paritatem in mediis utrobique, et concedi debet conclusio. Constituat ergo sic arguens ista conventicula in pari evidencia cum sanctis Ierusalem et in pari impotencia ad propriis manibus laborandum, et non excedat mensuram mendicacionis bonorum pauperum, et tunc potest rectificare rationem per locum a simili. Sed 10 tunc in materia deficiet⁵⁸ argumentum, et sic gulosus et simea⁵⁹ solvunt argucias singulas anticristi, ut⁶⁰ si anticristus replicat, quod qui ewangelizat, de ewangelio debet vivere, sed iste secte partialiter ewangelizant, ideo de ewangelio debent vivere. — Et cum 15 populus non semper est paratus ad conferendum illis temporale subsidium, licet illis⁶¹ iuste aurum⁶² pro suis fratribus mendicare.

Sed purget anticristus conventiculam suam⁶³ a superfluitate et ociositate ministerii,⁶⁴ et tunc concedi potest secundum legem Cristi, quod tales laborantes in ewangelio debent secundum moderamen⁶⁵ ewangelicum ministrare,⁶⁶ sed longe hoc⁶⁷ ad inferendum talia 20 venticula monstruosa.⁶⁸

Unde quidam⁶⁹ grammaticus dicit, quod mendicare dicitur a ‘mene’,⁷⁰ quod est defectus, et ‘dicare’, quod est equivocum ad tria

⁶⁹ New Engl. mean (meen), A. Sax. mane, O. Sax. mén, L. Ger. mène, germanum (gemein), allied to Lat. communis. Cp. Matthew, E. W. h. u. 31 l. 12

⁵⁰ pro sanctis CDE, corr. into the text by α^2 profectus B sectis α in BCDA om. E ⁵¹ in ierusalem BCDA, E here, in mar. repeat. by E² ⁵² non BCEa nam D ⁵³ laboraverunt CE, α^2 in mar. laboraret BD α ⁵⁴ licet BCDA, E² in mar. debet (cr. out) E ⁵⁵ responsio CE racio BD α ⁵⁶ communicat BCD communicet α (the e corr. from a by α^1) quod (ud.) commutat (?) E ⁵⁷ deficit BCDA, E² in mar. edificet (cr. out.) E ⁵⁸ simea CD α , E² in mar. simeo (?) B summa (cr. out) E ⁵⁹ ut BCDA et E ⁶⁰ illis BCDA eis E ⁶¹ iuste aurum C, α^2 has iuste corr. into the text om. BD α instaurum E ⁶² conventicula suam BC α conventicula sua DE ⁶³ in E is added above the col.: Superfluitas ociositas quomodo purgaretur in fratribus E¹ ⁶⁴ moderamen in E has been altered into moderamine by E², who added an e ⁶⁵ ministrare BCDA ministrari E ⁶⁶ hoc in E cr. out & ud. ⁶⁷ monstruosa BCDA monstruose E ⁶⁸ quidam CD α quidem BE ⁶⁹ in Ca is added in margin: Nota C³ α^2

hec:⁷¹ ‘dico’, significat ‘confirmo’, ‘copulo’, ‘sacro’,⁷² et cum dicatur per antifrasim, producit⁷³ ‘di’ ultra hoc, quod in aliis compositionibus est servatum. Quidam autem confirmant⁷⁴ per ypoerisim perpetuitatem sui defectus, quod oportet ipsos perpetuo⁷⁵ dotari domino⁷⁶ talis elemosine, sed nomine pretermissio. Alii autem copulant suis cenobiis per ypoerisim tales defectus sive⁷⁷ egencias,⁷⁸ quia sine illis non possunt ut patroni eorum seculariter relevari, et ipsi mendicant sibi perpetuitatem elemosine cum aliis multis blasphemias de suffragiis meritoriis defunctorum.

Tercii vero mendicantes sacrant per sua conventicula elemosas tam superstitum quam defunctorum, et dicunt, quod sua religio, eciam⁷⁹ habitus est tam sacer, quod⁸⁰ quicunque in illo⁸¹ mortuus fuerit, non erit ad tartarum condempnatus.⁹

Et sic isti quatuor funiculi prevaricantes in legem⁸² domini conturbant ecclesiam militantem. Sed illud⁸³ debet fidelis menti 15 imprimere, quod oportet ad pacificandum ecclesiam temporalia esse distributa in seculo secundum⁸⁴ regulam legis dei.⁸⁵

Pexlitci Sutattrac ed plitrici cuvinlo Siramo.⁸⁶

⁹ with reference to this passage, cp. above p. 35 n. h and 143 n. b

⁷¹ hec *D*α hic *BC* om. *E* ⁷² hic d. s. c. e. s. *BCD*α om. *E* ⁷³ prod. *CDE*α perpetuitatem sui defectus (*cr. out & ud.*) prod. *B* ⁷⁴ in *E* is added below the col.: Mendicantium varietas *E*¹ ⁷⁵ perpetuo *BCD*α perpetue *E* ⁷⁶ dominio *BCD*α donis *E* ⁷⁷ sive *BCD*α sine *E* (*not sive*) ⁷⁸ egencias *BCE*α egencie *D* ⁷⁹ ec. in *E* added by *E*² (?) below et ecclesia which is *cr. out* ⁸⁰ quod *CDA* quam *BE* ⁸¹ illo *BCD*α isto *E* ⁸² legem *BCD*α lege *E* ⁸³ illud *BCD*α istud *E* ⁸⁴ secundum *CDE*α, *B*¹ in mar. om. *B* ⁸⁵ dei *CDE* dei etc. *B*α ⁸⁶ i. e. Explicit tractatus de triplici vinculo amoris Explicit tractatus de triplici vinculo amoris secundum doctorem ewangelicum Sequitur exhortacio cuiusdam doctoris *B* Et sic est finis tractatus de triplici vinculo amoris *D* Explicit tractatus de triplici vinculo amoris Et incipit de novis ordinibus *E* Explicit tractatus de triplici vinculo amoris (*enclosed with lines in red ink*) α

V.

DE SEPTEM DONIS SPIRITUS
SANCTI.



DE SEPTEM DONIS SPIRITUS SANCTI.

I. Division.

Introduction: The seven gifts of the Holy Ghost (according to Isai. XI, 2) are proved to be necessary to the leading of a Christian life: chap. I.

Argument: Definition of the individual gifts, their place and value in the Christian life: the Four Sects contrasted with this: chap. II—VIII.

Conclusion: Answer to an objection raised by the Sects. These ought to be done away with, unless their foundation be proved from Scripture: chap. VIII.

II. Summary of Contents.

Chap. I. To lead a pious Christian life, the Holy Trinity has imparted to mankind a spirit which is manifested (according to Isai. XI, 2) in seven gifts, p. 208. In Jesus Christ, the Son of Man, these gifts manifest themselves in their full power, p. 209. The Author, therefore, proposes to speak of them, p. 209.

Chap. II. He gives a definition of the first gift, Wisdom, p. 210, and says that it is despised by many, who put their trust in human and papal traditions, while a spark of the divine gift is better than all human knowledge (Jerem. II, 13), p. 210. The only means to get a knowledge of God, is this Wisdom; and if we want to love God, we must first know Him, p. 211.

Chap. III. Akin to the first gift, is the second, Understanding, the definition of which is given, p. 211. It is the spiritual principle of man by means of which he is enabled to apprehend everything necessary for his salvation, p. 212. This assertion is proved

in seven theses by the Author, p. 212. — Now, in strong contrast to this, stand the privati ordines, which in life, as well as in doctrine, set aside these first two gifts, p. 213.

Chap. IV. After the first two, which are of a mental kind, the practical ones follow, p. 213. First comes *Counsel*, of which the definition is given. It must be said, however, that many follow the counsel of the Evil one rather than the counsel of God, p. 214, although they thus are more and more allured into worldliness, and forget that the (double) peace of God is given only to those who follow the counsel of God, which at first may appear burdensome, and by some may not be understood, but will in the end prove most salutary, p. 215. — As to this, the Sects glory in the assertion that they alone follow the counsels (concilia) of Christ, while other men observe only His precepts (precepta), p. 215. But their works and aspirations do not prove this; they merely confound the correct notions of consilium and preceptum, if they hold to their assertion, p. 216.

Chap. V. By the fourth gift, *Might* (Definition), which is one of the four Cardinal Virtues, not bodily strength, but spiritual power, is to be understood, p. 216. Not by the perils of war and of Rome-journeys, true might is proved, but by a Christian life, p. 217. From this standpoint, all the worldly exertions of the Sects are to be looked upon as *vana religio*, p. 218—220.

Chap. VI. As to the fifth gift, *Knowledge* (Definition), p. 220, by which all the doctrines necessary for salvation are to be acquired, the Sects must also be reproved, p. 220—221; they are wanting in it, p. 221: their knowledge is specially shown by the manner in which they exercise their intelligence in Christian life, p. 221; for they are not moved by love to God and the brethren, but by their inordinate desire for worldly possessions, p. 221. If they did work, for instance, at the *ius civile* and *canonicum*, they knew full well, that many advantages would arise to them from these researches, p. 222. The more, however, they acquire of worldly goods, the more they aspire to, p. 222, in particular the Friars, who make the greatest possible exertions to get (either lawfully, or unlawfully), as many members as they can, and sell sermons, letters of Fraternity etc., p. 222, merely to make money, p. 222—223.

Chap. VII. *Piety* (Definition and division of pietas into *θεοσέβεια* and *εὐσέβεια*), p. 223, refers to God and to men, p. 223.

As it is principally love to men, the Sects ought to be moved to return to the true Sect of Christ, p. 223. For, by their manifold lies, a wrong notion of pietas has crept in, p. 223, viz. the idea of the 'opus operatum' of alms bestowed on the orders, of the outlay made for the Church and many other ecclesiastical tithes, p. 224. In like manner, their bad habit of giving the good deeds of their individual members the greatest possible publicity, and of attributing to the whole order the credit of these, p. 224, while they are totally deficient in true piety, must also be reprobated. Here the Author speaks severely against this custom, p. 225. It would, therefore, be in the interest of the individual Christian as well as of the Church, if the Sects were done away with, not by the sword, or by any other force, but in a charitable manner, p. 225. And for this end, every Christian should labour, p. 225.

Chap. VIII. The ground of the gifts already mentioned, is the Fear of the Lord (Definition), p. 225, which is not natural fear in man, but the grief of the Christian at his sin, and his love to God, p. 226. This grief with love is not to be found in the Sects, p. 226. Many sins are done by them, p. 227 (here the Author refers to the assassination of the Emperor through the poisoned Eucharist, and to the conspiracy of the Friars against the Duke of Lancaster, p. 227). It is a fallacy on their part to assert that on behalf of their order all things were allowed to them at the expense of their brethren, p. 228. And this fallacy involves their main danger to the country, p. 228, for they are capable of any thing, if the welfare of their order comes in question, p. 229.

Chap. IX. With reference to an objection raised against the preceding statements, that, in the case of the Author being right, the Trades, Gilds, Communities and States must also be abolished, on the ground that from them, as from every creature (even from God, as some contend, p. 229) many evils arise, p. 229, the Author answers: Certainly not, p. 229, for the believing Christian takes as his authority the Holy Scripture, p. 229, and Jesus Christ, who has given his Church a most perfect and complete law, p. 229, and has not even hinted in the Scriptures that Sects ought to exist, or were necessary for His Church, p. 229. Likewise from the idea of the unity of the Church it follows, that they are useless and superfluous, p. 230. — Conclusion: only if the Biblical proof of the necessity for their existence be given, they may be suffered, p. 230; but to give this proof is simply impossible, p. 230.

III. Date of Composition.

Written after *De Fundacione Sectarum*, ep. cap. IX, conclusion; the latter was composed between the end of July and the beginning of October 1383, ep. above, p. 7; our present Tract, therefore, takes as its date the end of 1383 or beginning of 1384. There is one passage which might eventually be of value for dating the Tract, the conspiracy of the Friars against John of Gaunt, ep. chap. VIII, p. 227; but I am sorry to say, I have not been able to fix this fact chronologically.

IV. Genuineness.

(a) External evidence:

- (1) *Wyclif-Catalogues of the Vienna codd.*, ep. above p. 7.
- (2) *Bale, Illustr. script. Summ. fol. 157^b.*
- (3) *cod. B, Explicit*, ep. p. 230.
- (4) *cod. A, ep. notice on the front cover.*
- (5) *cod. B, ep. inner side of the front cover.*
- (6) *cod. E, ep. front cover (Index).*
- (7) *cod. a, Index of the fly-leaf.*
- (8) *cod. β, Index of the fly-leaf.* With reference to (4), (5), (6), (7) and (8), ep. above *General Introduction IV, Description of the codices.*
- (9) *Denis, Cod. MS. Theol. II, 1437; 1453; 1470; 1473; 1497; 1505*
- (10) *Shirley, Catal. Nro. 27, p. 11.*
- (11) *Lechler, J. v. W. II, 564.*

(b) Internal evidence:

- (1) ep. above, *General Introduction V, e.*
- (2) the reference to the earlier work of the Author *De Fund. Sect. cap. IX, p. 230 l. 18.*
- (3) ep. the definitions of the seven dona with those given in the *Trial.*, chap. II, note a; III, a; V, a; VI, a; VII, a.
- (4) as to particulars, ep. e. g. V, c; e; VI, d; VIII, e; e; IX, e.

V. Not yet printed.

VI. Extant in

cod. 3929 = A fol. 208^d—212^a A¹ = Glosser

cod. 3933 = B fol. 76^d—80^d { B¹ = Corrector [B¹]

B² = Glosser (perhaps identical with

cod. 4527 = C fol. 157^a—162^a { C¹ = Corrector (pale ink)

C² = Glosser (red ink)

<i>cod. 3930 = D fol. 300^a—303^d</i>	<i>D¹ = Corrector (red ink)</i>
	<i>E¹ = Glosser (with this one, cp. α¹)</i>
<i>cod. 1337 = E fol. 104^d—110^b</i>	<i>E² = Corrector (pale ink)</i>
	<i>E³ = „ (dark ink)</i>
	<i>E⁴ = „ (red ink)</i>
<i>cod. 4515 = H fol. 204^b—212^a</i>	<i>H¹ = Corrector (pale hand)</i>
	<i>(all in the Imperial Library at Vienna)</i>
<i>cod. X. E. 9. = α fol. 133^a—138^b</i>	<i>α¹ = Corrector (very black ink)</i>
	<i>α² = „ (pale ink)</i>
	<i>α³ = Glosser (red ink; has given only one gloss)</i>
<i>cod. III. G. 11. = β fol. 154^a—159^b</i>	<i>β¹ = Corrector (small clear hand in pale ink)</i>
	<i>β² = „ (red ink, has given only very few glosses.)</i>
	<i>(these two in the University Library at Prague.)</i>

VII. The Manuscripts.

A. *Their relationship.* The MSS. disagree in about 340 passages. Of these, in about 110 cases in an irrelevant, in 230 cases in a decisive manner.

(1) *Class A—E.* That these are of the same family, may be inferred conclusively from the following: (1) In the 230 decisive passages, both codd. concur in no less than 210 cases; in only 20, they give different readings. This evidence alone, I believe, would suffice to show their close connection; the more so, as their differences, mostly insignificant in themselves, may easily be traced to the carelessness of E (cp. for instance aut co. IV, 7; conseq. VI, 12 etc. etc. etc.), or of A (cp. e. g. non V, 10 etc. etc.), or to errors of reading from the same original, cp. for instance perpetrati VII, 31; wlt-venit I, 8; pug-ping. V, 7. — (2) In 29 cases, A—E give, against the consensus of the remaining codd., the same wrong reading. No other combination approaches this number. Once, indeed, they give the correct word: humil. V, 55. (3) Again if you look at the inner value of the readings, passages like finis III, 4; conclus. III, 27; se. di. III, 28; alia IV, 3; vest. V, 11; die. V, 19; hum. V, 55; dev. VI, 17; app. VI, 25; per. VI, 41; non VI, 58; die. VII, 25; dom. (om.) IV, 19; especially prima IV, 21; mitici. V, 42; acqu. VI, 24; ad qu. VII, 38; cum VIII, 9; med. VIII, 30 prove the close connection of the MSS. (4) cp. below the marginal glosses. E has

been subject to the correction of four hands; now, all the glosses of E¹, so far as they refer to the contents of the text, are to be found in A, while none of the other codd. gives a single gloss of this kind (only β has, in common with A-E, the three first). (5) Of decisive value appear to me the following two passages: septem dona I, 22 and Cristus indefectibiter III, 17, where the careless E carried the glosses of A into the text.

From these two passages it appears to me very probable that A was not copied from E, but that E was taken from A, (after the latter had been glossed by the glossator, cp. ve. in V, 11).

For this reason, and because E, on account of its many shortcomings, cannot enter into competition as a basis of the text, the readings of E (except those which are characteristic of its relationship to the other codd.) are not given in my list.

As to E², the main corrector, he is certainly of more value. But he corrected from B; cp. especially perfect. IV, 29; foret VIII, 14; quod VIII, 40; again, from ut IX, 24 it is evident, that the corrector E² had before him as his original, B, after it had been corrected by B¹: for these reasons I omit also the readings of E². Likewise of E³ and E⁴, as being of no value.

(2) As to the relationship of the other codd. to one another, I have not much to say. All the codices made use of here can be traced to an old archetypus which read the very characteristic terratura V, 31 (or creatura) for figura, which is the only correct reading, as is evident from the sense of the passage, and from the text that follows (deficit secunda figura; in figuram a dyabolo etc.; figurale dogma filiis etc.). In like manner the characteristic lacuna vaticinium aqua III, 30, which is peculiar to BHβ, is proof of the existence of a younger archetypus common to ACDEα.

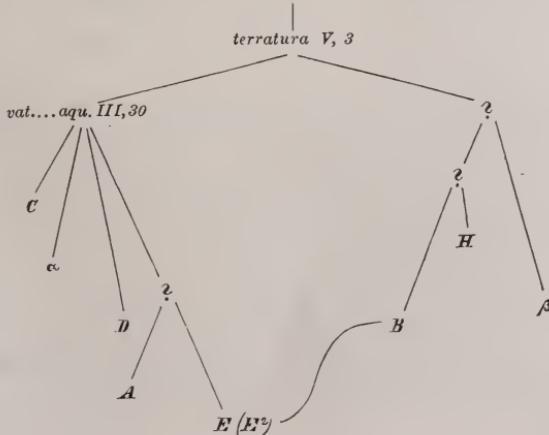
I cannot go more closely into this critical matter, as no one will expect it from the editor of an *editio princeps*; but I will add, with reference to the other codd., the following few particulars. From que V, 47 and terratura V, 31 it appears, that α² corrected from C; again, from convinc. VII, 16; omnes etc. II, 14 and ext. etc. I, 22, it is plain that β¹ corrected from A, or another codex belonging to the family of A-E. I mention, however their corrections, as they are of value for characterising the codex α and β.

(3) I believe that also B-H are related to each other; but the material is too slight to prove this. I will not, however, omit to

draw attention to their common peculiarities, especially in the first four chapters, for instance coniugitur IV, 2; 5; 30 and many others.

B. The best Codex. In the decisive 230 passages, C has 25 wrong readings (205 right ones); II 35 wr. (195 r.) α 38 wr. (192 r.), β 41 wr. (189 r.), D 47 wr. (183 r.), B 49 wr. (181 r.), A 55 wr. (177 r.), and E 71 wrong (159 right) readings. — In the forefront of the competition stand, therefore, the codices C and H. — Against the preference of C, passages as quid IV, 12; amittunt IV, 35; vehentis V, 33; mordeni VI, 51; perdior. VI, 61 may be adduced, where C alone gives a wrong reading against the consensus of the rest; but all these variants are very small graphical errors. On the other hand, H is guilty of not less than 17 similar corruptions: fit. III, 8; apost. (om.) IV, 17; una V, 26; tri. V, 30; fortit. V, 35; omn. etc. V, 37; in mund. V, 52; igit. VI, 4; est VI, 11; plus VI, 14; cum VI, 22; reduc. VII, 15; trib. VII, 21; propos. VII, 27; sue (om.) VIII, 12; intr. (om.) VIII, 27; qua ad VIII, 36 and per IX, 25; of these, at least cum and per are of importance, as they cannot be explained as mere oversights. — B also commends itself by some fine readings: perf. IV, 29; auf. V, 36; for. VIII, 14; especially solo VI, 26; on the other hand, very bad corruptions are not wanting: 5 I, 10; qu. con. VII, 40; in sa. VIII, 7; tr. do. VIII, 11; de. IX, 12. — The claims of C, therefore, remain still the most favourable, even as compared with those of B and H. For these — I admit, not conclusive — reasons, I am inclined to give C the preference as the best suited from which to form the text.

From the above, the following diagram may be drawn as a pedigree:



JOHANNIS WICLIF

DE SEPTEM DONIS SPIRITUS SANCTI.

CAP. I.¹

C fol. 157a lin. 1 || ²Cum spiritus sit³ tercia persona trinitatis et opera trinitatis|
indivisa⁴ ad extra, patet, quod tota trinitas imprimis in mentes
humani generis noticiam, qua se regeret et in finem | ultimum ter-
minaret. Sicut⁵ ergo anima est melior quam noticia mundanorum,
et quia clemencia trinitatis in hoc ostenditur, quod vlt docere 5
taliter viatores, ideo ista septuplex⁶ noticia vocatur septem dona
spiritus sancti ex⁷ clemencia deitatis, qua vlt⁸ non solum genus
hominum⁹ creare et regere, sed tam salubriter edocere.

Nam Ies. 11¹⁰ sic habetur: requiescat super eum spiritus do-
mini, spiritus sapiencie et intellectus, spiritus consilii et fortitudinis, 10
spiritus sciencie et pietatis, et replebit eum spiritus timoris.

CAP. I. a v. 2

*CAP. I. ¹ Title and number of the chap. not given in ACDHa Explicit tracta-
tus de Christo et suo adversario antichristo De septem donis spiritus sancti B
Tractatus de septem donis spiritus sancti β ² A fol. 208^a lin. 13 B fol. 76^e
lin. 32 D fol. 300^a lin. 1, here not the whole preceding page (fol. 299^d) is written
upon, the text comes down only to the half of the page, Expl.: per meos fines et aperta
rura lenis incedas, finit octavus H fol. 204^b lin. 1 α fol. 133^a lin. 1 β fol.
154^a lin. 1 ³ sit ABDHaβ sanctus (ud.) sit C sanctus by A⁴D⁴α⁴ between spir.
and sit corr. into the text ⁴ indiv. ABCDHa sunt ind. β sancte by A⁴ corr.
into the text ⁵ sicut ACDaβ sic BH ⁶ sept. in H not clear, therefore re-
peated in mar.: 7x H⁴ ⁷ ex ABCDHa om. β ⁸ vlt ABCDHaβ venit E
⁹ hominum ABCDHa humanum β ¹⁰ 11 ACDHaβ 5 B VI E*

Sicut enim Cristus fuit plenus humanitus isto dono septuplici,¹¹ sic¹² decrevit¹³ tota trinitas, quod per humanitatem suam tamquam immediatum organum foret istud donum septuplex¹⁴ humano generi divinatum; et ut magister iste optimus^b sit nobis similior ac¹⁵ familiarior¹⁶ et per consequens proporcionalior¹⁷ ad istam noticiam humano generi imprimendum, ordinavit tota trinitas secundum suum suppositum^c incarnari et cum hominibus tempore gravissimo conversari.¹⁸

Aliiquid ergo de ipsis septem donis est dicendum fidelibus proportionaliter, ut hec benedicta trinitas dignatur¹⁹ suis fidelibus noticiam impertiri.

Imprimis ergo ut fides capititur,²⁰ quod hec septem dona tamquam quedam universitates sufficiente replere totam capacitatatem anime ad finem congruum viatori, et sic quidquid extra ista septem homo²¹ didicerit, nendum est superfluum, sed nocivum.²²

Et sic patet error humani generis in discendo sollicite tradiciones humanas, artes mechanicas²³ curiosas et alias artes practicas ad homines preter divinam influenciam regulandum.

CAP. II¹.

Primum² ergo istorum septem donorum dicitur sapiencia,³
20 quam impositores nominum dicunt esse quasi sapidam scienciam et

^b i. e. Christ ^c i. e. the second Person of the Trinity, the Son

¹¹ septuplici *ACDαβ* septemplici *BH* ¹² sic *ABCHαβ* et sic *D* ¹³ decrevit *ABCDαβ* decretit *H*, but e corr. above it by *H*^t ¹⁴ septuplex *Dβ* septplex *ABCHα*, but u corr. above it by *α*^t ¹⁵ ac *CDHβ* et *ABα* ¹⁶ fam. in *α* a corr. word ¹⁷ proporcionalior *ABCDαβ* proporcionalibilior *H* ¹⁸ et cum h. t. gr. con. *ACDHαβ* om. *B*, but with mark of ref. above the col. by *B*^t ¹⁹ dignatur *ABDHαβ* dignetur *C* ²⁰ capitulatur *ABCDHα* accipitur *β* ²¹ ex. i. s. h. *ABCHαβ* h. ex. i. s. *D* ²² in *AEβ* is add. above (below) the col. (respect. in mar.): Extra septem dona spiritus sancti quidquid homo didicerit est nocivum *A'E*^t*β* sept. ho.—nociv. *ABCDHαβ* sept. dona spir. sa. quidq. h. d. e. noc. nendum (ned. ud.) e. sup. s. noc. *E* ²³ mechanicas *ABCDHβ, α²* in mar. mechanicas (ud.) *α*

CAP. II. ¹ the number of the chap. not given in *ACDHβ* Secundum *B* Sequitur de primo dono spiritus sancti *α³* ² in *A* is add. in mar.: Non est, the remainder blotted out, and illegible, perhaps: hic capitulum ³ in *Dβ* is add. in mar.: Sapiencia *D^tβ²*

philosophi dicunt ipsam esse noticiam, quam homo⁴ acquisiverit⁵ hic de deo.^a Ipsam ergo noticiam oportet esse basim ad quilibet aliam noticiam imprimendum.

Et ex istis⁶ elicitor, quante seete humani generis in disciplina degenerant, que dimittentes ordinem documenti trinitatis, quod dis-⁵
posuit⁷ homini,⁸ intendunt⁹ dogmati tradicionis humane et aliarum scienciarum inutilium propter superbiam sive lucrum, ut quidam eciam dicti autonoma(s)tie¹⁰ religiosi^b intendunt tradicionibus papalibus, licet multis erroribus sint commixte, et dimittunt¹¹ noticiam salubrem clare scientie¹² trinitatis. ¹⁰

Licet autem de ipsa habuerimus in via¹³ paucam et obscuram
^{c fol. 157b} noticiam, tamen scintilla sue noticie prestat omnes noticias,¹⁴ quas de humanis tradicionibus¹⁵ possumus¹⁶ possidere. De isto peccato conqueritur dominus per Ieremiam secundo cap.:^c duo, inquit, mala fecit populus meus, me dereliquerunt,¹⁷ fontem aque vive, et fo-¹⁵
derunt sibi cisternas dissipatas, que continere aquas non valent.

Cum autem ex fide precipua debemus deum diligere super¹⁸ omnia et ex communi principio nichil amat nisi cognitum, patet, quam¹⁹ necessarium est nobis, deum cognoscere et tradiciones frivolas, que noticiam istam impediunt, precavere. Unde sic²⁰ degenerantes in dogmate blasphemant in deum implicite et primum mandatum decalogi, ac si subiectum artis sue frivole facerent deum

^a for another definition of sapiencia, see Trial. 129

^b viz. the

Monks and, in a wider sense, the Four Sects

^c v. 13

⁴ homo *BCDa β* fe. *A* homines *H* ⁵ acquisiverit *AC α* acquisivit *BD β , H* (*last part is corr.*) ⁶ istis *BCDH $\alpha\beta$* isto *A* ⁷ disposit *CD β (?)* disponit *ABHa* ⁸ homini *A* (*a corr. word*) *BCH* hominem *D α* hominum *β* ⁹ intendunt *ACDH $\alpha\beta$* intendit *B* ¹⁰ autonomastice *CH* autonomaste *B β* automatace *AD* automastice *α* ¹¹ tradicionibus p. l. m. e. s. c. et dim. *ABCDa β* om. *H*, but add. above the col. (205^a) *H¹* ¹² cl. sc. *ABC $\alpha\beta$* sc. cl. *D* ¹³ in via *ABC $\alpha\beta$* invitit *D* ¹⁴ in *A* (*E*) and *β* is add. below (above) the col.: Omnes noticias prestat scintilla noticie trinitatis *A¹* (*E¹*) *$\beta¹$* ¹⁵ trad. *ACDH $\alpha\beta$* om. *B* ¹⁶ possumus *BCDH α* possimus *A β* ¹⁷ dereliquerunt *AC α* derelinquerunt *BDH* delinquerunt *β* ¹⁸ super *ABC $\alpha\beta$* supra *D* ¹⁹ quam *AC $\alpha\beta$* quantum *BH* quod *D* ²⁰ sic *ABC $\alpha\beta$* sicut *D*

suum, cum noticiam et amorem oportet esse se invicem consequentes.²

Et quantum ad verba Ieremie patet fidelibus, quomodo deus est²² ad sensum mysticum fons aque vive, et cisterne dissipate sunt tradiciones humane, ex quibus propter inconstanciam suam in falsitate non possunt fundari sapienciales noticie. Et hec causa, quare genus humanum tantum²³ amori temporalium inclinatur. Oportet enim supremam potentiam²⁴ intellectus inclinare amorem et consequenter movere corpus ad subiectum, de quo magis.^{25 d}

Multa autem sunt scripture testimonia et raciones fideles, que 10 movent²⁶ homines ad amandum²⁷ et testificandum excellenciam huius doni.

CAP. III.¹

Secundum autem donum dicitur spiritus intellectus.² Nam secundum philosophos intellectus dicitur principium immediate praecedens a sapiencia,³ et secundum veritatem est conclusio a veritate demonstrata. Et iste due noticie debent primo replere supremam et primam potentiam intellectivam hominis, cum sine illis habitibus non est fides.^{4 a}

Ideo dicit apostolus Heb. 11:^{5 b} accendentem ad deum oportet 20 credere, quia⁶ est et⁷ remunerator bonorum fit.⁸ Sicut enim per do-

^d cp. cap. III.

CAP. III. ^a for a similar definition of intellectus, cp. Trial. 129
^b v. 6

²¹ consequentes $ACDH\alpha\beta$ convertentes B ²² est is in C inserted later between deus and ad ²³ tantum $BCDH\alpha\beta$ tamen A ²⁴ potentiam $ABCH\alpha\beta$ noticiam D ²⁵ in β impendit is corr. into the text by β^t ²⁶ que movent $ABCD$ $\alpha\beta, H^t$ in mar. om. H ²⁷ amandum $ABCDH\alpha$ mandum β , above it a is add. by the texthand

CAP. III. ¹ the number of the chap. not given in $ACDH\alpha\beta$ Cap. tertium B ² in $D\beta$ is add. in mar.: Intellectus $D^t\beta^2$ ³ in $A(E)$ is add. in mar.: Intellectus procedit a sapiencia immediate $A^t(E^t)$ ⁴ fides $BCDH\alpha\beta$ finis A (E ud., in mar.: fides E^2) ⁵ 11 $H\alpha\beta$ ⁶ 2 BD, C (ud.), above it XI, likewise in mar. Heb. XI

XI undecimo A ⁶ quia $ACDH\alpha\beta$ quod B ⁷ et $BCD\alpha\beta^s$ om. AH ⁸ fit C, H (ud. by H^t) sit $BD\beta$ sic $A\alpha$

num sapiencie credimus deum, sic ex eius bonitate credimus creaturas singulas processisse et per consequens bonitatem illam necessario inferre finem bonum, creature cuilibet congruentem, et per consequens, cum homo sit creatura incorruptibilis ad ymaginem dei facta, credimus, quod remunerat hominem,⁹ sibi fideliter servientem, beatitudine sempiterna.

Et cum constat ex signo infallibili cottidiani defectus, quod homo peccaverat, et ex¹⁰ humano desiderio et ex servitute non frustrabili, quod superest¹¹ beatitudo homini inferenda ac immensitas peccati facti in deum ex divina iusticia requirit satisfaccionem¹⁰ ex spiritu eiusdem intellectus, secure concludimus, quod necesse¹² est¹³ divinam sapienciam¹⁴ pro satisfaccione dicti criminis incarnari.

Et ex isto concludimus eodem spiritu edocente, quod quidquid¹⁵ Cristus operatus fuit humanitus, cum sit deus et homo, indefectibiliter fuerat¹⁶ operatus.¹⁷ Et ex isto sexto docet idem spiritus, quod secta Christi est in sua integritate a cunctis fidelibus observanda. Et ex istis septimo docet¹⁸ idem spiritus, quod grave

C fol. 158a peccatum est contra aliquod donum intellectus¹⁹ talis || delinquere.

Omnia autem talia dona procedunt suo ordine ex sapiencia dei nostri.

20

Et patet, quante peccant vocati^c ordines, qui monstruose addunt legi dei conclusiones hominum²⁰ ad ipsas²¹ per viam ad patriam redeundum,²² ac si dei sapientia²³ et intellectus non sufficeret in hac parte. Et sic blasphemant in deum implicite vel expresse,

^c cp. above cap. II p. 210 l. 8.

⁹ hominem *BCDH* homo(?)*Aα* homine *β* ¹⁰ ex *ACDHαβ, B¹* in mar. om. *B*
¹¹ superest *BCDHαβ* supest *A* ¹² necesse *ABCDHβ* necessarie *α* ¹³ est *AB*
CDHαβ fuit *α²* (above est) ¹⁴ sapienciam *ABCHβ* essenciam *D* sap. in *α*
corr. into the text by α² ¹⁵ quidquid *ABCDHα* quidque *β* ¹⁶ fuerat *BCDHαβ*
erat A ¹⁷ op. *ABCDHαβ* op. Cr. ind. om. est op. hu. *E* (cp. the gloss)
in A (E) is add. below the col.: Cristus indefectibiliter omnia est operatus
humanitus A¹ (E¹) ¹⁸ sep. doc. *C* d. s. *ABDHαβ* ¹⁹ intellectus *ABC*
DHα, β¹ in mar. om. *β* ²⁰ hominum *BHβ* homini *ACDα* ²¹ ipsas *ACDαβ*
ipsos BH ²² redeundum *BCDα* reundum *β* eundum *H* (*a letter which came*
before the e is erased) ²³ d. s. *CDHα* s. d. *AB* s. *β*, but d. is corr. into
the text later by β¹

ideo non mirum, si peccatum²⁴ istorum novorum ordinum ex minera peccati absconditi invalescit.

Ideo dicit Augustinus epist. ad Cives Hipponenses,^d quod, ex quo deo servire incepérat, non invenit peiores homines quam qui ⁵ claustraliter²⁵ militarunt.²⁶

Debemus itaque dimittere studere conclusiones²⁷ hominum doctrinales, sed debemus studere talem intellectum datum a spiritu, cum sit fides. Multo magis debemus dimittere conclusiones practicas secundum tradiciones hominum luerativas, quia in illis sunt ¹⁰ fictiones falsitatis plurime. Et Sap. 1^e scribitur: spiritus sanctus discipline²⁸ effugiet fictum. Et error in isto devio intellectus,²⁹ licet in mundanis videatur modicus, est tamen medium, per quod dyabolus demergit homines in terrestria et per consequens in infernum. Nam secundum vaticinium^f aqua³⁰ sapiencie divine³¹ est ¹⁵ limpida, et aqua tradicionis humanae est turbida.

Ideo peccant non mediocriter contra bonitatem divinam qui dimittunt hanc sapienciam claram atque promptissimam et bibunt aquam insalubrem, turbidam et terrenam.

CAP. IV.ⁱ

Tercium vero donum dei dicitur spiritus consilii. Et coniungitur² spiritus istis donis ad denotandum, quod necesse est, ipsa a spiritu divino procedere. Et copulantur ista duo³ dona donis spe-

^a see Augustini Opp. (ed. Venet. 1729) II, 186, Ep. LXXVIII

^e v. 5 ^f supply: Jer. 2, 13; cp. above cap. II p. 210 l. 14 ff.

²⁴ peccatum *ABCHαβ* peccata *D* ²⁵ claustraliter *BCDHα* claustra *Aβ*
²⁶ in *A* (*E*) is add. in mar. (respect. with mark of ref. above the col.): Augustinus non invenit peiores homines quam in claustris *A^t* (*E^t*) in *H* in mar.: Augustinus de claustralibus *H^t* ²⁷ conclusiones *BCDHαβ* conclusione *AE* ²⁸ sanctus discipline *BCHαβ* discipline *D* scilicet sapiencie *AE* ²⁹ intellectus *ABCDHα* intellectum *β* ³⁰ vaticinium aqua *BHβ* vaticinium aqua (sic) *ACDEα* ³¹ divine *ABCHαβ* domini non (?) *D*

CAP. IV. ⁱ the number of the chap. not given in *ACDHαβ* Quartum *B*
² coniungitur *ACDαβ* coningitur *BH* (compend. om.) ³ duo *ABCDEHαβ*
 alia *A^t* in mar. in *E* corr. into the text by *E^t*

culativis prioribus ad denotandum, quod viator non debet hic solum in speculacione quiescere,⁴ sed praxi prudenter intendere.

Sed ad variacionem talis actus vel operis requiritur divinum nescilium, quia iuxta apostolum Rom. 8 quicunque spiritu⁵ dei aguntur, hii filii dei sunt. Si enim dat homini thezaurum sapientie et intellectus, ut operando proposit ecclesie militanti, dimittendo hoc opus, quantum in ipso est, cassat propositum dei sui. Et cum magna sit clemencia sancti spiritus, sic seminare in terrigenis verbum dei, patet, quod tales ociantes in opere contrariantur clemencie dei sui. Et causa huius non potest fingi nisi curiositas vel superbia dyaboli aut ociositas, qua homo wlt sicut dyabolus in se ipso quiescere tamquam deus. Et propter ista dicit Iac. secundo cap.:^{6 b} sicut corpus sine spiritu mortuum est, ita et fides sine operibus mortua est.

Et patet, quante viantes spiritum sanctum in isto deserunt 15 et spiritus maligni consilium consecuntur. Nam multi filii dyaboli faciunt secundum consilium spiritus ad curiositatem sciencie consilium sulentis || aut secundum consilium mundi ad prosperitates seculi excitantis,⁷ aut secundum consilium carnis ad voluptates carneas instigantis. Et non dubium, quin illi spiritus sunt maligni. 20

Sed quomodo remanet talis fidelis domino, qui consilium spiritus sancti sic deserit et prosequitur⁸ consilium spiritus tenebrarum? Dicit⁹ autem donum sancti¹⁰ spiritus, quod licet consilium suum in opere¹¹ imprimis sit arduum atque difficile, in fine tamen est utile atque dulce. E contra autem est de opere, ad quod¹² dyabolus 25 sic instigat. Durum quidem est stare pro veritate catholica, cum multi sunt filii dyaboli tales catholicos persequentes. Illi tamen, qui spiritu sancto ducuntur, propter persecucionem huiusmodi non omittunt,¹³ sed pocius propter difficultatem ad opera talia animan-

^a v. 14 ^b v. 26

⁴ here ends in D fol. 300^a, above it: Consilium D^t ⁵ spir. ACDαβ inquit spir. BH ⁶ d. Iac. 2. c. ABCHαβ Iac. 2. c. d. D ⁷ excitantis BCDHαβ excitantes A in E is aut co. spir. ad cur. sc. cons. repeated after consul. (see above l. 17—18) ⁸ pros. ABCDHβ pro pros. α ⁹ dicit ABCDHβ dicitur α ¹⁰ sancti ABCDαβ om. II ¹¹ opere ACDHαβ tempore B ¹² quod ABDHαβ quid C ¹³ omittunt ABCDαβ amittunt (a ud., above it b, therefore bmittunt or obmitt.) II

tur, iuxta illud Act. 5:^c ibant apostoli gaudentes a conspectu consili, quoniam digni habitu sunt pro nomine Iesu Christi contumeliam pati. Et talem pacem, que est mentis constans tranquillitas,¹⁴ dedit Christus suis discipulis iuxta illud¹⁵ Ioh. 14:^d pacem meam do vobis.¹⁶

Unde super isto verbo mussitat antieristus: cum apostoli¹⁷ Christi¹⁸ atque discipuli fuerunt in hoc mundo multipliciter persecuti, quomodo ergo habuerunt pacem domini¹⁹ eis datam? Sed cognoscant, quomodo correspondenter ad duplicem naturam in homine est pax duplex, scilicet pax corporalis et pax spiritualis.²⁰

Pax corporis est quieta possessio boni corporis, modo, quo regna dicuntur pacem habere, que a proximis debellantibus sunt quieta. Et ista pax, licet sit bona, est tamen longe abieccior quam secunda,²¹ quia, sicut anima melior est corpore, sic pax anime melior quam²² pax corpori²³ limitata. Istam ergo secundam pacem, que est constans²⁴ mentis tranquillitas, dono virtutis pacientie et fidei decorata, habuerunt²⁵ apostoli excellenter.

Et hinc erubescerent²⁶ religiosi moderni,^e qui dicunt, quod in hoc a nobis differunt, quod observant omnia Christi consilia, sed nos nude precepta. — Sed revera, si consilia Christi perfecte servarent, conventus monstruosos²⁷ relinquenter et prelatos dyabolicos, quibus ex humanis tradicionibus obligantur, et perfecte legi dei atque faciliter prudenter se submitterent. Consilium autem tale ex sancto spiritu²⁸

^c v. 41 ^d v. 27 ^e cp. above cap. II note b

¹⁴ in A (E) is add. above the col. (respect. in mar.): Quid sit pax A¹(E¹)
¹⁵ iuxta illud ACDH $\alpha\beta$ om. B ¹⁶ in β is add. in mar.: Pax que data per Cristum
discipulis (texthand) in C: Pax C¹ ¹⁷ apostoli ABCD $\alpha\beta$ om. H, but corr.
into the text by H¹ ¹⁸ Christi ABCDH α om. β , but corr. into the text by β^1 (?)
¹⁹ domini BCDH $\alpha\beta$ om. AE ²⁰ in A (E) is add. above (respect. below) the col.:
Duplex pax corporalis et spiritualis A¹(E¹) in D in mar.: Pax duplex D¹ in β
in mar.: Pax duplex est by the texthand in red ink ²¹ secunda BCDH $\alpha\beta$
prima E, A corr. from secunda ²² quam ACDA α est quam BH β ²³ cor. in
 β has undergone a correction at its last part by β^1 ²⁴ constans ABCH $\alpha\beta$ om. D,
but supplied by the texthand in mar. ²⁵ dec. habuerunt ABCDH α servunt β ,
in mar. is add.: habuerunt β^1 ²⁶ erubescerent BCDH $\alpha\beta$ erubescunt A ²⁷ mon-
struosos ABDH $\alpha\beta$ monstruosos C ²⁸ B reads as as rule spir. sa., while the
other codd. have sa. spir.

non processit, cum ipse consuluit Cristi apostolis terram habitabilem sine talibus tradicionibus infamibus procedendo bini et bini, sicut fecerunt apostoli perfecti,²⁹ ad edificacionem ecclesie peragrare.

Et ex eodem spiritu³⁰ patet confutacio³¹ ficticie antieristi. Dicit enim, quod ista precepta domini non sunt nisi consilia, ad que pauci vel nulli homines obligantur. Si enim istud sit tibi dei consilium, peccas graviter, contrarians spiritus sancti voluntati³². Si enim potens et sapiens proximus quidquam cōsuleris, profecto illud libenter faceres, sed infideliter dei consilium saluberrimum parvi pendis. 10

C fol. 139a Et sic patet scrutanti sedule, quod consilium sancti spiritus peccati, cum illud contempnens necessario³³ peccat graviter et amittit³⁴ profectum, qui ex complecione talis consilii sequeretur.

CAP. V.¹

Sed cum spiritus sanctus non consulit ad prosperitates mun- 15 danas vel applausus hominum terrenorum, sed omnino contrarium, patet, quod sequens hoc² quartum sancti spiritus consilium exponit se periculis persecucionibus quoad corpus. Ideo necessarium est quartum donum spiritus sancti, scilicet animi fortitudo.³

Licet autem deus dederit omnem fortitudinem hominis corporale,^a tamen pertinens est isti proposito, hic loqui de fortitudine animi,⁴ que stat in perseverancia legis dei. Et de illa fortitudine

CAP. V. ^a for another definition of fortitudo, see Trial. 132

²⁹ perfecti *B,E²* in mar. imperfecti *ACDEαβ* imperfecti *H*, but ter corr. above per *H¹* ³⁰ spiritu *ACDαβ* dono spiritus *BH* ³¹ confutatio *ABDH,α* (the u corr. from ic) confitatio *C* confictacio *β* ³² voluntati *ABCHaβ* voluptati *D* ³³ in *A (E)* is add. above (respect. below) the col. with mark of ref.: Consilium sancti spiritus est preceptum *A¹(E¹)* ³⁴ in *β* is carelessly copied: neccio (compend. om.) ³⁵ amittit *ABHaβ* amittunt *C* amittit *D*

CAP. V. ¹ the number of the chap. not given in *ACDHαβ* quintum *B* ² se- sequens hoc *ACDHαβ* sapiens habet *B* ³ in *D* is add. in mar.: Fortitudo *D¹* ³ in *A (E)* is add. with mark of ref. above the col.: Fortitudo animi quid sit *A¹(E¹)*

locuti sunt philosophi ponentes, ipsam esse unam de virtutibus cardinalibus, quas dicunt esse iusticiam, fortitudinem, prudenciam⁵ et temperanciam. Et isto modo⁶ intelligimus apostolos fuisse fortes in bello et alios pugiles pugnantes⁷ cum serpente antiquo. Et sic intelligimus Cristum innuisse baptistam⁸ esse fortem, Math. 11^{9b} quando dicit, quod baptista non¹⁰ sit arundo, vento agitata, vel homo mollibus vestitus,¹¹ sed propheta remote dicens fortitudinis constanciam post¹² posteris fidelibus assumendam. Nam defectus fidei facit istam fortitudinem vacillare, sicut arundo infimo fundata¹³ vacillat faciliter ad quemlibet motum venti.

Et per ista possunt discerni filii dyaboli a filiis dei per fortitudinis constanciam in causa istorum principum. Nam milites mundani non¹³ sunt fortes tam corpore,¹⁴ quam anima, exponendo se magno periculo propter lucrum seculi vel famam hominis perirendam, sed in causa dei vecorditer retrocedunt. Clerici eciam exponunt se periculis¹⁵ terre et maris propter beneficium in romana¹⁶ curia¹⁷ acquirendum^c et tamen¹⁸ domi non audent fidem Christi

^b v. 7—9 ^c As to these „rome-renneris“, cp. Matthew, E. W. h. u.

23. *Rome-runners were called those individuals who gained a livelihood by acting as agents at the Papal Court. A vast amount of private business was continually going on there, such as appeals in ecclesiastical causes, specially the obtaining of dispensations. Cp. in Paston Letters (edit. Gairdner) III, 101 a letter by Sir John Paston: I have answer ageyn fro Roome that there is the welle of grace and salve sufficiant for suche a soore, and that I may be dyspenyed with: nevertheless my proctore there axeth a mj docatys, as he demythe. But Master Lacy, another Rome renner heer, etc. — In Piers Plowman (IV, 128) these men are also alluded to: And alle Rome-renneris for robberis of byzonde, Bere no silver over see.*

⁵ i. f. p. ABCHa f. i. p. D i. p. f. β ⁶ isto modo ABCDHα in isto β

⁷ pugi. pugnantes ABCDHα, pugn. by β¹, pugi. by E¹ in mar. om. β pingwes (ud.) pugn. E ⁸ i. b. ABCHaβ b. i. D ⁹ 11 Ba 2 ACDH,β, below it XI by the texthand ¹⁰ non in mar. in AC, in a corr. into the text by α¹ ¹¹ vestitus BCDAβ, A, in mar. is add. indutus vestibus H vestitus indutus E ¹² post ACα om. BDHβ ¹³ non (cr. out) A non BCαβ (in E inserted later into the text by E¹) in H ud. (by H¹) om. D ¹⁴ corp. ABCDHα in corp. β ¹⁵ periculis ACDHαβ periculo B ¹⁶ romana ABCHaβ roma D ¹⁷ curia ABCHβ,α² in mar. om. Da ¹⁸ tamen ABH cum CDα tum β

insultantibus adversariis dicere¹⁹ vel viris Belial publicare. Et sic fratres audent pro observancia²⁰ ordinis sui putridi duces et principes usque ad mortis periculum²¹ defamare,^{22d} sed in causa dei, quod secundum ordinacionem suam in paupertate Christi ecclesia regeretur,²³ non audent dicere unum verbum, quia timent perdere favorem mundanum et munuscula²⁴ satraparum.^e

Et ut breviter dicam, vecordia sacerdotum in causa dei et constans fortitudo eorum in causa dyaboli testatur, quonodo religio eorum²⁵ est vana,²⁶ et quomodo sunt manifesti dei proditores et pugiles dyaboli, in causa sua²⁷ fortissimi pugnatores.²⁸

Et cum spiritus sanctus armat suos pugiles armis pacientie et²⁹ fidei futuri meriti, et non ferro vel fortitudine corporali, et cum de triplici³⁰ figura,³¹ in qua spiritus sanctus apparuit, Act. 2.^{32j} legitur, quod factus est repente de celo sonus tamquam advenientis spiritus vehementis³³ et replevit totam domum,¹⁵ ubi erant sedentes, — ubi non dubium, quin vehemencia³⁴ spiritus sic replentis figurat fortitudinem³⁵ spiritalem, omnem vecordiam

^a for an instance of such calumny, cp. Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* II, 112 ff., where a Carmelite, of Ireland, accused the Duke of Lancaster of high treason, but lost afterwards his life in a cruel and outrageous manner; cp. also *Ypod. Neustr.* 339. There is no evidence in the text, whether *W.* alludes to this disgraceful affair ^e a favourite name of *W.*'s for the Pope and his followers ^f v. 2

¹⁹ dicere *BCDHαβ* om. *AE* ²⁰ observancia *ABCDHα* servancia β , but
 β^1 has add. ob ²¹ per. *ABCDHβ* des (cr. out) per. α ²² defamare *AB*
CHαβ diffamare *D* ²³ regeretur *ABCHeβ* regere *D* ²⁴ munusc. in α
corr. by α^1 non audent d. u. v. q. t. p. f. m. et m. *ACDHαβ* om. *B*, but with
mark of ref. below the col. *B¹* ²⁵ in causa d. t. q. r. e. *ABCDHα* om. β ²⁶ vana
ABCDαβ, *H¹* in mar. unna (?) *H* ²⁷ sua *AChα*, *B¹* cp. n. 28 sui *Dβ* ²⁸ et
pugiles d. i. c. s. f. pugn. *ACDHαβ*, *B¹* in mar. om. *B* ²⁹ et *ABDHαβ* om. *C*
³⁰ tripl. in *H* illegibly written, but in mar. de triplici is add. by *H¹* ³¹ the
codd. read: terratura *C* creatura *ABDH,α*, in mar. is add. terciatura, above the
c an r α^2 [therefore terratura] eratura β , but e is inserted above it by β^1 ³² 2do
ABCDαβ, *H¹* corr. into the text om. *H* ³³ vehementis *ABDHαβ* vehentis *C*
(compend. om.) ³⁴ vehemensia *BCDHαβ* vehemensiam *A* ³⁵ fortitudinem
ABCDαβ fortitudine *H*

culpabilem auferentem³⁶ et ad omnem³⁷ spiritalem³⁸ fortitudinem
mentis eodem spiritu congruam generaliter excitantem³⁹; sed deficit se-
cunda figura in linguis igneis, quia fortitudo amoris divini⁴⁰ extinguitur,
et candens facula⁴¹ in cordibus terrestribus ex gravedine ad infernum
5 tendentibus in figuram a dyabolo preparatur, et sic tertio miticia⁴²
auri⁴³ suspenditur, et volatilium rapacium figurale dogma filiis⁴⁴
dyaboli propalatur.⁴⁵

Et sic dona sancti spiritus, sicut sua operacio et viatorum⁴⁶
filiatio sunt subversa, et ita mundani, qui debent esse spiritus ut
10 patet Luc. 11,^g in corpora gravia sunt subversi, et fortitudo spi-
ritus sancti, que⁴⁷ debet esse viatoribus spiritalis, versa est in forti-
tudinem corporalem, et per consequens pugna, que debet esse spiri-
talnis contra dyabolum, versa est in pugnam atrocissimam corporalem,
cum non solum mundani compugnant,⁴⁸ sed eciam episcopi, qui
15 debent esse mitissimi. Et ita, qui debent in pacientia possidere
animas suas iuxta doctrinam ewangelii,^h ponunt in atrocitate suas
mundanas⁴⁹ victorias,⁵⁰ et qui debent esse in paupertate⁵¹ humili-
liores et simpliciores, sunt in mundana⁵² elacione superbiores et
mundo⁵³ diciores; et qui debent loqui ewangelicam veritatem,⁵⁴
20 locuntur mendaciter falsitatem; et ultimo, qui debent suam forti-
tudinem humilitate et pacientia⁵⁵ custodire, excitant suam robusti-

^g v. 24—26 ^h cp. Luc. 21, 19

³⁶ afferentem *B* auferendo *ACDαβ* *om. H* ³⁷ omnem vec. c. auff. et
ad omn. *ABCDαβ* *om. H*, but add. below the col. (207^d) by *H¹* ³⁸ spirital-
lem *BCDαβ* spiritualem *AH* ³⁹ excitantem *ABCDHα* excitando *β* ⁴⁰ di-
vini *ACDHαβ* domini *B* ⁴¹ facula *CDβ* patula *Aα* pocula *B* pacula
(above the p an f) *H* ⁴² miticia *BCDHαβ* miticiam miticia *AE* ⁴³ auri
ACDHα auris *B* avari *β* ⁴⁴ fil. *ABCDα* a fil. *Hβ* ⁴⁵ in *A* the first a
of prop. is entirely blotted out ⁴⁶ viatorum *ABCHaβ* beatorum *D* ⁴⁷ que *Cβ*
qui *ABDH,α*, but in mar. que *α²* ⁴⁸ compugnant *ABCDαβ* pugnant *H*
⁴⁹ mundanas *ACDHαβ* mundanos *B* ⁵⁰ *B* reads vitorias, but a c is add.
above it in *H* here ends col. 207^b, in its lower margin is add.: Contra pugnam
episcoporum *H¹* ⁵¹ e. i. p. *ACDHαβ* i. p. e. *B* ⁵² in mun. *ABCDαβ, H¹*
in mar. *om. H* ⁵³ mundo *CDHα* multo *AB,β¹* (here a corr. word) ⁵⁴ from
verit. on in *H* a new hand begins ⁵⁵ humilitate et pacientia *E,A* (the end-e
of hu. is corr. from i, the end-a of pa. from e) humilitati et pacientie *BCDHα*
humiliti et pacientie *β*

tatem in pugnis ballistarum et scurrilitate simili corporali;ⁱ sic, quod Iordane converso retrorsum, quondam filii dei sunt⁵⁶ in filios dyaboli transformati.

CAP. VI.¹

Quintum vero donum sancti spiritus est donum sciencie.² Cum enim secundum philosophos sciencia est noticia conclusionum, sive 5 speculativa sive practica, ex sapiencia et intellectu tamquam principiis deductarum,^{3 a} patet, quod spiritus sanctus ecclesie sue deficeret, nisi sibi de tali sciencia provideret.

Debet autem fidelis cognoscere, qua arte sua proximo suo secundum caritatem proficeret, et ista⁴ mensura domi sciencie, que 10 sit conclusio practica operandi, est necessaria⁵ viatori.

Ex fide quidem⁶ capimus, quod tota viacio momentanea nostra est⁷ propter beatitudinem acquirendam, ideo necessarium est nobis breve tempus nostrum redimere et conclusiones tales, de quanto ad beatitudinem proficiunt, secundum hoc donum spiritus sancti 15 addiscere. Et hoc foret scire,⁸ quomodo possumus in caritate dei et proximi habundare.

Et patet, quantum in⁹ isto dono sciencie ordines novelli degenerant, cum intendunt precipue illi praxi, secundum quam in dotatione et aliis temporalibus poterint¹⁰ habundare, ut monachi dicuntur 20 artibus humanis, iuri civili atque canonico patenter vel private inten-

ⁱ From the above may be inferred, that the Crusade to Flanders (1383) has neither begun, nor is at the time of writing thought of.

CAP. VI. ^a cp. a similar definition of the sciencia Trial. 129

⁵⁶ sunt A,B¹ in mar., β¹ has corr. it into the text om. BCDHaβ

CAP. VI. ¹ the number of the chap. not given in ACDHaβ³ sextum B ² in C is add. above the chap.: Donum sciencie in β in mar.: Sciencia ³ deductarum ABCDHβ³ deducta α (after α there is an erasure) ⁴ ista C (the s is corr. above ita) ita Aα illa BDβ igitur H ⁵ on necessaria, tanea (of momentanea l. 12 above) and bre (of breve l. 14 above) there is in H an big ink blot ⁶ quidem ABCHaβ³ quippe D ⁷ est ABCHaβ³ necessaria est D ⁸ scire ACDHaβ³, B¹ in mar. om. B ⁹ in ABCDHβ³, α² corr. into the text de (ud.) α ¹⁰ poterint CDHa³ poterit A potuerit B poterunt (? potuerunt) β

dere. Cuius causa videtur, quia ipsa est¹¹ scienza lucrativa, et
cupido temporalium ex malicia consequente¹² hoc exigit, quod,¹³
de quanto magis imbibitur, de tanto dyabolus magis¹⁴ provocat, || C fol. 16^{0/a}
ut¹⁵ ardencius¹⁶ multitudo temporalium appetatur, quia viator ex-
5 horbitans ex continuacione devii¹⁷ necessario continue a rectitudine
itineris plus declinat.

Consideret ergo viator prudenter, quomodo dotacio et ista
temporalium possessio a statu innocencie deviant,¹⁸ et a statu, quem
Cristus elegerat¹⁹ cum suis apostolis.

10 Ideo necesse est, quod status istarum religionum, que²⁰ sic in
temporalibus immerguntur, de quanto plus biberint, de tanto plus
siant habere temporalia.²¹ Cuius racio est secundum philosophos,
quod anima humana naturaliter appetens beatitudinem et sic
deum, non habet istud analogum boni simpliciter executum. Ideo
15 cum caret hoc bono animi,²² naturaliter appetit magis bonum, et
cum per²³ appetitum temporalium sic indisponitur, appetit impossibiliter in istis temporalibus saciari. Ideo si per impossibile infinitos mundos posset acquirere,²⁴ adhuc bona appeteret²⁵ ampliora,
quia deficit anime summum bonum, in quo solo²⁶ anima disposita
20 naturaliter quietatur. Et hoc²⁷ videtur psalmista sentire Psal. 16^{28b}:
ego autem in iusticia apparebo,²⁹ saciabor, cum apparuerit gloria

^b Ps. 17, 15

¹¹ est is in H crossed out by strokes (H¹) ¹² cons. ABCDH $\alpha\beta$, E² in mar.
om. E ¹³ quod CDH $\alpha\beta$ et AB in C in mar.: Roma ¹⁴ magis ABCD $\alpha\beta$
plus H ¹⁵ ut ABCDH β vel (corr. by α¹) α ¹⁶ ardencius ABCH β can-
dencius DC¹, α, but above the a an r by α¹ ¹⁷ devii BCH β , α² in mar. devii
deum A (E: devii deum [deum ud.]) deum α devij D ¹⁸ deviant Cα deviat
ABDH β ¹⁹ elegerat ABCDH β elegerat α ²⁰ que ABCDH α qui β
²¹ in C is add. in mar.: Roma ²² animi ABC $\alpha\beta$ tamen D cum H ²³ per
in C corr. into the text ²⁴ posset acquirere BCD $\alpha\beta$ infinitos mundos (cr. out)
possit acquirere H acquireret A, E here ret is erased, and in mar. posset is sup-
plied by E² ²⁵ appeteret BCDH $\alpha\beta$ appetet AE ²⁶ solo B sola ACDH $\alpha\beta$
²⁷ hoc ABCDH β hoc modo α ²⁸ in H is added: 16 quere verte duo folia post;
here ends fol. 207^b; on 208^a a new hand begins a new Tract, Incip.: Utrum potestas
clavium ecclesie extendit etc., Explicit at the end of fol. 209^b: accusacio sui
ipsius apud post duo folia verte, then follows on fol. 210^a the remainder of the
present Tract: ego autem etc. ²⁹ app. ABCD $\alpha\beta$ tua app. H

tua,³⁰ et Augustinus libro Confessionum^{31 c}: fecisti nos, domine, ad te, et inquietum est cor nostrum, donec requiescat in te.

Et in isto devio humanarum tradicionum hii ordines novi exhorbitant a religione domini nostri³² Iesu Christi. Unde fratres dicuntur infinitum³³ sitire numerum³⁴ sociorum et³⁵ temporalium, 5 cum quibus globus huiusmodi sustentetur. Et hinc dicuntur vendere sermones suos frivulos, literas fraternitatum, suffragia oracionum^d et huiusmodi, cum quibus dyabolus³⁶ docet eos³⁷ cum fidelibus commercari.³⁸ Nec dubium, quin sicut³⁹ habent sciencias se ipsos secundum suos⁴⁰ ordines perornandi, sic⁴¹ habent vocatas 10 sciencias temporalia ab egenis fidelibus⁴² perquirendi. Sed indubie illa sciencia non est habitus, qui gracie⁴³ a sancto spiritu est infusus.

Sicut ergo trinitas posuit cuneta sua opera in mensura, numero et pondere, sic ponit⁴⁴ et totam noticiam, quam gracie⁴⁵ tribuit 15 viatori. Quid ergo profecissent⁴⁶ antiquis patribus conclusiones huiusmodi in ecclesia primitiva?

Et⁴⁷ idem videtur de⁴⁸ deviis in grammatica,⁴⁹ in logica et metaphysica, et in⁵⁰ aliis sciencieis, in quibus moderni⁵¹ exhorbitant a via ad beatitudinem,⁵² que tamen beatitudo foret finis,⁵³ qui 20 omnia media ad ipsum⁵⁴ tendencia mensuraret.

Et illud donum sciencie propter peccata et alias curiositates

^c Augustinus, *Confess. lib. I, 1* ^d as to this, cp. above *De tripl. Vinc. Am. p. 193; also p. 143; 35; again Trial. 349 ff.*

³⁰ tua *ABCDαβ* *om. H* ³¹ confessionum *ACDHαβ* confessionis *B* ³² nostri *ACDHαβ* *om. B* ³³ inf. *ABCDαβ* in inf. *H* ³⁴ numerum *ABCDHβ, β*² in mar. *om. α* ³⁵ et *BCDHαβ* *om. A* ³⁶ dyabolus *ABCDαβ, H¹* in mar. *om. H* ³⁷ eos *ABCHαβ* nos (*ud.*) eos *D* ³⁸ commercari *ACDHαβ* quietari *B* ³⁹ sicut *ABCDHβ* sic *α*, *α¹* has added ut ⁴⁰ suos *ABCHαβ* *om. D* ⁴¹ per sic *BCHαβ* per et sic *D* perornande sic *AE* ⁴² fidelibus *ACDHαβ* *om. B* ⁴³ gracie *ABCDHα* gloriose *β* ⁴⁴ ponit *ACDHα* posuit *β* ⁴⁵ gr. in *α a-corr. word (by α¹)* ⁴⁶ profecissent *BCDHαβ* profecisset *A* ⁴⁷ et *ABCDHα*, corr. into the text by *β¹* sed *β* ⁴⁸ de *ACHαβ, B¹* in mar. *om. BD* ⁴⁹ grammatica *ABCDHβ* gramaca (*compend. om.*) *α* ⁵⁰ in *ACDHαβ* *om. B* ⁵¹ moderni *ABDHαβ* mordeni *C* ⁵² beatitudinem *BCH* habitudinem *ADαβ* ⁵³ fi. in *α a corr. word* ⁵⁴ ipsum *BCDα* ipsam (?) *AHβ*

humanas rarenter acquiritur.⁵⁵ Et hoc est signum evidens, quod spiritus sanctus in viatoribus parum illabitur. Que, rogo, necesitas occupandi⁵⁶ tempus et ingenium humanum, ut homo sciat fratrem succingere⁵⁷ et in aliis pictaciis, quas vane religiones nove⁵⁸ invenerant, se ipsum vel socium perornare? Revera sicut corpora per tradiciones huiusmodi deturpantur, sic mentes per istas vocatas C fol. 160b sciencias amplius viciantur. Et ex isto errore nigromancia,⁵⁹ philomancia⁶⁰ et alie artes dyaboli prodierunt.⁶¹

CAP. VII.¹

Sextum donum sancti spiritus² vocatur pietas, que subdividitur³ in theosebiam et in⁴ eusebiam⁵. Theosebia⁶ autem dicitur donum sancti spiritus, quo homo caritatively tribuit⁷ cultum deo,^a eusebia autem dicitur obsequium, quo homo caritatively diligit⁸ proximum sicut debet. Et istud donum pietatis signanter consequitur ad donum sciencie, cum sciencia debeat pietate huiusmodi mensurari. Nullam quidam scienciam debemus addiscere vel curare, nisi 15 ipsa⁹ profecerit ad pietatem homini¹⁰ acquirendam. Ideo debemus vanas¹¹ sciencias, quas prius^b didicimus, suspendere vel curtare.

Et istud donum¹² pietatis¹³ movet alios¹⁴ niti reducere ordines

CAP. VII. ^a cp. another definition of pietas Trial. 186. ^b cp. above cap. VI conclusion; cap. I conclusion (p. 209)

⁵⁵ in A(E) is add. below the col.: Donum sciencie propter peccata raro acquiritur A¹(E¹) ⁵⁶ occ. ACDHa β foret occ. B ⁵⁷ succ. ACDHa β suum succ. B ⁵⁸ nove BCDHa β , E² a.R. non AE ⁵⁹ nigromancia ABCHa β nigromantici D ⁶⁰ philomancia ABCHa β philomantici D ⁶¹ prodierunt ABDHa β perdierunt C

CAP. VII. ¹ the number of the chap. not given in ACDHa β Cap^m septimum B² sa. sp. ACDa β sp. sa. BH ³ subd. in β a corr. word (β^1) ⁴ in C om. AB DHa β ⁵ in C is add. in mar.: Theosebia, Eusebia, above the chap.: Pietas in β in mar.: Pietas in A(E) above the col.: Quid sit theosebia et eusebia A¹(E¹) ⁶ theos. in α a corr. word ⁷ car. trib. CDHa β trib. c. A trib. car. tribuit B ⁸ car. dil. ABCHa β dil. car. D ⁹ ipsa ACDHa β om. B ¹⁰ homini BCD hominum AHa β ¹¹ vanas ABCDH β , α^2 in mar. bonas α ¹² donum ABCD H β , α^2 in mar. om. α ¹³ do. pi. ACHa β pi. do. BD ¹⁴ alios ABCDH α aliquos β

istos novellos ad¹⁵ puram sectam domini Iesu Cristi, quia ista pietas sonaret in amorem eorum et fidelium, quos fatigant. Sed sicut ordo donorum spiritus sancti iuxta dicta superius transformatur, sic et donum pietatis, cum impietas vocatur pietas et e contra.

Nunc enim vocatur pietas tribuere temporalia conviventi,¹⁶ licet ipsa sibi noceant et ecclesie militanti, ac¹⁷ si diceretur, quod pietas magna est tribuere furioso¹⁸ acutum gladium et febricitanti potum calidum.

Et in ista pietate fratres laborant, cum volunt ordinem suum, in quo a religione Cristi¹⁹ degenerant, dilatare. Ideo quidquid persona talis ordinis fecerit, dum in laudem vel proprium lucrum sonuerit, factum²⁰ illius persone tribuunt²¹ toti ordini, et si²² sonet²³ in vituperium, e contrario.²⁴

Unde dubitatur²⁵ communiter, quid²⁶ in puncto proposito²⁷ sit²⁸ tenendum. Et dicunt quidam, quod sicut deus ex quolibet factu laudabili persone private principaliter²⁹ est laudandus, sic ex quolibet culpabili facto³⁰ persone private istorum ordinum ordo integer est culpandus, et specialiter, si ordo ille privatus sit causa vel consenciens illi facinori perpetrato.³¹

Sed contra illud quidam obiciunt, quod per idem quecunque persona peccaverit, puniri debet tota religio cristiana. Sed quid iniquius, cum deus, qui est prima³² iusticia, contradicit faciendo unumquemque portare onus proprium, quia aliter iustus propter dyabolum puniretur.

Hic³³ dicunt quidam, quod isti ordines, non fundati in dominio, debent participare adiutorio ecclesie propter culpam unius persone, cum³⁴ tota ecclesia debet niti totum ordinem illum ad

¹⁵ ad $ABCD\alpha\beta$ reducere ad H ¹⁶ conviventi $CDH\alpha\beta$ convincenti AB ,
 β^1 corr. from conviventi ¹⁷ ac $BCDH\alpha\beta$ et A ¹⁸ fur. $ABCDH\beta$ virtuoso
 $(cr. out)$ fur. α ¹⁹ r. Cr. $ABCD\alpha\beta$ Cr. r. H ²⁰ factum $BCDH\beta$ fratrum $A\alpha$
 21 tribuunt $ABCD\alpha\beta$ tribunt H ²² si $ACDH\alpha\beta$ sic B ²³ sonet $ACDH\alpha\beta$
sonat B ²⁴ e contrario $ACH\alpha\beta$ e converso (?) BD ²⁵ dubitatur $BCDH\alpha\beta, E^2$
in mar. dicuntur A (ud. E) ²⁶ quid CD quod $ABI\alpha\beta$ ²⁷ proposito $ABCD\alpha\beta, H^1$
in mar. om. H ²⁸ sit $ACDH\alpha\beta$ sic B ²⁹ princ. $ABDH\alpha\beta$ istorum ordinum
(ud.) princ. C ³⁰ cul. fa. $ACH\alpha\beta$ fa. cul. BD ³¹ perpetrato $BCDH\alpha\beta, E$ corr.
from -ti perpetrati A ³² prima $ABCD\alpha\beta$ persona (?) p^a) H ³³ hic $ACDH\alpha\beta$
Septimum donum et ultimum (cr. out & up.) hic B ³⁴ cum $ABCDH\alpha$ om. β

puram religionem Cristi reducere. Nam religio Cristi docet bonum pro malo reddere. Igitur cum totus dictus novellus ordo consentit privato facinori, quia error peccati communicatur toti ordini, religio Cristi exigit propter pietatem ad deum et totam suam ecclesiam,³⁵
5 quod error tocius novi ordinis corrigatur.

Ideo sicut percuciens proximum suum³⁶ cum pugno non solum est in pugno ex pietate domini puniendus, || sed bonum penalis³⁷ || C fol. 161a iusticie debet ad totum hominem dilatari, sic videtur in maliciis istorum ordinum.

10 Et quantum³⁸ ad rationem in contrarium, dicitur, quod omnes isti novi ordines sunt participes in errore. Sed secus est de filiis dei predestinatis ad gloriam et de filiis dyaboli prescritis ad penam. Utrobique³⁹ tamen est pietas exercenda, quia, nisi foret pietas in istis novis ordinibus in claustris, consentirem, quod⁴⁰ propter culpam
15 unius persone foret totum conventiculum dissolutum. Sed illa dis-
solucio proficeret cuilibet persone illorum⁴¹ ordinum et toti ecclesie
militanti; non tamen consencio, nisi habuero revelationem divinam,
quod persona aliqua occidatur.^c Sed ad illud, quod⁴² sonat in
utilitatem⁴³ cuiuslibet illarum⁴² et tocius ecclesie, potest catholicus
20 securus operari.

CAP. VIII.¹

Septimum donum et ultimum spiritus sancti² est timor domini,³
quod est basis omnium aliorum. Qui enim debite timet dominum,

^c as to this milder attitude of W. towards the Orders, cp. Trial. 349;
also cod. 1343 (Imper. Libr., Vienna), fol. 51^a in the Tract De
Apostasia; Lechler, I, 590 has printed the passage in question

³⁵ eccl. in β a corr. word ³⁶ suum ABCHaβ om. D ³⁷ penalis B (?),
CDHaβ penale A ³⁸ qua. BCDHaβ ad (cr. out) quan. A ad quan. E
³⁹ utrob. ABCDHβ ubique (cr. out) utrob. a ⁴⁰ consentirem quod ACHaβ, E,
in mar. is added quod consenti racio quod D quod consentiret B ⁴¹ illo-
rum ABCDHα istorum β ⁴² quod ACDHαβ quidem B ⁴³ utilitatem AB
CHaβ inutilitatem (?) motitatem) D ⁴⁴ illarum BCDHαβ illorum A

CAP. VIII. ¹ Number of chap. not given in ACDHαβ ³ sum B ² sa. ABCDH
om. aβ ³ in C is add. above the chap.: Timor domini in β in mar.: Timor domini
Wyclif, Polemical Works.

conservat se ab omni nequicia, quantum potest. Ideo dicit Augustinus,^a quod, sicut seta inducit filum² in durum corium, sic timor domini inducit virtutes alias tempore vel ordine abscondito consequentes. — Et de timore filiali videtur,⁵ quod spiritus sanctus hic loquitur. Timor autem naturalis non est pertinens virtutibus sive viciis, cum 5 Cristus naturaliter timebat, sed timor servilis sapit peccatum ex inexistente recordia. Et timor filialis vocatur timor sanctus, permanens in seculum seculi et ille⁶ timor sive pena inferens⁷ beatitudinem, cum ad deum secundum quantitatem sui dominii terminatur, et includit horrorem peccati persone proprie et amorem per-10 sone divine,⁸ propter quam peccatum in persona propria sic abhorret. Et istum⁹ timorem domini¹⁰ pauci vel nulli viantes possident, cum plus timent temporalem dominum,¹¹ quam dominum deum suum, et plus abhorrent offense sue¹² temporalis gravedinem, quam gravedinem culpe, propter quam homo ex divina iusticia¹³ est dampnatus. Bene ergo foret¹⁴ illi homini, qui perfecte haberet istum timorem domini et sex dona alia, que precedent.

Et hic notant fideles, quomodo isti novelli ordines et omnes iste seete quatuor timuerunt,¹⁵ ubi non erat timor, quia plus amant ordinem suum mardosum, quam sectam vel ordinem cristianum, et 20 plus timent careciam vocati commodi temporalis, quam careciam boni patrie, ex peccato in spiritum sanctum insurgente.

Et ad hoc seducit eos dyabolus huiusmodi¹⁶ paralogismo: ordo suus est melior quam persona aliqua in eodem, sed pro magis bono amplius est zelandum, ergo pro salvacione sui ordinis plus quam 25

CAP. VIII. ^a *W., perhaps, had in his mind August. Opp. (Benedict. Edition) tom. V Sermo XLVI de Pastor, p. 224 B: homo non perficit sanctificationem etc. I have failed to ascertain the quotation verbatim*

⁴ filum *ABCDHa* filium β ⁵ in A (E) is add. in mar. (above the col.): Timor filialis non naturalis est timor dei et donum spiritus sancti *A¹* (*E¹*)

⁶ ille *ACDH $\alpha\beta$* iste *B* ⁷ inferens *ACD* inserens *H $\alpha\beta$* in sanctis *B* ⁸ in D there is a blank space instead of div., the copier, I believe, could not read his original

⁹ istum *BCH β* cum *AE* itum α iterum *D* ¹⁰ domini *ABCH $\alpha\beta$* istum *D*

¹¹ temporalem dominum *ACDH $\alpha\beta$* temporale dominium *B* ¹² sue *ACD $\alpha\beta$* om. *H* ¹³ iust. *ABCDH β* clemencia (*ud.*) iust. α ¹⁴ foret *BE²* in mar. faceret

*ACDH $\alpha\beta$, E (*ud.*)* ¹⁵ timuer. in β corr. from timerunt ¹⁶ huiusmodi *ABCDH α*

huius β

pro aliqua persona eiusdem vel persona aliqua militantis ecclesie est zelandum.

Et iste¹⁷ paralogismus dicitur movisse fratres ad intoxicacionem cesaris in hostia consecrata^{18b} et fratres alios pro nostro tempore ad occisionem domini Ducis Lancastrie, quia noluit¹⁹ sacerdotes fideles punire, secundum quod pro defensione sui ordinis cupiebant.^c

Et istorum ordinum introduccio habet istud periculum in eis abseconditum, quod²⁰ dyabolus potest ipsos ad tantum seducere, quod | conspirent in mortem cesaris,²¹ regum vel²² principum, ymo C fol. 151v
19 communitatum²³ propter inordinatum amorem, quem habent ad tales desistant, cum non habent²⁵ in domino fundamentum. Nam talem mardosum ordinem conservandum. Veritas quidem est, quod²⁴ fides ewangelii dicit Ioh. 10^{26d}: qui non intrat²⁷ per ostium in

^b Either Günther of Schwarzenburg is meant (compare Uetterodt, G. v. Schw., Lpz. 1862, p. 79 ff.) or Henry VII of Germany. According to the most credible contemporaries the latter died August 24th 1313 (shortly after he had received the Holy Sacrament from a Dominican, Bernardino), from the effects of exertions he had undergone in his campaigns, or from the poisonous air of the Maremma. The unknown author of a Brevis hist. ord. Praedic. remarks that the Cistercian monk, John, a chaplain of H.?s, first made the accusation of murder by poison, because he coveted the Dominican's post of confessor to H., see Pöhlmann, Römerzug Heinrichs VII, 1876; also Wenk, Allg. D. Biogr. XI, 448.

^c cp. Chron. Adae de Usk 4; Wals. I, 325 ff. The addition quia noluit etc. probably refers to the famous scene in St. Paul's Church on Feb. 19th 1377, cp. Lechler, I, 370. This notice contradicts what is known of Lancaster's connection with the Mendicant Friars, compare Lechler, I, 369, Note. On account of Wielki's repeated notices of the scandalous plot and the remark of Wals. II, 112 ff., I am not so entirely convinced that Lancaster „was as declared a friend to the Mendicant Friars“, as he was a sworn foe to the prelates. ^d v. 1

¹⁷ iste ABCHa β dicitur D ¹⁸ in A (E) is add. in mar. (above the col.): Quare fratres intoxicarunt cesarem A¹ (E¹) ¹⁹ noluit ABCDH α volunt β , above the v an n by β ² ²⁰ quod CDHa β quia AB ²¹ cesaris ABCHa β om. D ²² vel ABCHa α cesaris vel D β ²³ communitatum BCH comitatum ADA β , C¹ above commun. ²⁴ quod ABCHa β om. D ²⁵ habent ABCDH α habeant β ²⁶ 10 ABCDH α , β ² above 1⁰ 1⁰ β ²⁷ intrat ABCDa β , H¹ in mar. om. H

ovile ovium, sed ascendit aliunde,²⁸ fur est et latro. Omnes autem isti²⁹ novelli ordines non intrant in ecclesiam per ostium Iesum Cristum, sed super tectum ecclesie per cautelam dyaboli subintraverunt.^{30e} Ideo certum est, quod sunt fures et latrones, qui, ut furentur,³¹ mactent³² et perdant,³³ per dyabolum subintrarunt.³⁴ — 5 Et si intrarunt³⁵ per ostium, reseret quicunque eorum, ubi, quando et qualiter ex auctoritate domini subintrarunt. Quod cum nesciunt, apud fideles prudentes isti ordines ex furto et latrocino sunt suspecti.

Sed respondendo sophismati illius dyaboli concedendum est, quod isti ordines materialiter sunt plus amandi quoad³⁶ creaturas 10 istas, que dicuntur esse in ipsis ordinibus, quam persona aliqua eorum,³⁷ verumtamen tam³⁸ persone quam virtutes eorum³⁹ sunt plus amate a domino, quam⁴⁰ mille tales ordines formaliter intellecti salva implicacione falsa, quod tales ordines intellecti⁴¹ formaliter⁴² sunt amandi. 15

Ideo amemus personas et odiamus habitudines glomeratas, et tunc nec frater nec persona aliqua istorum novorum ordinum seducetur sophismate⁴³ dyaboli, occidendo in carcere fratrem suum, vel magnatem aliquem vel communitatem, cum vita naturalis persone sit pocior quam glomeracio talis per dyabolum introducta. 20

Ideo dissipando tales ordines nature et⁴⁴ opera dei in illis ordinibus salvarentur; virtutes autem morales^f sunt infinitum⁴⁵ istis ordinibus meliores. Ideo homo debet mori pro illis virtutibus paciendo.

^e a reproach advanced frequently against the Sects by W. ^f cp. Trial. 128: *iustitia, fortitudo, prudencia, temperancia; generally they are called cardinales, sometimes morales to distinguish them from the virt. intellectuales: sapientia, intellectus, sciencia, ars, prudencia, cp. Trial. 129*

²⁸ aliunde $BCD\alpha\beta$ aliunde A (*compendium om.*) ²⁹ isti $ABC\alpha\beta$ tales D
³⁰ subintraverunt $ACDH\alpha\beta$ subintrarunt B ³¹ furentur $ABCDH\alpha$ finientur β
³² mactent $BCDH\alpha$ mactant A et mactent β ³³ perdant $ABCDH\alpha$ deperdant β ³⁴ subintrarunt $BCH\alpha$ subintraverunt $A\beta$ subintrant D ³⁵ intrarunt $ACDH\alpha$ intrant B intraverunt β ³⁶ quoad $ABCD\alpha\beta$ qua ad H ³⁷ eorum B earum $ACDH\alpha\beta$ ³⁸ tam $CDH\alpha\beta$ om. AB ³⁹ eorum B earum $ACDH\alpha\beta$
⁴⁰ quam $BCDH\alpha\beta, E$, corr. later above quod quod AE ⁴¹ intellecti $ACD\alpha\beta, H(?)$ om. B ⁴² i. f. $ACH\beta$ f. i. D int. sunt (su. cr. out) for. a f. B , cp. note 41
⁴³ sophismate $BCDH\alpha\beta$ sophismati (? sompniati) AE ⁴⁴ et $ABCDH\alpha$ ut β
⁴⁵ infi. $ABC\alpha\beta$ in inf. D

CAP. IX.¹

Sed contra illud obicit antieristus, quod iuxta hanc evidenciam artes confederate, gilde,² ville, patrie non sese amarent³ reciproce, cum⁴ ex istis oriri possent pugne⁵ et bella, multi⁶ populi destructiva. Non ergo sequitur, ex istis poterunt⁷ oriri multa mala,⁸ ergo sunt 5 a populo destruenda, cum ex qualibet creatura, ymo, ut quibus-dam^a placet, ex deo oriri poterunt⁹ multa mala.

Hic dicitur, quod fidelis non quiescit super istam evidenciam, sed pocius super istam: Cristus, dominus noster omnipotens, omni-sciens et omnivolus,¹⁰ fuit in lege et ordinacione sua completissimus, 10 compendiosissimus et nullo modo a deo vel creatura aliqua¹¹ cul-pabilis vel eciam defectivus.¹² Sed ipse in toto corpore legis sue non docuit explicite vel implicite, quod ad regendum ecclesiam suam oriri debeant tales secte.^b Ideo catholicus debet quiescere in mensura ordinante¹³ Iesu Christi¹⁴ sui. Maior patet ex fide, 15 minor¹⁵ ex hoc evidet, quod secta Christi compendiosissima sit¹⁶ per se sufficiens, ergo superflueret¹⁷ addere novas sectas. Universitas enim creata¹⁸ tendit ad dei¹⁹ similitudinem, quantum permittit

CAP. IX. ^a Th. Bradwardin, *De Causa Dei I cap. 32 fol. 282 edit. by H. Savile, Lond. 1618); as to this, cp. Lechler I, 236 ff.; 504 ff. According to Thom. Aquin., *Summa I qu. 49 art. 2, Deus est causa mali per accidens*, cp. J. Müller, *Sünde* (1853) p. 307 ff. ^b to make good this reproach, W. wrote *De Fund. Sect.*, cp. above p. 13 ff. and below p. 230 l. 18*

CAP. IX. ¹ Number of chap. not given in ACH $\alpha\beta$, in D the text is not inter-rupted Capm novum B ² in D there is a blank space instead of gilde; the bohemian copier could not, I presume, make out this uncommon word of his text ³ amarent ACDH $\alpha\beta$ armarent B ⁴ cum BCDH $\alpha\beta$ nam A ⁵ poss. pug. ACDH $\alpha\beta$ poss. possent pug. B ⁶ mul. ABCDH $\alpha\beta$ et mul. D ⁷ ex istis poterunt ACDH α ex (cr. out) poterunt B ex istis potuerunt (?) poterunt) β ⁸ p. or. mu. ma. ABCDH $\alpha\beta$ p. mu. ma. o. D ⁹ or. poterunt BCH α or. poterant A poterunt or. D or. potuerunt (?) poterunt) β , cp. n. 7 ¹⁰ omnivolus ABCDH α omnibenivolus β ¹¹ cr. al. ABCDH $\alpha\beta$ al. cr. D ¹² defectivus ACDH $\alpha\beta$ defanus B ¹³ ordinante C β et ordinacione A ordinacione BH α ordinacie D ¹⁴ Christi ACDH $\alpha\beta$ vni. B ¹⁵ minor ACDH $\alpha\beta$ et minor B ¹⁶ sit ACDH $\alpha\beta$ fuit B ¹⁷ superflueret ABCDH β , ^a in mar. sufficeret (cr. out) a ¹⁸ cr. ABCH $\alpha\beta$ dei cr. D ¹⁹ dei ACDH $\alpha\beta$ om. B

racio, et sic de quolibet membro suo. Ecclesia ergo Cristi propter unitatem patroni et propter unitatem regule²⁰ secte Cristi appetit unitatem, et quando post mille annos sathanas est solutus et in-

C fol. 162^a ducta est de fratribus secta novissima, tunc decrevit^c.

Ideo quidam capiunt ab effectu experientiam, quod tam Cristus 5 quam racio secundum doctrinam apostoli Eph. 4^{21d} talem appetit unitatem. Et racio tercia stat in isto,²² quod Cristus racioni plus consone potuit ecclesiam suam in unitate huiusmodi ordinare. Nec racio vel²³ auctoritas isti repugnat, sed consonat, ideo istud catholice est tenendum.

10

Ideo si aliique persone de hiis sectis, ut²⁴ fratres²⁵ vel²⁶ alii, fingant, quod Cristus confuse vel sentencialiter²⁷ innuat sectam suam,²⁸ dicant, ubi sit,²⁹ per que media.^{30e} Et induat catholicus prudenter habitum responsalem. Et notet fidelis, quomodo Cristus³¹ quandoque per verba, quandoque per opera et quandoque per 15 taciturnitatem locutus fuit absconsius vel expressius, secundum quod fuit expediens sue ecclesie, veritatem. Ubi ergo innuit Cristus istas sectas, dicant fratres, si sciverint.³² Et ideo³³ videtur, quod Cristus ipsas approbativa et explicite non curavit, sed, ut patet alibi de Fratrum Fundacione, illarum³⁴ errorem multipliciter prophetavit.³⁵ 20

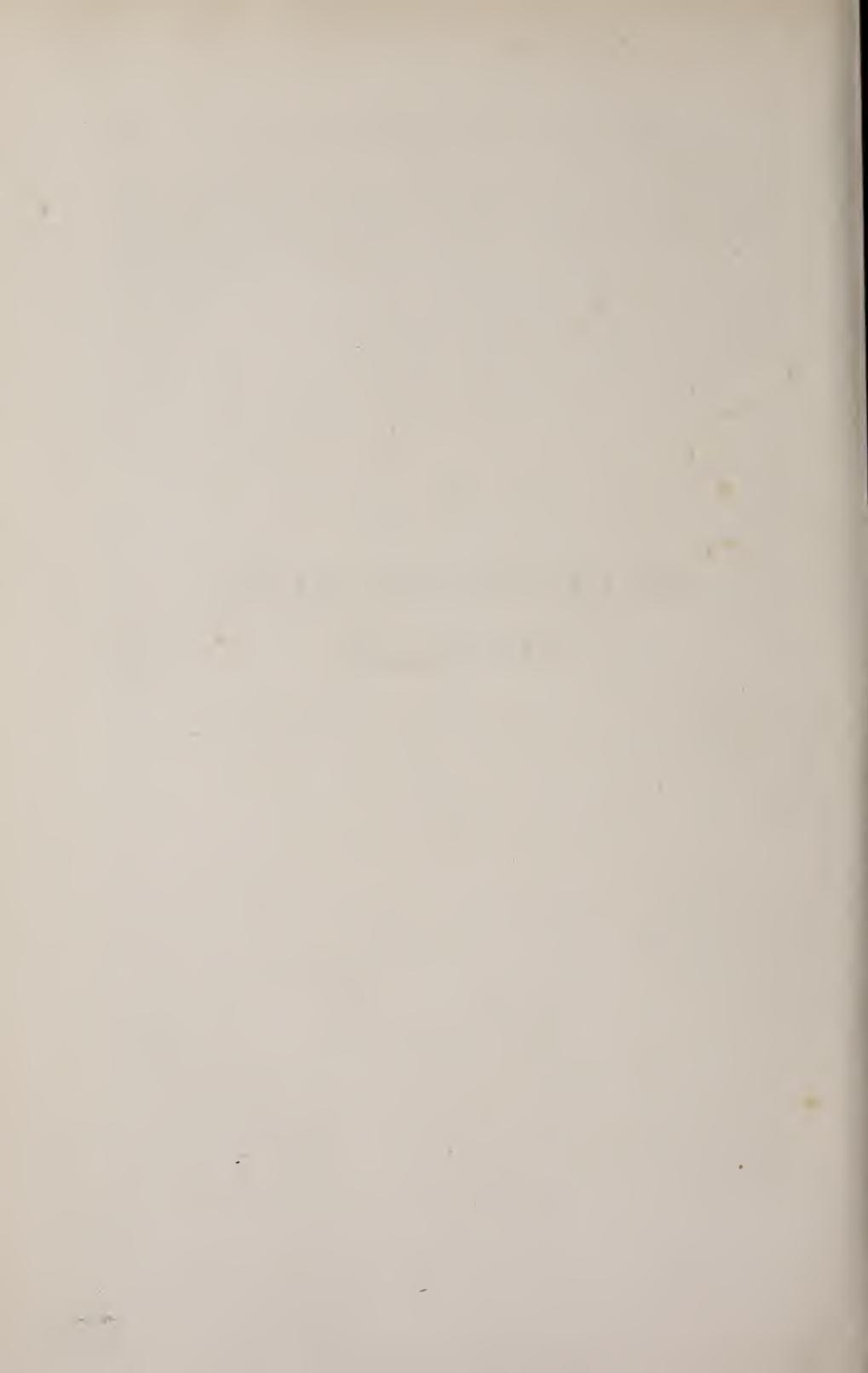
Plexitic tustatare ed temsep snido Spe Sti.³⁶

^c as to this, cp. below the Tract De Solut. Sat. ^d v. 3 ff. ^e these slight hints are explained more fully in De Fundat. Sect., cp. above p. 13 ff.

²⁰ regule ABCHa β om. D ²¹ 4 ACDHa β 9 B ²² in C is add. in mar.: Racio ²³ vel CDH $\alpha\beta$ nec AB ²⁴ ut ACDH β,α^2 in mar. ut (corr. by B¹ from nec) B per (cr. out) α ut, above it nec E ²⁵ fratr. ABCDa β per fratres II ²⁶ vel ACDHa β vel (corr. by B¹ from nec) B ²⁷ sententialiter ACDHa finaliter B β ²⁸ se. su. ABCDa β su. se. H ²⁹ sit ABCDH α sint β ³⁰ media BCDHa β om. A ³¹ quoni. Cr. ABCDa β,H^1 in mar. om. H ³² here ends in H the col. (211^b); the closing words of the Tract are added above the text of col. 212^a, which is written by a different hand (that of fol. 208 and 209, see above cap. VI note 28) ³³ ideo ACDH $\alpha\beta$ ideo (cr. out) omnino B ³⁴ illarum BC α illorum ADH β ³⁵ prophetavit BCDHa proph. etc. A prophetavit amen β ³⁶ i. e. Explicit tractatus de septem donis Spiritus sancti Explicit tractatus de VII donis spiritus sancti AH Explicit tractatus de septem donis spiritus sancti secundum doctorem ewangelicum De triplici vineculo amoris Cap. primum B Tractatus de VII donis spiritus sancti D without Explicit $\alpha\beta$

VI.

DE QUATTUOR SECTIS
NOVELLIS.



DE QUATTUOR SECTIS NOVELLIS.

I. Division.

- (A) *Introduction: On sound foundations of the State, chap. I.*
- (B) *Argument:*
 - (a) *Thesis: the pernicious influence of the Four Sects, chap. I—IV.*
 - (b) *Antithesis: objections to the thesis and counter arguments, chap. V—X.*
 - (c) *Synthesis: on remedies of the evil, chap. XI—XII.*
- (C) *Conclusion: the interests of the Church are best promoted by vigorous opposition to the Sects, chap. XII.*

II. Summary of Contents.

Chap. I. One of the most important commands in the Decalogue is love of parents and neighbours, p. 241. He who assists a brother, at the same time helps to support Church and State; the lower orders (wlgares) especially, as the basis of the realm, require the spiritual support of the priests, and the temporal aid of the laity, p. 242. The Four Sects work in an entirely opposite direction, injurious to Church and State, and should, therefore, be abolished, p. 242. — Their four kinds. (1) The clerus cesareus, the endowed priests, bishops, cardinals, and pope possess what belongs by right to the temporal power, p. 243. They ought no longer to be allowed to rob the State, or to transfer their treasures to a foreign power, p. 244.

Chap. II. — (2) The second Sect, the Monks, are a burden to the State as such, as well as indirectly to the poor; were they re-

moved, large sums would be available for the poor, p. 245. Why should not the clergy live entirely by alms? They do not abide by their three vows, and it is a singular coincidence that especially the vow of poverty has become ruinous to the poor of the land, p. 246—247.

Chap. III. — (3) *The third order, the Canons are full of lies and deceit, both as regards their (pretended) foundation by St. Augustine, p. 247—248, their sinful endowments, p. 248—249, their miracles, and their saints, p. 249—251.*

Chap. IV. (4) *The most pernicious in their influence, however, are the Mendicant Friars, the fourth order, p. 252; their four lies: (a) that Christ begged as they do, (b) that a life according to the rules of their order is more perfect than a simple pious christian life, (c) that it is also more perfect than the life of other orders (fables about the habits of the Orders and the letters of Fraternity), (e) that their prayers are of more avail than the intercession of our Lord, p. 252. Thus through their lying arts they become hurtful to the kingdom, p. 253, especially to the poor, who can less easily understand the inner motives of their actions, p. 254. They alienate the people from the true faith by opposing the preaching of the simple Gospel, p. 255, and by refusing taxes to the King (Proposal of an annual tax of 1000 Mark to be put on the fratres) etc. etc., p. 255—256.*

Chap. V. *The objections and their refutation. (1) If the Pope were removed, the Church would be without a head and like the heathen, p. 256. — Answer, prefaced by W.'s protest, that he will not allow himself to be controverted but by arguments from Holy Scripture or sound reason, p. 256: Christ alone is sufficient for the Church, p. 257; since, as every one predestinated is a priest, there would be no want of clergy or bishops, p. 258; it is a fable that the Pope alone can consecrate archbishops etc., p. 259, he is, therefore, to be received only so far as he agrees with the Gospel, p. 260.*

Chap. VI. *The bishops, too, are superfluous; the primitive Church existed several centuries without them in a flourishing state, p. 260—261. Why should not a simple priest have the power to hold confirmations, ordinations etc.? a privilege, which the bishops now arrogate to themselves, p. 261. The bishops should rather preach the Word of God, instead of placing it lower than the Rules of Sarum (Salisbury), p. 262; the Church would then flourish as in Apostolic times, p. 263—264.*

Chap. VII. (2) *The objection (of a certain frater) that all the*

preceding assertions are not to be proved by Scripture, p. 264, may be refuted thus: Christ, who knew best how to care for His Church, has not mentioned the Four Sects in His Gospel (or if He did, He blamed them), p. 265—266; nor did St. Paul venture to found new ones, p. 267. Only the office of deacon is upheld by Scripture, not the Four Orders; they should, therefore, be abolished, p. 267—269.

Chap. VIII. (3) New objection: according to the principles brought forward in the preceding chapters, (a) the Hospital knights ought also to be abolished, p. 269. — Yes, they ought to, because all the good done by them can be effected without constituting an order, p. 270. (b) Also the colleges of the University should cease, p. 271. — Yes, they should, because jealousy, perjury, and simony are fostered by them, p. 272. Although it is true that much good springs from them, yet their foundations and rich endowments withdraw large possessions from the Church, and they are nevertheless powerless to bring back the priesthood to their ancient purity of life, p. 272, (c) also the cantarie (chantries) should be abolished, p. 272—273.

Chap. IX. To reform the First Sect (ep. chap. I) it would be best to deprive them of their temporal possessions, p. 273—274; the sovereign of the land should choose a worthy priest for every parish, and should of his plenary power replace him if he prove unworthy, p. 274—275. It was thus in the primitive Church, which was more flourishing than the present, p. 276—277.

Chap. X. Should it be urged, that the temporal lords may with equal right be deprived of their possessions, p. 278, the answer to this diabolical subtlety (which attempts to adjudge all power temporal as well as spiritual to the Pope) should be that Christ Himself teaches, tribute is to be paid to the emperor and not to Peter (or the Pope), p. 278. More over, that the temporal power requires outward means for the maintenance of order, peace, and the stability and welfare of the realm, p. 279—281.

Chap. XI. In order to remove the evils mentioned above, the king should (1) on the death of a prelate confiscate his estates, in case the investment of his successor cannot take place without danger, p. 281—282; (2) he should require from the Four Sects a proof from Scripture for their right to exist, and for their doctrine of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, p. 282—283, and (3) he should abolish the endowments of the Four Sects as unscriptural, since they serve private and earthly, not heavenly interests, p. 283—284,

Chap. XII. *If, however, the members of the several Sects will return to the religion of Christ, they may continue to exist, p. 285; the worthiest and ablest of them should be installed as rectors into parishes, others should be placed as priests, teachers, or artisans, following St. Paul's example, p. 285.* There is certainly no prospect of this at present, as the head of the First Sect (the Pope) arrogates to himself all power on earth (on the ground of an erroneous — mystical — exposition of St. Luke 22, 39), p. 286. Moreover, the author will gladly recant if he be in error, or can be refuted by arguments founded on Scripture or reason, p. 287. Meantime he hopes best to serve the interests of the Church by opposing and exposing the erroneous teaching of the Four Sects, p. 287—289.

III. Date of Composition.

There are numerous data by which to fix the time at which this Tract was written. W.'s conflict regarding the Roman doctrine of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper (which began in the summer of 1381, ep. *Fascie. Zix.* 104) had already taken place, ep. host. consecr. p. 262 l. 1; *de quidditate ho. cons.* p. 282 l. 12; likewise the Great Schism of 1378 and the papal wars of the two heads of Christendom, ep. *quod unus papa etc.* p. 249 l. 27 are presupposed. Neutr. eorum etc. p. 257 l. 21 refers to a later period of the contest, thus the period after 1381 comes in question, compare Lechler, *J. v. W.* I, 580 ff. Further, according to p. 250 l. 5 isto bello Flandrie etc., p. 265 l. 6 ff. nostratisbus ut in etc., the Crusade of Bishop Spenser of Norwich (May—October 1383) has already begun. Again from the notice *nec scimus, si iste ultimus exitus etc.* p. 281 l. 4 ff., we may, I think, conclude that the Crusade was neither ended, nor had news of its ultimate, most unfortunate (ep. *Pauli, Geschichte von England IV*, 544 ff.) result yet reached England. The first (favorable) news came before Midsummer 1383, ep. below chap. X, note h. This would bring us to the early summer (June, July) of 1383. If, in addition to this, we take into account the notice of the eclipse of the sun, which, according to *Chronic. Angl.* 360, took place August 17th 1383, the date arrived at above will be confirmed. The Tract was written, therefore, in the early summer (June—July) 1383, since W. mentions the coniunctio as impending¹ (*que proximo est futura ibid. l. 19—20*).

¹ The ‘coniunctio planetarum Iovis et Saturni’ mentioned by *Walshingham Ypod. Neust.* 341, which took place in the month of May 1385, cannot be taken

IV. Genuineness.(a) *External evidence:*

- (1) *Wielif-Catal. of the Vienna codd. except cod. 7980, ep. above p. 7*
- (2) *Walden, Doctrinale Fidei, II, 57 etc.*
- (3) *Bale, Illust. Script. Summ. 156*
- (4) *cod. C, Explicit, ep. cap. XII, n. 80*
- (5) *ep. also the front cover of cod. A*
- (6) *ep. notice on the front cover cod. E; as to (5) and (6) ep. above General Introd. IV, Description of the codd.*
- (7) *ep. below cap. V, note 6*
- (8) *Denis, Cod. MS. Theol. II, 1437; 1453; 1466*
- (9) *Shirley, Catal. p. 28, No. 85.*
- (10) *Lechler, J. v. W. II, 568*

(b) *Interior evidence:*

- (1) *ep. above General Introd. V, e*
- (2) *the frequent reference to English affairs*
- (3) *ep. for instance cap. I, note b; c; e; f; III, d; IV, e; n; V, a; c; i; VI, b; VII, c; d; q; VIII, e; IX, d; e*

V. Not printed heretofore.**VI. Extant in**

<i>cod. 3929 = A fol. 225^a—233^b</i>	$\begin{cases} A^1 = \text{Glosser (pale black ink)} \\ A^2 = \text{Glosser (red ink, thick hand)} \end{cases}$
<i>cod. 4527 = C fol. 34^b—46^b</i>	$\begin{cases} C^1 = \text{Corrector (red ink)} \\ C^2 = \text{Corrector (thin hand)} \end{cases}$
<i>cod. 1337 = E fol. 81^c—95^a</i>	$\begin{cases} E^1 = \text{Corrector (pale ink)} \\ E^2 = \text{Corrector (quod vere)} \\ E^3 = \text{Glosser (red ink)} \end{cases}$
	<i>in the Imperial Libr. at Vienna</i>
<i>cod. XI. E. 3. = γ fol. 1^a—5^b</i>	$\gamma^1 = \text{Corrector (perhaps texthand)}$
	<i>the latter in the Univers.-Libr. at Prague.</i>

VII. The Manuscripts.

A. *Their relationship. I. A—E. The connection between these is evident (1) from their almost entire agreement when compared*

into consideration here, first from chronological reasons, and because, according to our quotation (cum luna etc. p. 280 l. 20 ff.), the constellation of the moon is also affected by this eclipse.

with the two other codd.; in 50 cases (out of 501 decisive readings) they both give the same reading against the consensus of the others, a number which is not nearly approached by any other combination. The number of passages in which they jointly agree with one of the two other codd., is much larger. (2) *As characteristic of their common origin, ep. arceant. III, 6; brach. X, 17; legi etc. XI, 34—36; further unica I, 8; spe I, 12; debent I, 19; inquir. II, 8; pingibus II, 12; offend. III, 25: serv. V, 7; doc. VII, 67; qui (om.) VIII, 9; finem VIII, 17; et VIII, 21; 22; p. d. s. C. IX, 5; confit. IX, 29; subd. IX, 35; sed (om.) IX, 55; util. IX, 77; deneg. XI, 37; temp. (om.) XI, 13; indigene XI, 25; notar. XII, 53; peccato XII, 12; quam XII, 71. —*

A cannot be immediately copied from E, (1) because E is exceedingly corrupted and A does not give the same wrong readings; (2) ep. sue fratr. etc. IV, 9; temp. XII, 52; excus. IX, 42; commodo XI, 23; sed duo gladii XII, 46; in Angl. I, 22; Cristo paup. II, 14; atque stult. III, 20; lic. fuer. V, 33; vel honor. prop. VI, 34; predica. VI, 53; and very many other lacunae of smaller length. All these omissions are filled up by E¹. — Nor was E after having been corrected (by E¹) the original of A, ep. quomodo XI, 23; regni I, 17; especially Angl. I, 22; papa V, 19; error. V, 22; et sic V, 30; posset XI, 7. — On the other hand, E is not the copy of A, ep. nec hom. etc. III, 41; plus cred. III, 56; in hiis bon. ser. VIII, 62; pleth. vel laq. X, 27. — Moreover, it seems to me doubtful on account of the great number of independent readings, which cannot be explained as mere errors in copying or reading, whether A and E have the same original; ep. in hiis b. ser. VIII, 62; Sar. VI, 40; but for want of evidence there is no conclusive proof.

II. Class C—γ. All that has been said above of the connection between A—E, may also be taken into account with regard to the relation between C—γ; but their connection is not so close as that of the first group; to prove this, ep. the combinations made use of above for A—E: unica I, 8 etc. and the additional ones: succumb. II, 28; proteccio XI, 36; utilit. IX, 77; inequa IV, 28, and especially arceaturi III, 6; ep. further, besides many other irrelevant passages, the order of the words, for instance: d. s. C. p. IX, 5; u. p. a. e. IX, 7. — C has not been copied immediately from γ, ep. precept. I, 32; viv. II, 6, sit III, 48; reg. IV, 64 and 65; plus V, 13; de Pau. V, 32; rec. VI, 16; et etc. VI, 54; part. IX, 16; se. IX, 30; antier. X, 8; mort. XI, 16; tal. XII, 7; pop. XII, 15; especially

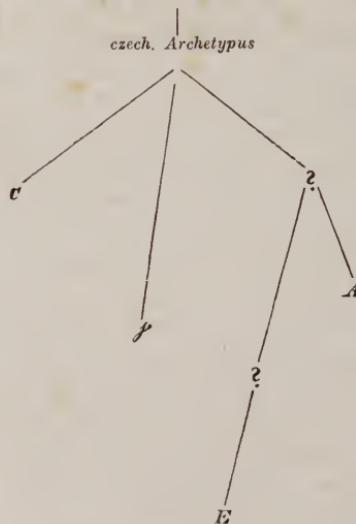
vir. etc. III, 4; influenc. VI, 17; suam etc. VI, 38; advers. etc. VII, 11; si aut. IX, 41; nor has γ been copied from C, cp. ut IV, 39; bene V, 55; est VII, 41; sunt IX, 3; rem. IX, 44; die. IX, 67; fier. X, 7. No particular stress is to be laid on these passages (omissions), as they may be explained by the carelessness of the writer; but they become, I believe, of importance, if we take what follows into consideration. From several passages not necessary to notice here (see below the critical notes), it appears that the text of γ in common with E's often differs from that of C, cp. for example: patet (om.) IV, 20; ut IV, 39; fratr. VII, 36; centra (om.) IX, 44; humil. XII, 73; these passages might, perhaps, be explained, for want of a better reason, as the effect of carelessness; but what cannot be explained as negligence, is that all these careless readings of E occur in exactly the same passages as those of γ . γ is, therefore, in some way connected also with E, but I am not able to explain, in what degree.

The characteristic reading ante ea (annea) of CE γ chap. XII, 62 (against the correct antea of A) would seem to indicate that the same archetype, however remote it be, must also be recognised for C. The scribe of γ had already twice written ante ea, here C joins him, whilst E reads the monstrous annea from the known abbreviation for antea.

B. The best Codex. Amongst about 500 variations, which are to be taken into account, if wish to find out the best codex, E reads the false ones in more than half the number, viz. in 281 cases ($= 56\%$),¹ γ in 127 cases ($25\frac{1}{2}\%$), A in 120 cases (24%), but C only in 64 cases (15%). Therefore E must be excluded from the very beginning. But as there is no evidence at all, that it is copied directly from one of the three other codd. and as it gives in no few places the correct (or, at least, a characteristic) reading against the (wrong) consensus of the three others codices (cp. exercere V, 54; dei VIII, 95; pleth. etc. X, 27; petita XII, 66), I will add in my critical list its variants. Its corrector, E¹ must also be taken into consideration. The passages: in Angl. etc. — defectu I, 22; regni I, 17; papa V, 19; et sic V, 30; posset XI, 7; quom. XI, 23 show, that he has not corrected from one of the three other codd. so that eventually

¹ After a careful comparison I have found this number. From the following critical notes this number cannot be precisely vouched for, since I have not as a rule noticed the unimportant corrections of E¹, nor the corruptions of E; I added them as far as chap. VIII incl., merely to give the reader and critic an idea of the corruption of E.

he may possibly offer some readings of value, but, at the same time, it is evident from them, that his corrections are not to be depended on, cp. especially posset XI, 7, where he evidently corrected not from his original, but was led by his fancy; also quomodo XI, 23 (abbreviation?!). For these reasons, and because this corrector in no passage gives the correct reading against the common agreement of the others, I note the corrections of *E*¹ only in the first chapp. to give the reader an idea of the corruption of his readings.¹ *γ* and *A*, it is true, offer in many places the correct reading independently from, and in contradistinction to, the agreement of the rest. Still they stand so far behind *C* (as is shown by the numbers given above), that they cannot be employed as a principal authority in the formation of the text.² I take my text, therefore, from the cod. *C*; the following diagram may serve to show the relationship of the four MSS.



¹ In this way, it is true, a great number of *E*'s corruptions, which *E*¹ has corrected, are lost.

² *γ* evidently write carelessly, as is proved by the numerous errors mentioned below in the critical notes; cp., for example, passages like quod VII, 21; quod VII, 28; pand. VII, 35; dedisset VII, 37 etc. *A* is better than *γ*.

JOHANNIS WICLIF

DE QUATTUOR SECTIS NOVELLIS.

CAP. I.¹

²Secundum tres virtutes theologicas^a fideles quidam supponunt
se moveri a domino ad fidem theologicam³ atque consilia ecclesie⁴
promulgandum. Nam constat ex fide catholica⁵,⁶ quod militans
ecclesia sit mater personarum ecclesie militancium, et cum primum
5 mandatum secunde tabule monet patrem et matrem diligere, ille
videtur prevaricator mandatorum tocius decalogi, qui non donat ad
utilitatem ecclesie perfecciora⁶ dona dei ad hoc sibi a deo gratis
donata. Et hoc movebat Paulum et ceteros apostolos usque ad mor-
tem scribendo et predicando ad utilitatem ecclesie laborare.

10 Qui ergo sumus nos, qui necessitamus aliter mori penalius,
qui loquimur⁷ veritatem catholicam ad utilitatem ecclesie militantis?

Cum autem ecclesia sit domus domini et vinea,⁸ que debet
esse fructifera, debet instar istorum⁹ quodammodo gubernari, et
impossibile est regi bene¹⁰ ecclesiam, nisi regatur secundum regulas¹¹

CAP. I. ^a fides, spes, caritas; cp. I Cor. 13, 13

*CAP. I. ¹ Title, Expl. and Inc. not given in AC γ Explicit tractus de perfec-
cione statuum Incipit de quatuor sectis novellis E ² cod. A fol. 225^a lin. 21
cod. E fol. 81^c lin. 41 ² cod. γ fol. 1^a lin. 1 in C about a fifth of the page is
not written upon ³ theologicam CE theoloicam γ catholicam A ⁴ eccl. is in
A corr. later into the text ⁵ cathol. CE γ om. A ⁶ perf. AC γ militantis perf. E
⁷ loq. ACE non loq. γ ⁸ vinea C γ unica AE ⁹ istorum AC γ eorum E
¹⁰ r. b. C b. r. AE γ ¹¹ regulas ACE regulam γ*

legis dei. Et ita in spem¹² retribucionis eterne quelibet persona regni debet fratrem suum diligere et per consequens sibi specialiter proficere, dum in caritate debite servierit deo suo. Sicut enim singule partes terre se ipsas et spheram suam usque ad centrum iuvant reciproce, sic regnum debet partes eius singulas et specialiter 5 se totum¹³ saltem spiritualiter adiuvare.^b

Videtur autem ex lege domini, quod partes cuncte¹⁴ regni fideliter debent facere, quod eis attinet et superflua expurgare.¹⁵ Sic enim colitur vinea et fructificacio eius destruitur, dum pretermittitur officium eius¹⁶ cultus. Et sic iuxta principium apostoli unum 10 membrum regni non dampnificaret reliquum,¹⁷ nec ipsum in temporalibus vel spiritualibus oneraret, sed pocius unumquodque eorum saltem spiritualiter reliquum adiuvaret.

Ex quo patet, quod pars tercia ecclesie,¹⁸ ut wlgares,^c non debet¹⁹ contra legem dei opprimi, sed cum sit²⁰ fundamentum 15 regni, debet secundum legem dei a partibus superioribus stabiliri, a sacerdotibus spiritualiter et a dominis corporaliter, quia aliter necesse est regnum ex defectu sui ipsius corruere, cum secundum sentenciam Salvatoris^d omne regnum in se ipsum²¹ divisum desolabitur. 20

C fol. 35a

Quatuor autem sunt secte in Angliam et regna alia introducte, et ipse ex defectu²² fundacionis a Christo sunt ecclesie onerose^e et per consequens ad stabilicionem regni et ecclesie expurgande.^{23f}

Sunt autem hee secte quatuor²⁴: sacerdos cesareus, monachus, 25 canonicus atque frater.^g

^b as to this, cp. *De Christo et Adv. suo cap. I commencement*

^c cp. *ibidem* ^d cp. *Matt. 12, 25* ^e cp. *Arnold, S. E. W. III, 512*

^f cp. *ibidem III, 361; 437* ^g cp. *De tripl. Vinc. Am. cap. IV p. 173*

¹² spem *Cγ* spe *AE* ¹³ totum *ACE* totam *γ* ¹⁴ cuncte *ACE* cuncti *γ*
¹⁵ expurgare *CEγ* expurgari *A* ¹⁶ eius *Cγ* huius *AE* ¹⁷ in *E* is add.
 regni in mar. with mark of ref. to da. by *E¹* ¹⁸ eccles. *CEγ* om. *A* ¹⁹ debet
Cγ debent *AE* ²⁰ sit *ACγ* sint *E* in *A* is add. in mar.: Wlgares sunt fundamen-
 tum regni *A¹* ²¹ ipsum *Cγ* ipso *E* om. *A* ²² in Angl. — defectu *ACγ*
 ex defectu *E*, but above the col. *E¹* has added: in *A*. et r. a. i. et sic i. ex def.
²³ expurgande *ACγ* expurgandi *E* ²⁴ in *C* is add. in mar.: Quatuor secte in *A*

Sacerdos autem cesareus²⁵ ad onus et dampnum regni late dispergitur, cum a papa et cardinalibus capitaliter capit originem et in episcopos et alias dotatos presbiteros contra legem dei²⁶ distenditur. Et intelliguntur in proposito dotati presbiteri, quicunque seculares clerici, 5 qui ex origine dotacionis cesaris seculari dominio sunt dotati. Totum autem hoc dominium debet dominis secularibus pertinere et nunc ex dispositione humana tam cleruS quam hoc brachium contra ordinacionem domini est infectum.

Et sic infirmatis istis partibus necesse est terciam partem 10 ecclesie infirmari, et quia in spiritualia superiora noticia sensibilis introducit, memorandum, quomodo ista distemperancia²⁷ regnum²⁸ in temporalibus discrasiat. Cum autem necesse sit,²⁹ regem et dominos habundare in temporalibus pro suo officio adimplendo, que caritas vel racio moveret regnum nostrum conferre uni alienigene³⁰ 15 discolo bona sua et permettere pauperes suos indigenas adeo indigere. Et si allegetur papa, illud precipiens, benedictus deus, qui non permittit tantam culpam in anticeristo ulterius prevalere, sed divisit caput serpentis movens unam partem ad aliam conterendam.³¹^h Consilium autem Christi, ymo verius preceptum³² tocius 20 trinitatis est in isto casu, non credere nec abire, ut patet Matth. 24ⁱ.

Consilium ergo sanum videtur permettere has duas partes³³ anticeristi se ipsas destruere, et cristicola debet esse paratus ad obediendum in Christi nomine utriusque illorum vel cuiuscunque³⁴ alteri secundum formam, qua³⁵ fideles obedierunt³⁶ monitis sancti Petri.

^h through the Great Schism of 1378; cp. Suppl. Trial. p. 424:
Sed benedictus dominus Jesus Christus, qui est caput ecclesiae, in parte
contrivit et divisit in partes contrarias caput huiusmodi maledictum!
cp. also the following passages ⁱ v. 26

is add. above the col.: Quatuor secte principales A¹ in E is add. below the col.:
Secte quatuor Sacerdos cesareus Monachus Canonicus Frater E² ²⁵ in C in
mar.: Prima secta ²⁶ dei AEγ domini (cr. out & ud.) C, but in mar. dei
(texthand?) ²⁷ distemperancia ACE discrepancia γ ²⁸ regnum ACγ re-
gum E ²⁹ sit CEγ est A ³⁰ alienigene AC alienigenigene E (geni ud.)
aligene γ ³¹ conterendam ACγ conterendam E, C¹ in mar. ³² prec. ACE
om. γ ³³ pa. ACE sectas partes γ ³⁴ cuiuscunque CEγ tamen A ³⁵ qua
ACγ quam E ³⁶ obedierunt ACγ obediverunt E

Si autem ultra urgeant³⁷ propter secularem dominacionem vel temporalem cupidinem, declina³⁸ ab illis ut a precipuis anticeristis.

Et istud debet principibus regnorum tamquam principium stabiliri, quod non permittant clericum ultra legem Christi vel facta sancti Petri regnum, quod regulant, spoliare et multo magis rex ⁵ non permetteret, clericos suos intrinsecos deferre³⁹ thezaurum suum ad aliquam talem curiam pro beneficiis acquirendis,⁴⁰ cum tunc foret princeps consumpcionis⁴¹ thezauri proprii et auctor symonie et sceleris perpetrati. Et sic si consilium regis notaverit, quanta pecunia a regno pro talibus privilegiis et anticeristivis immolacio-¹⁰ nibus annuatim⁴² per discolos est exhausta,^k non oporteret pauperes regni pro defensione ipsius vel dominorum secularium supra racionis limites spoliare.

CAP. II.¹

|| Secunda secta extravagans est de monachis, cum suis parti-
culis adinventis.

Notata autem tota dominacione, quam secta ista habet in Anglia,¹⁵ et adiuneta dominacione, quam habent episcopi cum aliis secularibus servitoribus anticeristi, pateret luce clarissimum, quod rex et seculares domini, habentes ista in propriis manibus, possunt multa milia librarum de regno nostro expendere, plus quam modo sufficiunt, annuatim,^a et tunc non oporteret pauperes regni nostri propter²⁰ tales incumbentes necessitates preter legem domini onerari. Illi autem, qui culpabiliter conscienciant istis oneribus, in isto conscient-

^k cp. *De Fundacione Sectarum cap. IV* p. 28: *quadraginta milia librarum, again above p. 103, 192 ff. and Trialog. 369*

CAP. II. ^a cp. *De triplici Vinc. Am. cap. IX* p. 192 and 193, where 40,000 Mark, and *Trialog. 369*, where 60,000 Mark are given as the yearly expenses the Friars put the country to; cp. also above p. 103 n. l

³⁷ urgeant *ACγ* vigeant *E* ³⁸ declina *ACE* declinari *γ* ³⁹ def. *ACγ* om. *E* ⁴⁰ in *A* is add. in mar.: Reges non debent permettere clericos deportare thezaurum ad curiam pape *A*² ⁴¹ princeps consumpcionis *ACγ* principis consummacionis *E* ⁴² annua. *ACγ, E*¹ in mar. animatim (*ud.*) *E*

CAP. II. ¹ cam 2m C in mar., above it: Secunda secta the number of the chap. is not given in *AEγ*

ciam perdiderunt; nec mirum, quia auferendo ista a dominis reputarent² se prestare deo obsequium et proficere³ utrumque meritum ad spirituale suffragium augmentandum. Et ista cecitas in fide, qua anticeristus patrias sic cecavit, excedit dampnum, quo depau-
5 peravit dominos per furtivam ablacionem dominii temporalis.

Constat quidem ex legibus multiplicibus legis veteris, quomodo clerus non debet taliter dominari, sed de parte domini secundum pauperem vitam et humilem contentari. Et istud confirmatur luce clarius ex vita paupere et verbis multiplicibus domini Iesu Cristi,
10 qui non requirebat per contenciones et placita oblaciones et decimas, sicut indigni presbiteri videntur hodie litigare, sed contentus cum suis apostolis de parvis et paucis⁴ elemosinis, quantum⁵ oportuit, ne foret onerosus pauperibus, residuum victus sui per miracula ex-supplevit.

15 Quare ergo non potest hodie clerus, regno nostro sufficiens, vivere⁶ de decimis et oblacionibus gratis datis? Titulus, inquam, elemosine est preclarissimus et securissimus militanti presbitero,⁷ cum securitas hereditaria istis personis vel sectis infixā videtur impugnare verba apostoli^b: non habemus hic manentem civitatem,
20 sed futuram inquiramus,⁸ et multo evidencius clerum videtur obli-visci⁹ ministerium sibi creditum et Cristum cum suis apostolis plane spernere et legem fidei heretice impugnare, cum I Tim. 6 scribit apostolus^c: habentes, inquit, alimenta et quibus tegamur, hiis con-tenti simus.¹⁰

25 Expergiscat ergo racio in secularibus dominis et videant,¹¹ si sit elemosina stabilire tales perpetuas elemosinas contrarias legi Cristi, vel si sit elemosina de propriis redditibus ditare clericum

^b cp. Heb. 13, 14 ^c v. 8

² reputarent *CEγ* reputarunt *A* ³ proficere *CEγ* perficere *A* ⁴ de par. et pau. *ACE* in paucis *γ* ⁵ quantum *ACγ* quam *E*, *in mar. is added* tum *E^t* (*therefore quantum*) ⁶ viv. *ACE* om. *γ* ⁷ *in A is add. above the col.*: Titulus elemosine est clare securissimus et preclarissimus *A^t* ⁸ inquiramus *Cγ* inquirimus *AE* ⁹ clerum vid. obl. *C* vid. clerum ablivisci (*sic*) *A* clerus vid. obl. *Eγ* ¹⁰ quib. teg. h. c. s. *ACγ* quibus et sequ. *E* ¹¹ et vid. *ACγ, E^t* *in mar.* om. *E*

cum pingwibus¹² buccis et rubeis et iuvenem ventre¹³ pingwem
fovere ad libidinem et pauperem operarium macidum et egenum
per tallagia regno necessaria spoliare. Numquid deus pro fine
huiusmodi donavit magnatibus ista dominia? Numquid in die finalis
iudicii pro istis stulticiis Christo pauperi respondebunt?¹⁴

Certum quidem est, quod clerici sic pingwati et dotati respondebunt de prevaricacione regule Christi et statuti proprii, ad quod
|| C fol. 36a specialiter || sunt iurati; specialiter cum omnes religiosi ista tria, licet
proditorie, profitentur,¹⁵ scilicet paupertatem et¹⁶ obedientiam et
castitatem.

Sed quantum ad paupertatem, patet, quod inter omnes homines
magis abundant sua promptuaria cibariis et altilia cum bobus et
ovibus crassitudine sive pingwedine, ut in Psalmo dicitur. Sed que
elemosina est monachis taliter providere? Revera, dotator non solum
se ipsum inficit, sed suos elemosinarios, quibus bona domini¹⁷ sic partitur.

Et sic¹⁸ quantum ad confessionem ab antiquis patribus in elemosinam perpetuam eis factam, patet, quod gravat peccatum tam
in primis dotantibus, quam in posteris heredibus illam¹⁹ continuantibus,
et sic officit utrobique. Nam error continuatus tam vivis
quam mortuis magis nocet.²⁰ Numquid credimus, quod illi spiritus 20
modo detenti²¹ in purgatorio vel in²² inferno gaudent de continua-
cione sui erroris, cum peccatum suum sit eo²³ gravius et per con-
sequens a domino²⁴ plus punitum. Numquid²⁵ egeni pauperes, a
quibus ista²⁶ temporalia detinentur, vel monachi pingwescentes, qui
ex hoc in suis mentibus spiritualiter peiorantur, post mortem pro 25
tali elemosina elemosinantes spiritualiter adiuvabunt.²⁷ Vel veritas
et racio succumbent tali stulta participacione²⁸ temporalium, vel

¹² pingwibus AE pinguis C γ (with ref. to this, cp. dyaconis and dyaconibus which both repeatedly occur in W:s works) ¹³ ventre CE γ ventrem A
¹⁴ Cr. pau. resp. AC γ , E¹ in mar. pro resp. E ¹⁵ profitentur AC γ profiterentur E ¹⁶ et CE γ om. A ¹⁷ dom. AC γ , E¹ in mar. om. E ¹⁸ sic CE γ om. A
¹⁹ her. ill. C γ her. ad ill. A ill. E, in mar. is add. her. E¹ ²⁰ ma. no. AC γ , E¹
with mark of ref. below the col. om. E ²¹ detenti CE γ decenti A ²² in CE γ
om. A ²³ eo ACE in eo γ ²⁴ domino ACE deo γ ²⁵ numquid AC γ
numquam E ²⁶ ista AC γ illa E ²⁷ adiuvabunt C (ur is erased) adiuva-
buntur AE γ ²⁸ ver. et ra. succumbent ta. st. participacione C γ ver. suc-
cumbet ta. st. participacione A ver. et ra. succumbit ta. st. particione E

ipsa faciet, quod pena utriusque partis ipsis mortuis acuetur. Et sic nec prodest vivis nec mortuis, nec ad regimen regni licet²⁹ stulte dotantes ex superbia illa dyabolica gratulentur. Letantur enim tales, cum male fecerint, sed illa iniusticia³⁰ indubitanter ad regulam finaliter³¹ punietur. Et cum peccator primo et principali-
5 ter semet³² ipsum inficit, patet, quod tales domini sibi ipsis et suis domini magis nocent.

Et hec est una causa, quare per conquestus³³ et modos alios talia dominia sunt translata. Deus enim necessario est dominus dominorum, et quando videt, quod ipsi ad suam iniuriam et dispen-
10 dium proximi abutuntur donatis dominiis, aufert illa ab ipsis et donat aliis facientibus fructus suos. Et sic dileccio parentum et³⁴ dileccio, qua secularis dominus diligit se ipsum et proximum, ymo dileccio, qua diligit sanctam matrem ecclesiam atque regnum, mo-
15 verent³⁵ ad errorem istum instancius corrigendum. Et sic genera-
liter evidencie, que movent ad sectam istam continuandum, scrutate³⁶ diligencius, moverent ad istam sectam prudencius terminandum.

CAP. III.¹

Tertia secta, scilicet canonicorum, multiformiter laborat in eodem crimine, quo secunda et specialiter in hoc communi, quod omnes iste secte originantur² ex mendacio et sic sunt opposite veritati.

Fingunt autem canonici atque fratres, quod sanctus Augustinus eos fundaverit,^a cum tamen certum sit, quod fuit regularis canonicus atque monachus et vivens secundum regulam Cristi, sicut debent vivere alii prelati canonici et monachi seculares. Non enim

CAP. III. ^a ep. below cap. VIII; also De Trip. Vinc. Am. cap. IV p. 173

²⁹ licet $CE\gamma$ nec A ³⁰ iniusticia ACE iusticia γ ³¹ fin. $AC\gamma, E^1$ in mar. om. E ³² semet CE se $A\gamma$ ³³ per conquestus C per questus A post questus $E\gamma$ ³⁴ et $E\gamma$ om. A est (cr. out & ud.) C , but in mar. et ³⁵ move-
rent $AC\gamma$ moveret E ³⁶ serutate $CE\gamma$ scrutante A

CAP. III. ¹ Cam tertium C the number of the chap. not given in $AE\gamma$
² originantur ACE oriuntur γ

fuit despontatus cum ritu vel regula adinventa, sed consuetudinem honestam habuit citra sectam, ut ipsi et alii virtuosi gratis conviverent et dum fuerunt³ viciosi⁴ vel aliquando magis proficerent
 C fol. 36b vel ad talem exitum liberum⁵ arceantur,⁶ vel ad sanctum || propositum ratione multiplici moveantur.

5

Et isto modo debent hee secte vivere, dum preponderaverint tradicioni sue frivole rationem.⁷ Ideo menciantur, quod Augustinus esset⁸ eorum patronus ad tam arte secundum istam regulam convivendum. Augustinus enim condescendit communis sensu⁹ terminorum, quod ille sit monachus, qui custodit spiritualiter se ipsum¹⁰ secundum vitam et regulam Iesu Christi. Et sic ille vocari potest¹⁰ regularis canonicus, qui vivit regulariter secundum canones apostolicos,¹¹ ad quod Augustinus specialiter sathagebat. — Habitus autem et ritus alii, de quibus gaudent modo canonici, dicuntur esse noviter adinventi, et sic obligantur in¹² adinvenciones humanas,¹³ regulis scripture sacre,¹³ in quibus staret fides ecclesie, pretermis. Ideo non sint regulatores istorum ordinum colantes culicem et degluentes camelum,^b sic quod propter fucum talem sophisticum timeant reducere has sectas ad canonem et ordinacionem liberam, factam per dominum Iesum Christum. Non enim moverent¹⁴ conscienciam dominorum secularium in ista parte capere, quod est suum¹⁵, quia, ut iam proximo^c dictum est, proficerent sic tam vivis quam mortuis, ymo toti ecclesie militanti. Quis ergo timeret sic¹⁶ matri sue proficere, cum non timuit contra legem dei ex stulticia dyaboli parum sibi officere? Tales ergo¹⁷ cecati per dyabolum timuerunt, ubi non erat timor, cum sint audaces, ut faciant mala, sed benefacere nimis timent¹⁸ sub proteccione regule¹⁹ domini Iesu Christi.

^b cp. Matth. 23, 24 ^c cp. above p. 247 l. 2 ff.

³ fuerunt C fuerint AE om. γ ⁴ virtuosi gr. c. et d. f. vic. ACE om. γ
⁵ liberum CEγ liberuntur A ⁶ arceantur AE arceaturi Cγ ⁷ rationem CEγ
 racioni A ⁸ esset CEγ est A ⁹ sensu ACγ sensu E in AE is add. in mar.: Quod est vere monachus et canonicus regularis A¹E² ¹⁰ v. p. ACγ p. v. E
 in C is add. in mar.: Monachus Canonicus regularis C¹ ¹¹ apostolicos CEγ
 apostolicas A ¹² in Cγ om. AE ¹³ scripture sacre ACE sacris γ ¹⁴ moverent CEγ moneret A ¹⁵ est su. AC su. est γ est su. propositum E ¹⁶ sic ACγ om. E. ¹⁷ ergo ACγ, E¹ in mar. om. E ¹⁸ timent ACE timeant γ
¹⁹ regule C om. AEγ

Constat quidem, quod ista dotacio fuit culpabilis atque stulta^d; cum ergo ex perversa vita dotatorum sit magis culpabilis,²⁰ videtur, quod hodie ex maioritate perversitatis debet error iste pocius terminari.

Similiter ex principio communi legum hominum non valet
 5 dotacio vel confessio, quam fecerit inferior dominus, nisi habita fuerit a supremo²¹ domino licencia specialis, ymo lex communis tale²² donatum capitali domini forisfacit. Quomodo cunque ergo fuerit de ista iustificacione legum hominum, certum est ex fide, quod hoc verum deo, qui est dominus dominorum. Cum ergo
 10 deus prohibuit dotacionem huiusmodi et numquam postmodum²³ ad hoc dedit scienciam, videtur, quod minister suus, qui secundum Augustinum est rex, debet totum tale forisfacere deo domino capitali. Et cum suum sit, ratione vicarie talia dominia disponere conformiter legi Christi, videtur, quod debet omnia ista dominia sic
 15 stulte donata reddere ordinacioni Christi²⁴ conformiter brachio seculari. Et heretici, qui contra istud remurmurant, vel ostendant²⁵ dei licenciam vel rationem, quod sic licuit facere contrarie legi Christi. —

Nec valent ficticie ad excusandum vel confirmandum istam
 20 stulticiam hodie machinate.

Dicunt enim primo, quod ista ex antiquitate et colore elemosine contrahunt robur suum, sed malicia dyaboli et sectarum aliarum infidelium fuit longe²⁶ diuicius indurata.

Ideo secundo confirmant istum errorem ex²⁷ confirmatione pa-
 25 pali,²⁸ que equivalet confirmacioni²⁹ domini Iesu Christi. Et ista ex-
 cusacio in peccatis hodie per hoc³⁰ patenter destruitur,³¹ quod unus papa destruit tamquam hereticum, quod alias confirmavit.³²

^d cp. Arnold, S. E. W. III, 171; 433; 474; I, 308; 313; Trial. 195; Suppl. Trial. 407 ff.; cp. above p. 94; 137; 175

²⁰ atque stulta — culpabilis *ACγ* om. *E*, but add. later below the col. by *E'*
²¹ supremo *ACγ* summo *E* ²² tale *AC* hominum tale *Eγ* ²³ post modum *CEγ*
 post hoc *A* ²⁴ Christi *ACγ* Iesu Christi *E* ²⁵ ostendant *Cγ* offendant *AE*
²⁶ longe *ACγ* lege *E* ²⁷ ex *ACγ* et *E* ²⁸ in *C* is add. below the col. 36^b
 err. ex co. pa. as a catchword ²⁹ equivalet *ACγ* est valet *E* ³⁰ per hoc
CEγ om. *A* ³¹ destruitur *CEγ* destruit *A* ³² alius confirmavit *ACγ* con-
 firmat alter *E*

Ideo cum ipsi sint persone peccabiles legis et voluntatis dei sepe ignari, idem est ac si diceretur: anticristus sive dyabolus sic asserit, ergo verum.

Erubescunt enim iste secte, capere³³ fratres suos occisos in isto bello Flandrie^e tamquam martires,³⁴ licet ex promulgacione, edita 5 ex parte pape^f, evidenter pateat, quod sunt. Ideo³⁵ concedat nobis deus aliud auxilium spiritale,³⁶ quam de illis credimus in ecclesia triumphante.

Ideo tercio dicitur, quod sancti de ipsis ordinibus sic³⁷ dotatis per multa tempora claruerunt miraculis et sunt ad hoc apocrita³⁸ 10 et sompnia cum aliis ludiciis allegata. — Sed hic dicitur, quod inter omnes fallacias dyaboli hec est una, quod ex talibus signis nec³⁹ fide credatur perfidie, quam post fingit. Credibile quidem est, quod omnes patroni⁴⁰ in ipsis sectis, qui per curiam romanam sanctorum catalogo sunt adscripti, non istam sectam construxerant, 15 nec homines sic viventes, ut modo vivant, dilexerant,⁴¹ sed oderunt, ymo a papa et falsis fratribus istum ordinem fabricarunt, et fundamentum maximum de sanctitate patroni et frequencia miraculi potest esse ex illusione dyaboli. Operibus itaque vivacibus, conformiter⁴² legi dei,⁴³ debemus credere et alias miraculorum fictio- 20 cias prudenter respuere. Dicit enim apostolus I Cor. 13^g: si habuero omnem fidem, ita ut montes transferam, caritatem autem non habuero,⁴⁴ nichil sum. Ecce, quod non solum per dyabolum, sed per hypocritam conviventem socium, ymo per cadaver mortuum,⁴⁵ a dyabolo agitatum, potest in penam peccati vivencium fieri talis 25 illusio, vocata miraculum. Non seducat ergo fideles tale sompnium.

^e The Crusade of Bishop Spenser to Flanders lasted from May to Oct. 1383; W. very often refers to it ^f cp. Walsingham II, 88 ff.

^g I Cor. 13, 2

³³ ca. AC γ , E¹ in mar. om. E ³⁴ martires AC γ matres E ³⁵ ideo AC γ tales ideo E ³⁶ spirituale ACE spirituale γ ³⁷ sic CE γ om. A ³⁸ apocrita AC γ hypocrita E ³⁹ nec E γ ut A ut (ud.) C, above it nec ⁴⁰ omnes patroni AC γ omnis patronus E ⁴¹ nec hom. — dilexerant CE γ om. A ⁴² conformiter ACE et formiter γ ⁴³ dei AC γ Cristi E ⁴⁴ habuero AC γ habeam E ⁴⁵ mort. AC γ , E¹ in mar. om. E

Nam de Alexandro Magno legitur,^{46^h}

h

quod magnos montes ad includendum filios Israel⁴⁷ coniungebat. Numquid ex tali mirabili sit⁴⁸ sanctorum catalogo deputandus? Tunc enim foret facile per signa ista apocrifa et falsa testimonia cum pecunia symoniaca dyabolos ponere in catalogo beatorum.⁴⁹

Signa autem ista, cum sint mortua et sepe⁵⁰ dyabolica, non concludunt virum istum, quem homines iudicaverint⁵¹ esse sanctum, cum operibus vivis et caritativis pocius est credendum. Catheclismus eciam fidei est in hiis testibus,⁵² cum adduci possunt faciliter ad testificandum falsum eis incognitum, dum pro competenti precio sint conducti. Et empicio ista symoniaca persone canonizande, sicut et finis, pro quo canonizantur, et fundacio canonizacionis ex defectu rationis et scripture⁵³ a catholicis sunt⁵⁴ suspecta. Et sic contingit regna illudi ex hoc, quod plus attenditur ad sequelam talis patroni, qui fingitur, quam ad sequelam domini Iesu Cristi; plus creditur hiis falsis signis et scelestibus,⁵⁵ quam infringibili legi domini Iesu Cristi,⁵⁶ et plus applauditur tali fictioni sensibili, quam caritati insensibili, que proficeret regnis et toti ecclesie militanti. Nec dubium, quin tales fallacie⁵⁷ anticristi inducunt⁵⁸ pertifidiam et blasphemiam contra dominum Iesum Cristum, || et talis || C fol. 37^b seduccio dominorum secularium inducit rapinam et onustacionem⁵⁹ indebitam⁶⁰ pauperum plebeorum.

Quid, rogo, infidelius, quam dominum secularem⁶¹ dicere, quod non audet completere⁶² legem⁶³ Christi et eius ordinacionem, nisi hanc buerit licenciam⁶⁴ anticristi!

^h cp. Arrian. II, 26 ff.; Diod. XVII, 48; Plut., Al. 26; cp. also Droysen, Hellenismus I, 300; again Grote, Gesch. Griech. (1856) VI, 532

⁴⁶ in AE is add. below the col.: Miraculum Alexandri magni A¹E² ⁴⁷ israel AC_γ, E¹ in mar. israelém (ud.) E ⁴⁸ sit ACE.γ¹ corr. into the text om. γ
⁴⁹ beatorum CE sanctorum A_γ ⁵⁰ se. AC_γ sic se. E ⁵¹ iudicaverint AC iudicaverunt E.γ (?) ⁵² testibus AC_γ om. E ⁵³ r. et s. ACE s. et r. γ
⁵⁴ sunt ACE fuit γ ⁵⁵ scelestibus E celestibus C_γ om. A ⁵⁶ plus creditur hiis — Christi CEγ om. A ⁵⁷ fallacie AC_γ false E ⁵⁸ inducunt AEγ indicunt C ⁵⁹ onustacionem AC_γ contristacionem E ⁶⁰ indebitam ACE indebitum γ ⁶¹ dominum secularem AC_γ dominis seculare E ⁶² completere AE,C_γ, in mar. is add. with mark of ref. complanare (texthand) by C, respect. alias complanare by γ ⁶³ legem AC_γ templa et legem E ⁶⁴ h. l. ACE l. h. γ

CAP. IV.¹

Quarta autem secta fratrum^a est multiplex in generibus, in fraudibus et personis, cum ista secta ultima per dyabolum introducta seducat multos per callidores cautelas et specialiter per ypocrisim, in qua ista secta habundat ex meandris² mendacibus patris sui.^b Fundatur^c enim super isto mendacio blasphemо,^d quod^e Cristus taliter mendicavit^f; et cum istud mendacium sit quasi vita eorum, superaddunt^g aliud blasphemum mendacium, quod religio et vita eorum sit perfecior quam religio apostolorum; et tertio fingunt ex istis, quod habitus eorum, litere fraternitatis et alia opera meritoria sint perfeciora et magis necessaria, quam illa, ¹⁰ que in aliis ordinibus prefuerunt.⁷

Et ex hoc pululant tales hereses, quod quecunque persona mortua fuerit in suis habitibus, numquam erit in locum dyaboli condemnata^d; quod⁸ quicunque habuerit suffragia literarum sue fraternitatis, erit ultra alia nominata suffragia,⁹ non faciendo menciō-¹⁵ nem de sua contricione vel fratrum humilitate, spiritualiter suffragatus.

Et quarto¹⁰ menciuntur blasphemē, quod sua specialis oracio plus prodest populo quam oracio dominica, sicut forma sue predicationis, eciam facte¹¹ ex frivilis, singulariter sit laudanda. ²⁰

Et ex istis perquirit sibi unus frater multa stipendia ad pro defunctis pluribus¹² celebrandum. Et sic, collecta tota eorum¹³

CAP. IV. ^a i. e. the Mendicants ^b cp. Trialog. 163: in hypocrisi, quae est pessima species superbiae et religiosos nostros saepe consequitur etc. ^c cp. Trialog. 367 and 368, more especially 341 ff. and 345 ff. ^d cp. the same reproach above p. 143 n. b and 35 n. h

CAP. IV. ¹ the number of the chap. not given in the codd. in C in mar.: Quarta ² meandris C,γ in mar. is add. zokolkow (texthand) menandris AE ³ fundatur CEγ fundantur A ⁴ in A is add. above the col.: Quatuor mendacia principalissima A¹ ⁵ quod ACγ quia E ⁶ sup. ACγ sit perfecior (cr. out & ud.) sup. E ⁷ prefuerunt ACγ prefuerint E ⁸ qu. ACγ item qu. E ⁹ sue — suffr. ACγ om. E, but added later by E¹ below the col. ¹⁰ 40 C, A (corr. from 3⁰) ³⁰ Eγ ¹¹ facte AC facta E facta γ ¹² from here on (fol. 85^a begins) in E a new somewhat different hand sets in ¹³ t. e. AC e. t. Eγ

conversacione subdola, non dubium, quin sunt¹⁴ regno nostro et ecclesie onerosi, ut notet homo omnes sumptus, quos annuatim habent de Anglia,^e et ut probabiliter creditur, excedunt multum redditus comitis sive ducis.

Cum ergo ante introduccionem eorum stetit regnum prosperius tam in temporalibus quam spiritualibus,¹⁵ videtur, quod quantum expendunt¹⁶ et amplius sint¹⁷ regno Anglie onerosi. Sunt enim media tribus sectis superioribus et specialia instrumenta dyaboli ad simplices in fide et temporalibus seducendum, et specialiter sunt habitacula eorum nidi¹⁸ dyaboli ad spolia simplicium colligendum.

Cum ergo sunt regno tam sumptuosi et tam parum fructiferi,¹⁹ manifestum est, quod²⁰ sunt ecclesie contra legem dei onerosi, nec refert, quod persone per se sint²¹ pauperes, vel quod in dominibus aut²² aliis signis ypocriticis expendunt sic bona pauperum, vel quod minuatim hec²³ colligunt de egenis, qui gratis titulo elemosine ad conferendum talia sunt inducti, quia omnia ista gravant quoad dominum fraudem suam,²⁴ quia quoad primum sunt omnes collecti²⁵ una persona, que est ex consensu multiplici plus nephanda; et si 20 habere debeant²⁶ instar apostolorum omnia²⁷ in communi, tunc sunt mundo plus divites, quam wlgares, quos spoliant, et inequa²⁸ distribucio spoliorum pauperum contra caritatis regulas²⁹ in fratribus auget culpam. Eciā talis thezaurus est faciliter regnorum per fraudem dyaboli subversivus. Ideo notato peccato, quod intrinsece 25 intra se faciunt et ypocritice abscondunt, iste maledictus thezaurus absconditus foret causa³⁰ sufficiens ad regnum Anglie de fratribus expurgandum.

^e cp. *De Fund. Sect. above p. 28; 192 ff., also p. 103 nn. e and n*

¹⁴ sunt ACE sint γ ¹⁵ spi. CE in spir. Aγ ¹⁶ expendunt CEγ excedunt A ¹⁷ sint ACγ, E¹ in mar. om. E ¹⁸ nidi ACγ mundi E in A is add. with mark of ref. below the col.: Nidi dyaboli fratrum habitacula A¹ ¹⁹ fructiferi ACγ fructuosi E ²⁰ qu. Eγ patet qu. AC ²¹ sint ACγ sunt E ²² aut ACE vel γ ²³ hec C hic AEγ ²⁴ su. ACγ, E¹ in mar. om. E ²⁵ collecti Aγ collecti sunt (su. cr. out & up.) C collectim E ²⁶ debeant CEγ debeatur A ²⁷ omnia CEγ eciam A ²⁸ inequa Cγ in e contra AE ²⁹ reg. ACE culpas (cr. out & ud.) reg. γ ³⁰ causa CEγ tam A

Et per hoc patet ad excusacionem secundam,^f quod plus accusat³¹ fratres in isto, quod plus ypocritere expendunt bona pauperum. Numquid³² Cristus vel sui apostoli, in quibus fuit omnis sapiencia, ad istum finem sic pauperes spoliarunt, quin pocius euri-
sitatem in talibus signis inclinantis ad seculum condemparunt?⁵
Causa autem, quare pauperes communius quam divites sic³³ spoliant, est,³⁴ quia divites percipiunt subtilius³⁵ fraudem suam, pauperibus autem³⁶ et wlgaribus deest instruccio, per quam calliditatem suam percipient.³⁷ Et sic communiter in fide et moribus³⁸ seducuntur et dyabolus per eos operatur subtilius, ut³⁹ inducendo novitatem¹⁰ in basilicis ecclesias antiquas destruat et ecclesias novas fratum construat,⁴⁰ ut vel sic populus concurrens ad eorum hospicium propter fallax⁴¹ spectaculum per fraudes amplius seducatur. Et ubi fuit caritativa colleccio proximorum in parochiali basilica,⁴² ipsa de seritur, et per rapinam subdolam temporalium a parochianis⁴³ cor-¹⁵ ruenda contempnitur.

Et quantum ad terciam excusacionem^g frivolam, patet, quod directe gravat peccatum, cum collecta⁴⁴ minuta a talibus pauperibus necessitant⁴⁵ ad circumvencionem magis dampnabilem et specialiter in hoc, quod fratres laborant ad animas⁴⁶ talium simpli-²⁰ cium defraudandum.⁴⁷

Et fraus est ex⁴⁸ hoc patencior, quod contra caritatis regulas continue querunt, que sua sunt, et non ad communem utilitatem ecclesie, que sunt domini Iesu Christi. Per fraudem itaque talem sic extorquere elemosinas est duplex iniquitas.

Sed ascendendo alcius ad fraudes, quas fratres faciunt, patet,

^f cp. above p. 253 l. 15 ^g cp. ibidem l. 16

³¹ accusat *CEγ* accusas *A* ³² num. *ACγ* nec num. *E* ³³ sic *ACγ*
om. E ³⁴ est *ACγ* *om. E* ³⁵ subtilius *ACγ, E¹ in mar.* sub talibus (*ud.*) *E* ³⁶ autem *ACγ* *om. E* ³⁷ percipient *ACγ* participiant *E*. ³⁸ mo. *ACγ* in
mo. E ³⁹ ut *Eγ* *om. AC* ⁴⁰ construat *CE* confort (*cr. out*) const. *A* *om. γ* et eccles. n. fr. const. *ACE* *om. γ* ⁴¹ fallax *ACγ, E¹ in mar.* fallarum *E* ⁴² parochiali ba. *Cγ* par. ecclesia *E*, but in mar. basilica *E¹* parochili ba. *A* ⁴³ parochianis *CEγ* pauperibus rochianis (uperibus *ud.*) *A* ⁴⁴ collecta *E* colleccio *Aγ* collecto *C* ⁴⁵ necessitant *E* necessitat *ACγ* ⁴⁶ animas *CEγ* animos *A* ⁴⁷ defraudandum *CEγ* ad fraudandum *A* ⁴⁸ ex *ACE* in *γ*

quod non solum seducunt secundam partem ecclesie^h in mundana prudencia, sed totam ecclesiam nituntur in fide subvertere.⁴⁹ Cum ergo a fructibus eorum cognoscetis eosⁱ et fratres⁵⁰ iam habent animas multorum dominorum et dominarum in sua custodia, patet,
5 quod culpa eorum est fratribus ascribenda. Consiliarius autem inducens secularem dominum vel episcopum ad taliter operandum est alter Achitophel et proditor manifestus.

Paucos ergo vel nulos inducunt ad pacem vel caritatem secundum regulas fidei adimplendas, sed pro bono proprio laborant⁵¹
10 anxie, ac si ordinacionem Cristi vellent subvertere. Cristus enim ordinavit⁵² tales elemosinas suis debilibus,⁵³ fratres autem nituntur elemosinas illas ab ipsis sugere⁵⁴ et mendicanti valido contra legem dei tribuere. Et sic in spem lucri proprii consulunt ad bella,^k ad dissensiones et⁵⁵ divorcea cum talibus irregularitatibus satis multis.
15 Et ex ipsis patet, quod fratres sathagunt fidem ecclesie et ordinacionem domini enervare,⁵⁶ ac si dyabolus proponeret per illos sibi perquirere totum mundum.

Et hinc creditur, quod⁵⁷ fratres abhorrent, quod publicetur in Anglia ewangelium vel lex Christi,^l et tamen patet expertis, quod
20 edificacio⁵⁸ ecclesie stat in ordinacione Christi secundum suos⁵⁹ limites novitatibus superfluis et infundabilibus defalcatis.⁶⁰ Multis C fol. 38b autem videtur congruum,⁶¹ cum⁶² tres debent esse legii⁶³ homines regis sui et preter regis⁶⁴ licenciam dederunt pape omnia bona sua

^h viz. the milites, cp. *De Christo et s. Adv. cap. I commencement*

ⁱ cp. *Matth. 7, 16* ^k W. here, very probably, has in view the Cru-

sade to Flanders which had been encouraged by the sermons of the Friars; cp. *Wilkins III*, 176 ff.; *Walsingham II*, 72ff.; cp. also

above p. 19 nn. f and h ^l by W.'s itinerant Preachers, cp. *Chron.*

Adae de Usk 3; *Lechler*, J. v. W. I, 421 ff.; also above p. 116 and 168

⁴⁹ subvertere *ACγ* subvertore *E* ⁵⁰ fratres *ACE* fures (?) γ .⁵¹ labo-

rant *ACγ* laborat *E* ⁵² ordinavit *ACE* ordinat (?) γ ⁵³ debilibus *ACE*

fidelibus γ ⁵⁴ sugere *ACγ* removere *E* ⁵⁵ et *ACE* om. γ ⁵⁶ enervare

AEγ erimare (cr. out & ud.) *C*, but in mar. enervare (*texthand?*) ⁵⁷ quod *ACγ*

quods *E* ⁵⁸ edificacio *ACγ* dedicacio *E*, but above it fi is corr. (by *E³?*)

⁵⁹ suos *ACγ* suas *E* ⁶⁰ def. add. as catchword in the upper marg. of *C* fol. 38^b

⁶¹ cong. *CEγ* esse congr. *A* ⁶² cum *ACγ, E¹* in mar. ut (ud.) *E* ⁶³ legii

ACγ regii *E* ⁶⁴ regis *CEγ* eius *A*

in Anglia, quod dent regi⁶⁵ in signum legiancie sue mille marcas⁶⁶^m vel amplius annuatim. Per talia enim posset rex parcere suis wlgaribus in inductis pedagiis onerosis.

Et sic, ut patet sparsim alibi,ⁿ sunt nimis multe⁶⁷ hereses, quas fratres seminant et defendant in ecclesia subdole vel aperte.⁶⁸ .⁵

CAP. V.¹

Sed contra hec² dicta obicitur primo per hoc, quod deficiente papa ecclesia nostra foret acephala³ et per consequens extra fidem ecclesie ut pagani. Sed quis sufferret istud dispendium pro aliquo bono mundi? Nam si⁴ non est papa, cum solus papa potest episcopos consecrare, non est episcopus, et sic non sacerdos,⁵ et sic 10 perirent omnia ecclesiastica sacramenta et per consequens fides ecclesie.

Hic profiteor et protestor,⁶ quod volo ex integro sentenciare⁷ fidem catholicam, et si quidquid⁸ dixero contra illam, committo me correccióni superioris ecclesie et cuiuscunque militantis⁹ persone, 15 que me in hoc¹⁰ docuerit erravisse^a. Sed subduco quascunque tradiciones hominum¹¹ citra fidem scripture, et sic non accepto in ista materia nisi fidem scripture, vel rationem vivacem,^b sed adducentem aliud¹² de perfidia et ignorancia habeo plus¹³ suspectum.

Et cum¹⁴ videtur probabile, quod limitata wlgari significacione 20 istius termini ‘papa’, ecclesia Christi militaret legi et beneplacito dei

^m a mark = 13 sh. 40 d.; cp. above p. 103 note n ⁿ cp. for instance *Trialog.* 365 ff.

CAP. V. ^a with ref. to this, cp. W's Protest in *De Christo et Adv. cap. VII conclusion* ^b exactly the standpoint of Luther in *Worms* 1521

⁶⁵ regi ACE om. γ ⁶⁶ mi. ma. ACγ ma. mi. E ⁶⁷ nimis multe C multe nimis A multe γ manifeste E ⁶⁸ aperte CEγ apte A

CAP. V. ¹ the number of the chap. not given in the codd. ² hec ACγ hoc E, above it is corr. hec ³ acephala ACγ acefalia E (i ud.) ⁴ nam si CEγ non nisi A (ni ud.) ⁵ sa. ACγ est sa. E ⁶ in C is add. in mar.: Protestacio magistri in A with mark of ref. above the col.: Protestacio Wykleff optima A¹ ⁷ sentenciare Cγ servare AE ⁸ quidquid C quid Aγ quidque (que cr. out) E ⁹ militantis ACγ militatis E ¹⁰ hoc CEγ hac A ¹¹ in A is add. in mar.: Nota ¹² aliud ACγ aliiquid aliud E ¹³ plus ACE om. γ ¹⁴ cum AE tunc Cγ

conformius, dum pure viaret secundum legem Cristi sine aliquo tali papa. Patet ex hoc, quod Cristus cum¹⁴ lege sua est per se sufficiens ad regendum totam ecclesiam militantem. Absit, inquam, fideles concedere,¹⁵ quod Cristus cum lege sua¹⁶ ad salvacionem hominis¹⁷ indiget tali papa. Similiter ante incarnationem verbum dei fuit illapsum multis hominibus, ut patet Iob et ceteris gentibus et Iudeis. Si ergo ecclesia potuit salvare sine humanitate Cristi vel saltem¹⁸ sine eius presencia comitante, multo evidencius fideles possunt modo salvare sine alicuius pape mortalis¹⁹ presencia comitante. Aliter enim pro tempore mortis pape omnes gentes mortui sunt dampnati, et tota ecclesia dependeret ex recta eleccione istorum cardinalium, qui communiter sunt presciti.

Similiter talis papa et specialiter post dotacionem ecclesie ex defectu sequendi Cristum communiter est prescitus, sed quis auerteret²⁰ concedere, quod salvacio predestinati dependet²¹ ex gubernacione talis dyaboli vel influencia anticeristi. Ideo dicitur a quibusdam, quod post induccionem istius heresis²² pape duxerunt catervas multas per devium²³ ad infernum, et sic profuisse ecclesie Christi talibus ductoribus²⁴ caruisse.^c

²⁰ Et ex ipsis videtur, quod duobus^d contendentibus pro papatu securum foret, neutri eorum, cum de probabili sit²⁵ dyabolus, adherere. Et istud videtur Cristi²⁶ consilium Matth. 24^e: nolite credere et²⁷ nolite abiire ad alteri talium profitendum.

Et quantum ad evidenciam²⁸ patet, quod ecclesia servans fidem Cristi non est acephala,²⁹ cum habeat Cristum caput, et³⁰ Cristus est per se sufficiens, sicut fuit post missionem spiritus sancti. Non

^c with ref. to this passage, cp. *Suppl. Trial.* 426 ff.; also *De Christo et s. Ad. cap. IX conclusion* ^d *Urban IV.* and *Clement VII.* ^e v. 26

¹⁴ cum ACE ex (ud.) γ, above it cum (texthand) ¹⁵ concedere CEγ coecdere A (compend. om.) ¹⁶ l. s. ACE s. l. γ ¹⁷ hominis CEγ su (er. out and ud.) hom. A ¹⁸ saltem ACγ saltim E ¹⁹ pa. mortalis ACγ mortali E, in mar. is add papa Eⁱ ²⁰ auderet ACγ om. E ²¹ dependet ACE dependeat γ ²² in E is add. in mar. with mark of ref. to her. erroris Eⁱ ²³ per devium ACγ penium E ²⁴ ecclesie Cri. tal. du. γ ecclesia Cr. tal. du. CE ecclesie du. tal. A ²⁵ sit ACγ scit E ²⁶ Cristi ACE om. γ, but corr. later into the text by the texthand ²⁷ et ACE om γ ²⁸ evidenciam CE γ eundem A ²⁹ acephala ACγ acephalia E ³⁰ in E is add. in mar. with mark of ref. to et sic by Eⁱ

enim ierunt³¹ ceteri apostoli vel sui ordinati ad Petrum, ut habeant ab ipso confirmationem, ut patet de Paulo³² ad Gal. 1^f et 2.^g

|| C fol. 39a Quomodo || ergo necesse foret adire romanum pontificem, licet fuerit crebrius antieristus!³³

Supercilium ergo phariseicum³⁴ nimis diu cecavit ecclesiam in 5
hoc puncto.³⁵ Ideo bene est Grecis et aliis, qui non sic ista he-
resi sunt cecati. Et patet, quod turpiter arguit hereticus in ratione³⁶
prima, nec potest in lege³⁷ scripture vel ratione domini se³⁸ fun-
dare, ideo³⁹ contempnenda⁴⁰ est talis argucia.

Et ultra dicitur, quod, licet non fuerit aliquis talis papa non 10
eo⁴¹ minus est verus episcopus ac sacerdos, cum bona opera, que
facit talis episcopus vel⁴² sacerdos, testantur, quod deus ipsum in-
stituit et ad tale officium ordinavit, quia, cum Cristus mandat
Ioh. 10^h: operibus credite, ipsa opera testantur⁴³ efficacius, quod
talism est episcopus vel sacerdos domini, quam testarentur oracula 15
vive vocis consecrantis⁴⁴ episcopi vel sua litera sigillata.

Et si dicatur, quod in ista credulitate contingit hominem er-
rare, et non foret necessaria episcopi consecratio hodie usitata, con-
ceditur assumptum pro prima⁴⁵ parte, cum non sit fides ecclesie,
quod iste sit episcopus vel sacerdos; et sic error in talibus contingit 20
communius istis signis sensibilibus adimplatis. Notata ergo vita
atque officio, quod deus limitat sacerdoti, requiritur et sufficit ad
hoc, quod iste sit sacerdos, quod deus donet sibi gratiam ad istam
vitam vivendum et istud officium peragendum. Et ad hoc est efficax
signum complecio, quam sentimus, et sic est de aliis statibus iudi- 25
candum, ut notato, quid deus statuit ad ordinem monachalem, ad
hoc, quod iste sit monachus, oporteat,⁴⁶ quod ex gratia dei com-
pletat istud officium sibi datum.

^f v. 17

^g v. 11 ff.

^h v. 38

³¹ ierunt *Cγ* iverunt *E,A* (*here corrected*) ³² de Pau. *ACE* om. *γ* ³³ li.
f. er. an. *ACγ,E¹* in mar. om. *E* ³⁴ phariseicum *Cγ* pharisaeum *A* farisa-
icum *E* ³⁵ puncto *ACγ* pucto *E* (*compend. om.*) ³⁶ in ra. *ACγ,E¹* in mar. in
racioni (*er. out*) *E* ³⁷ lego *CEγ* fide *A* ³⁸ se *ACγ* sic *E* ³⁹ ideo *ACγ*
ide *E* ⁴⁰ contempnenda *ACγ* condemnanda *E* ⁴¹ eo *AC,E¹* in mar. om. *γE*
⁴² vel *ACE* aut *γ* ⁴³ testantur *ACγ* testificantur *E* ⁴⁴ cons. *ACγ,E¹* in mar.
consecutis *E* ⁴⁵ pro prima *AE* propria *Cγ* ⁴⁶ oporteat *ACE* oportet (?) *γ*

Unde signa sensibilia a prelatis cesareis introducta sunt sepe falsa et media ad decipiendum populum de talibus statibus iudicando.⁴⁷ Et istud concepit⁴⁸ metricus, quando dixit:⁴⁹

Lata corona nimis, nigra⁵⁰ vestis, botta rotunda

⁵ Non faciunt monachum, sed mens a crimine munda.ⁱ

Debet ergo fidelis notare officium status, quem deus instituit, et notare, quod illud officium fideliter peragatur.

Sed hic instant mundani, quod iuxta hoc laicus est sacerdos et facta⁵¹ episcoporum sensibilia superfluunt. — Hic dicitur, quod quilibet predestinatus est sacerdos in patria⁵² nec debet propterea omnes⁵³ ritus et opera sacerdotibus limitata exercere,⁵⁴ nec debet fidelis sine revelacione consecrationem episcopi sui contempnere. Sed hoc debet credere, quomodounque episcopus suus operatus fuerit, nisi deus insensibiliter ordinet. Consecratio sensibilis parum valet, et sic assistente ordinacione divina quilibet sacerdos potest eque conferre⁵⁵ sacramenta ecclesiastica sicut papa,⁵⁶ sicut ceteri apostoli eque bene ordinaverunt episcopos sicut Petrus.

Nec est cura vel articulus fidei, quibus verbis consecratoriis utebantur. Non enim sine causa tacuit spiritus sanctus, ubi, qua²⁰ liter, et qua forma Cristus ordinavit suos apostolos sacerdotes.

Et si allegetur⁵⁷ communis opinio, quod solus papa potest ordinare saltem archiepiscopos⁵⁸ et sic de multis aliis operibus, pape specialiter reservatis, dicitur, talis⁵⁹ communis opinio est fabula non fundata. Et ad tantum possunt iste hereses perdurare, quod cre²⁵ dantur tamquam fides catholica, sicut dicitur mulierem quandam⁶⁰ sic assuefieri ad venenum, quod ipsa digessit ipsum, et sibi non nocuit,⁶¹ sed habuit potentiam ad intoxicandum alios mundos, || cum || C fol. 39b

ⁱ this Versus Memorialis is frequently made use of by W.

⁴⁷ iudicando A iudicanda CEγ ⁴⁸ concepit ACγ concedit E ⁴⁹ in A is add. in mar. yo (? not clear) A³ ⁵⁰ ni. ACγ, E¹ in mar. magna (cr. out.) E ⁵¹ fa. ACγ, E¹ in mar. sancta E ⁵² in A is add. in mar.: Quilibet predestinatus est sacerdos in patria A¹ ⁵³ omnes γ omnis ACE ⁵⁴ exercere E om. ACγ ⁵⁵ conf. ACE bene conf. γ ⁵⁶ in A is add. in mar.: Quilibet sacerdos potest conferre sacramenta sicut papa A¹ ⁵⁷ allegetur ACγ allegaretur E ⁵⁸ in A is add. in mar.: Fabula non fundata quod solus papa archiepiscopos ordinat A¹ ⁵⁹ tal. CEγ quod talis A ⁶⁰ quandam AEγ quemdam C ⁶¹ nocuit CEγ potuit A

quibus communicaverat. Et proporcionaliter est de talibus erroribus. Possunt enim ad tantum tempus dimitti ^a⁶² fidelibus et discussi et a personis gravibus approbari, quod credantur⁶³ tamquam articuli fidei, licet sint errores patuli.

Admittatur⁶⁴ ergo reverenter papa, de quanto sequitur vestigia 5 sancti Petri, et de quanto exorbitat, fugiatur.

CAP. VI.¹

Restat parumper ulterius tractandum de erroribus, qui episcopos cesareos^a consecuntur.

Dicitur enim, quod reservarunt sibi confirmaciones et collaciones² ordinum, et omnino consecraciones ecclesiarum et calicum 10 et ornamentorum similium cum aliis absolucionibus et privilegiis infinitis; ^b eciam ratione istorum est predicacio et vita apostolica commutata.

Constat autem, quod sine hiis sectis quatuor et quacunque illarum stetit ecclesia Christi post ascensionem per trecentos³ annos 15 in suo robore⁴ longe prosperius, quam post stetit.^c Ideo⁵ suppono,⁶ quantum ad istos duos ordines, scilicet confirmationem et dacionem⁷ ordinis, quod non est racio, quare inferiores presbiteri non potuerunt⁸ ipsos dare. Non enim tantam vim habent, isti duo ordines, nec tantam habet⁹ auctoritatem pontificale¹⁰ episcopi, quin¹¹ inferiores 20 presbiteri cum aliis sermonibus potuerunt¹² ministrare huiusmodi sacramenta.

CAP. VI. ^a the First Sect, therefore, is meant here ^b cp. Brown,
Fascic. 205 ff.; Armagh, De quaest. Armen. lib. XI cap. V ^c an
assertion frequently made use of by W.; with ref. to it, cp. Lechler I, 589

⁶² a ACE om. γ ⁶³ credantur CEγ creduntur A ⁶⁴ admittatur ACγ admittatur E

CAP. VI. ¹ 6 C in mar. number of chap. not given in ACE ² collaciones ACE colecciones γ ³ trecentos Cγ tercentos A cercentos (?) E ⁴ robore CEG labore A ⁵ ideo ACγ item E ⁶ suppono ACE supposito γ ⁷ dacionem CEγ dotacionem A, in mar. is add. collacionem A¹ ⁸ potuerunt ACE poterint γ⁹ habet ACγ habent E ¹⁰ pontificale CEγ pontificalem A ¹¹ quin ACγ quibus E ¹² potuerunt ACE potuerint γ

Et sic dicatur de consecratione basilice vel superaltaris aut¹³ alterius ornamenti. Nec video necessitatem de reconciliacione¹⁴ ecclesie post eius pollucionem, cum II Macc.¹⁵ 5^d dicitur, quod non locus sanctificat hominem, sed e contra^e. Quantitas enim secundum 5 philosophos non est de genere activorum, ideo cum locus per consecrationem influenciam maiorem a celo non recipit¹⁶ nec est sanctitas in loco post consecrationem¹⁷ episcopi derelicta, videtur, quod assistente sanctitate quantumcunque locus prius¹⁸ corporaliter¹⁹ pollitus fuerit, ex sanctitate anime remanet²⁰ locus sanctus. Sicut 10 enim post privacionem²¹ primi angeli remanserat²² celum sanctum, sic²³ post expulsionem hominis a²⁴ paradiso remanserat²⁵ locus sanctus. Ideo videtur quibusdam, quod expulso avaro episcopo inducto ad modo²⁶ suo consecrandum ecclesiam foret locus sancior quam per eum.²⁷ Nam trinitas est ibi, et corporalis pollucio est impertinens sanctitati, cum 15 Iob in sterquilinio et Cristus in diversorio ficerant illa loca satis abiecta spiritualiter esse sancta, et Loth in civitate peccatrice²⁸ servaverat sanctitatem, et extra in loco reputato sancto cum filiabus peccaverat.

Sanctitas ergo originata in anima²⁹ fecit³⁰ turpissimum locum esse sanctum, sicut sanctitas anime Christi, quando descendenter ad infernum. 20 Videtur ergo, quod omnes tales consecraciones³¹ et benediciones cerei atque panis, palmarum, luminis, salis, pere, baculi, armorum cum eis similibus non sunt de substancia fidei christiane. Ideo foret laudabilius multis rectoribus, quod episcopus suus predicaret et doceret fidem catholicam, quam quod ministraret hec sacramenta 25 vel consecraret suas ecclesias vel conferret ecclesie sue carisma.³²

^d r. 19 ^e as to this passage, cp. *Festival Sermons*, Nro. XXXVII,
cod. 3928 fol. 75^c (*Vienna Library*)

¹³ vel *ACE* aut γ ¹⁴ in *A* is add. in mar.: Non est necesse post pollucionem ecclesiam reconciliare *A*¹ ¹⁵ Mach. *AC γ , E¹* in mar. Mat(*underlined*) *A* ¹⁶ recipit *AC* recepit *E* *om. γ* ¹⁷ influenc. m. a c. n. r. n. e. s. in l. p. consecr. *AEC*

^{om. γ} ¹⁸ prius *ACE* primus γ ¹⁹ corp. in *A* corr. later into text by *A*¹
²⁰ re. *AC γ , E¹* in mar. *om. E* ²¹ privacionem *C γ* prevaricationem *AE* and *E¹* in mar. ²² remanserat *C γ* remanserant (*the last n. ud.*) *E* remansit *A*

²³ sic γ sicut *ACE* ²⁴ a *AC γ* de *E* ²⁵ remanserat *CE γ* remansit *A* ²⁶ ad modo *A* a dominio *C γ* a domino *E* ²⁷ eum *CE γ* ante *A* ²⁸ peccatrice *C γ*

peccatrixi *AE* ²⁹ in an. *AC γ , E¹* in mar. in omnia *E* ³⁰ fecit *C γ* facit *AE*

³¹ co. *AC γ , E¹* in mar. conservatos (*ud.*) *E* ³² carisma *CE γ* crisma *A*

Unde quidam querunt a suis episcopis loco talium sigillacionem vel confirmacionem istius veritatis fidei, quod consecrata hostia sit vere panis et virtute verborum domini corpus Christi. Episcopus autem, qui tacet³³ in talibus tamquam ignarus fidei scripture, modicum prodest consecracione vel benedictione aut talibus fictis signis. 5

C. fol. 40a Unde dicitur a quibusdam, quod sicut episcopi post dotacionem per seculares expensas sunt onerosi ecclesie, sic sunt onerosi ecclesie per ceremonias novas, quas tamquam necessarias introducunt, et vel honor proprius³⁴ vel cupiditas est causa talium vel utrumque. Scimus quidem,³⁵ quod in coniuracionibus dicitur nomen¹⁰ sanctum dei et tamen illicite, et ita videtur in hiis esse³⁶ consecrationibus aut benedictionibus per ipsos introductis. Et sic, ubi Christus facilitavit ecclesiam suam, ne oneretur talibus, anticeristus e contra difficultat³⁷ ecclesiam³⁸ per suos discipulos inducendo talia tamquam fidem.

Et sic est de multis consuetudinibus per romanam ecclesiam¹⁵ vel per metropolitanos vel per proprios episcopos introductis,³⁹ ut hodie tantum ponderatur regula Usus Sarum,^{40f} quam⁴¹ catholicus ponderat ewangelium. Et sic, ubi Christus libertavit suam ecclesiam, anticeristus ipsam callide et ypocritere illibertat.⁴² Ideo videntes, ordinacionem Christi in talibus esse liberam, graviter ferunt²⁰ talem consuetudinem tamquam fidem catholicam introductam, et sepe, ne scandalizent⁴³ fratres, faciunt et approbant talia dimittendo magis utilia. Et illud est sue conscientie onerosum, ut libenter missas audiunt et missas celebrant, dicunt matutinas et alias horas

^f The Usus Sarum composed by Bishop Osmund of Salisbury about 1085, contained in its Breviary the usual service, in its Missale the Communion service, and in its Manuale the Baptismal service. It gradually supplanted the other diocesan services, then in use, got hold of nearly all the Churches, so that even the Hereford and York Uses lost their ascendancy. In Reformation times the Common Prayer Book was based on the Sarum Usus.

³³ tacet *A* *E* *γ* cacet *C* ³⁴ vel *h.* *p.* *AC* *γ*, *E*¹ in *mar.* *R.* usus (*ud.*) pr. *E* ³⁵ quidem *CE* *γ* enim *A* ³⁶ in *h.* *e.* *AC* *e.* in *h.* *E* ³⁷ difficultat *CE* difficultavit *A* *om.* *γ* ³⁸ suam ne o. t. a. e c. d. eccl. *ACE* *om.* *γ* ³⁹ introductis *ACE* introductos *γ* ⁴⁰ Sarum *A*, but in *mar.* horarum *A*¹ saxum *E* *γ* saxum *C*, in *mar.* is add. sarum (?) *C*² ⁴¹ quam *CE* *γ* quantum *A* ⁴² illibertat *AC* *γ* libertat *E* ⁴³ scandalizent *ACE* scandalizarent *γ*

secundum usum ecclesie, in qua degunt,⁴² et tamen videtur, quod melius, ecclesie utilius et honori dei placencius possent tempus suum expendere et ad utilitatem ecclesie militare.

Ideo in istis periculis temporibus grave foret fidelem pure
 5 intendere legem⁴⁵ Cristi. Ideo si apostoli, qui in hoc fuerunt⁴⁶
 liberi,⁴⁷ continue predicaverunt,⁴⁸ quanto magis nos⁴⁹ miseri, qui per
 tales prophanas consuetudines sumus taliter obligati! Et si quis
 querat, quid talis presbiter de ratione faceret, cum non debet
 taliter deprecari, dictum⁵⁰ est, quod unus⁵¹ debet in casu, quo
 10 deus inclinaverit,⁵² predicare, alias dicere oracionem dominicam vel
 edificare proximum aut spiritualiter aut corporaliter secundum quod
 deus inclinaverit⁵³ faciendum. Et sic standum est consuetudini
 loci, de quanto non repugnat regule Cristi vel racioni. Nec⁵⁴ du-
 bium, quin executa⁵⁵ lege⁵⁶ Cristi secundum officium, quod ipse
 15 suis fratribus limitavit, prosperaretur ecclesia, nec deficeret usque
 ad diem iudicii operacio apostolica, sed dyabolus nititur fraudare⁵⁷
 vel superare ecclesiam per clerum sophisticum, sicut sophisticatus
 fuit per caput cleri,⁵⁸ dominum Iesum Cristum. Et laborando⁵⁹ ad
 hoc extraneat cleri⁶⁰ officium et sectas extraneas quasi hillatores⁶¹
 20 domus dicti⁶² introducunt⁶³ et episcopi, qui false fingunt se in con-
 versacione imitari⁶⁴ apostolos, limitant novos predicatores sophisticos,
 qui foveant iniquitatem dyaboli introductam, et alias fideles ecclesie
 persecuntur in tantum, quod unus fidelis dicit metrice istam sen-
 tenciam, quod si Petrus vel alias apostolus ex dei omnipotencia⁶⁵
 25 reconversaretur⁶⁶ cum episcopis incipiendo a papa⁶⁷ et visitando alias

⁴² degunt *ACγ* detegunt *E* ⁴⁵ legem *CEγ* legi *A* ⁴⁶ fuerunt *ACγ* fuerint *E*
⁴⁷ li. *ACγ, E^t* in mar. om. *E* ⁴⁸ predicaverunt *ACE* predicaverint *γ* ⁴⁹ nos corr.
 later into the text ⁵⁰ di. *ACγ* ut di. *E* ⁵¹ unus *A, E^t* in mar. bonus *Cγ, E* the
(ud.) ⁵² inclinaverit *ACE* declinaverit *γ*, above de (*ud.*) in is add. later by
 text hand ⁵³ predicare — inclinaverit *ACγ*, add. by *E^t* below the col. om. *E* ⁵⁴ nec
ACE et sic non *γ* ⁵⁵ executa *CEγ* exercitata *A* ⁵⁶ lege *ACγ* regula *E* ⁵⁷ frau-
 dare *AEγ, C^t* in mar. fraudire (cr. out and up.) *C* ⁵⁸ cle. *ACγ, E^t* in mar. om. *E*
⁵⁹ laborando *CEγ* laborando *A* (compend. om.) ⁶⁰ ex. cl. *Cγ* ex oculi (oc.
 cr. out.) *E*, in mar. is add. cleri *E^t* om. *A* ⁶¹ hillatores *ACγ* bellatores *E* ⁶² dicti
A om. *γ* divitis *E* blank space in *C* ⁶³ introducunt *CEγ* introducit *A* ⁶⁴ imi-
 tari *ACγ* mutari *E* ⁶⁵ omnipotencia *ACγ* potencia *E* ⁶⁶ reconversaretur *ACE*
 reconversarentur *γ* ⁶⁷ in *E* episcopis and papa are added in mar. by *E^t*

provincias cristianismi, non cognosceret istos prelatos cesareos⁶⁸ cum séctis aliis, sed constanter assereret,⁶⁹ quod non secuntur Cristum nec aliquem⁷⁰ apostolum nisi Iudam, et per consequens non vadunt viam ad patriam,⁹ sed per viam publicam ad infernum, seducunt simplices per mendacium ypocriticum, quod omnia, que 5 faciunt, faciunt ex licencia⁷¹ et auctoritate Cristi, sicut et ipsi in personis propriis vivendo apostolicam vitam rectissimam immediatus secuntur dominum Iesum Cristum.

C fol. 20b Et tale mendacium factum et⁷² per patrem mendacii practizatum seducit hodie ecclesiam militantem. 10

CAP. VII.¹

Sed quia unus phariseus^a, qui se reputat principem quarte secte, graviter fert hanc evidenciam: hoc non est exemplatum a Cristo, nec dictum in suo ewangelio, ergo non est catholice observandum, et ad huius improbacionem^b facit² raciones multiplices, ut de ordine dyaconatus et aliis observaciis hodie licite observatis, licet non 15 habeant auctoritatem a Cristo et a³ suo ewangelio, — levis ergo est evidencia: hoc non est⁴ a Cristo vel a⁵ suo ewangelio dictum ecclesie vel fidelibus exemplatum, ergo non⁶ est catholice obser-vandum, ideo relinquendo hanc evidenciam tamquam frivolam laborat circa 40⁷ signa ad hereticum cognoscendum. Et cum hereticus et 20 fidelis in quibusdam convenient, capit⁸ superflue multa signa, que

⁹ i. e. to eternal salvationCAP. VII. ^a From the conclusion of the chap. it is evident that by this term a Friar is meant who held a public disputation on the subject in question in Oxford, cp. below p. 269 l. 1 ff.

⁶⁸ istos prelatos cesareos *ACγ* istas platas cesareas *E*. ⁶⁹ assereret *ACE* asseret *γ* ⁷⁰ aliquem *ACE* alium *γ* ⁷¹ faciunt ex licencia *ACγ* excellencia *E* ⁷² et *ACγ* om. *E*

CAP. VII. ¹ 7 C in mar. nota bene *A*² number of chap. not given in *Eγ* from here on in *A* very numerous red commas occur; they run down to the end of col. (229^a)² facit *CEγ* sunt *A* ³ a *Cγ* om. *AE* ⁴ est *ACγ* om. *E* ⁵ a *Cγ* om. *AE*⁶ non *CEγ* hoc non *A* ⁷ 40 in *γ* illegible (44?) ⁸ capit *ACγ* caput *E*

fidelibus poterunt⁹ convenire, satis ergo est, fidelem cognoscere, quod quicunque fuerit pertinaciter fidei scripture contrarius, est hereticus,¹⁰ et sic omnis prescitus et specialiter adversans in vita fidei scripture.¹¹ Et sic rimando subtiliter condiciones heretici plures fratres proprios capere posset per verticem tamquam tales, et specialiter faciliter¹² evidencias vel predicando vel consenciendo nostratibus,^b ut in causa Urbani nostri occidant¹³ tot milia hominum et de tanto thezauro spolient regnum nostrum.

Tales, inquam, moventes per sompnia vel per sinistrum sensum fidei scripture videntur esse heretici, ut fratres predicantes,¹⁴ quod licet episcopis sic pugnare ex hoc, quod Cristus precepit^c suis apostolis, quod qui habet tunicam vendat eam et emat gladium.¹⁵ Fratres autem non vendiderunt tunicas, sed procurarunt¹⁶ sibi^d secures armorum, ideo non fuit¹⁸ mirum, si hoc negocium non fuit cum talibus prevaricatoribus prosperatum.

Redeundo ergo ad principium¹⁹ calumpniatum primo supponitur ista fides, quod Cristus sit verus deus et verus homo, et per consequens in sua deitate²⁰ habet ydeas vel raciones exemplares omnium fiendorum, et per consequens si in ipso non relucet racio faciendi, non licet sic facere, cum dyabolus et alii in peccando faciunt, ut²¹ non licet. Et hinc fideles dicunt communiter, quod peccatum non habet ydeam in deo, cum deus non sit auctor peccati,^d nec deus exemplificat, quod taliter est peccandum, et per

^b who where engaged in a war in Flanders against the adherents of the Antipope Clement VII. ^c cp. Luc. 22, 36 ^d cp. Trial. 67 ff., also p. 74: sed cum peccati sit idea nec peccati productivitas vel producibilitas in Deo, oportet peccatum esse et adesse vel potius abesse deficere etc. Against Bradwardine and Thom. Aquin., see above p. 229 n. a

⁹ poterunt C poterint γ potuerunt AE ¹⁰ in A is add. below the col.: Quis sit hereticus A¹¹ ¹¹ adversans in vita fi. ser. AC adversans γ adversans fidei scripture contrarius est hereticus et sic omnis prescitus et specialiter adversans in vita fidei scripture E ¹² faciliter CEγ facit A ¹³ occidant CEγ accident A ¹⁴ pred. in γ a corr. word ¹⁵ gla. ACγ sibi gla. E¹⁶ procurarunt ACE procuraverunt γ ¹⁷ sibi is repeated in γ, because it was not very plain the first time ¹⁸ fuit ACγ om. E ¹⁹ principium ACE principem γ in C is add. in mar.: Supposicio prima ²⁰ deitate ACγ divinitate E ²¹ ut ACE quod γ

idem deus non exemplificat, quod in ecclesia sua crescant monstruositates culpabiles tamquam in vinea, cuius vites ex²² tali nequicia sterilescent.

Sed quantum ad humanitatem Cristi supponitur iterum tamquam fides, quod anima sua videt continue clare in deitate rationem omnium fiendorum et quidquid usque²³ in diem iudicii est venturum.²⁴ Sicut enim boni²⁵ vident futura in verbo, sic anima Cristi videt clarius secundum illum creatum spiritum omnes raciones et omnia facienda, qua fide supposita.

Secundo supponitur, quod inter omnes homines ille spiritus Cristi habuit maximam caritatem.^{26e} Cum enim fuit deitati²⁷ ypostatice copulatus, fuisset ingratus nisi deum et suam ecclesiam supra alios dilexisset. Ex quibus videtur, cum²⁸ dileccio stat principaliiter in utilitate doctrine²⁹ quod Christus per illum spiritum docuisset suam ecclesiam³⁰ perficere,³¹ quid et qualiter est agendum, quid et qualiter est a malo periculi fugiendum. Cum ergo non approbativa docuit suam ecclesiam de hiis sectis, sed reprobative^f videtur loqui plura de fratribus, videtur, quod non approbat illos status. Si enim illi status fuissent tam perfecti et tam utiles ecclesie, quid prohibuisset Christum omnipotentem et omniscientem has sectas fratrum sue ecclesie expressisse? Et blasphemum videtur, quod Francisco vel alio privato patrono privilegium supra ipsos instituendi³² meliores ordines ac³³ regulas³⁴ pandidisset,³⁵ quam ipse in persona propria ordinavit. Et cum dei perfecta sunt opera, et Christus fuit contentus de statibus³⁶ istis et formis suis, quando magis vigebat sua ecclesia, videtur, quod tam perfectum statum et

^e cp. *De tripl. Vinc. Am.* p. 162 ^f as to the proof of this reproach, cp. *De Fund. Sect.* from chap. V on, cp. also above p. 79; 303

²² ex ACE in γ²³ us. ACγ, E¹ in mar. om. E²⁴ venturum CEγ verum tamen (?) A²⁵ boni C, but in mar. bene C² boni γ, but below it bene is add. later beati A bene E²⁶ in C is add. in mar.: Supposicio secunda in A in mar.: Spiritus Christi habuit maximam caritatem A¹²⁷ f. d. ACγ, d. sitit E, but in mar. with mark of ref. to d.: fuit E¹²⁸ cum ACE quod γ²⁹ doct. CEγ ecclesie (ud.) doctr. A³⁰ su. ec. AEγ suam suam (the latter cr. out. and ud.) eccl. C³¹ perficere AC, E¹ in mar. perfecte γ proficere E³² ipsos instituendi A ipsum instituendum Eγ ipsos instituendum C³³ ac CEγ et A³⁴ or. ac re. ACγ re. ac or. E³⁵ pandidisset ACE pandisset γ³⁶ statibus AC, E¹ in mar. fratribus γ, E (ud.)

regulam prius dedisse³⁷ sue ecclesie, ut fingitur ab hiis novis ordinibus, non racionabiliter omisisset. Tunc³⁸ enim plus claruisset³⁹ sua sapiencia sponse sue, tunc magis profuisset sue ecclesie,⁴⁰ et iste novitates fuissent magis autentice. Et tales evidencie movebant Paulum, quod non audebat novas sectas vel religiones novas statuere.⁴¹ Sed quid sunt isti privati stolidi quoad Paulum! In wlo dicitur, quod non equus⁴² in biga audacior⁴³ quam est cecus.

Non tamen presumo scandalizare illos, quos secte hodie tamquam fidem reputant esse sanctos, sed unum videtur esse probabile, quod secte sequentes carent prudencia ad patronos, quos sibi eligunt, imitandum, sed sicut Cristum ducem deserunt, sic vagi et infundabiles patronos proprios derelinquent.

Et quantum ad evidenciam dicti fratris^h dictum est sepe⁴⁴ scientibus, quomodo Cristus tamquam fundamentum et semen sue ecclesie aliqua tamquam magis utilia sue ecclesie expressius exemplavit, ut patet de statu episcopali vel sacerdotali⁴⁵ cum regula eis data, aliqua autem exemplavit et docuit magis subtiliter, quorum existencia et noticia est⁴⁶ nimis⁴⁷ utilis, ut patet de illis, quorum doctrina per Cristum et suos apostolos est inventa. Et in illo⁴⁸ sunt gradus multiplices; et⁴⁹ patet ex fide scripture et specialiter Pauli⁴⁹ⁱ et⁵⁰ Actuum^k apostolorum, quomodo Cristus in ewangelio suo ordinavit dyaconos. — Et sic dictus princeps^l ex consuetudine antiqui mendacii non erubescit⁵¹ falsum assumere, cum dicit,⁵² quod status dyaconii⁵³ non est in ewangelio expressatus. Nam probabiliter creditur, quod septuaginta duo⁵⁴ discipuli, de quibus Lue. 10,^m erant dyconi sub apostolis designati. Paulus eciam dat in epistolis⁵⁵

^g cp. I Cor. 1, 10 ^h cp. above p. 264 l. 11 ⁱ vgl. Phil. 1, 1;
I Tim. 3, 8; 12 ^k cp. Act. 6, 1—6 ^l cp. note h ^m v. 1

³⁷ prius dedisse AC prius dedisse prius E prius dedisset γ tune ACγ, E¹ in mar. non (*ud.*) E ³⁸ tunce ACE caruisset γ ³⁹ s. e. ACγ e. s. E
⁴⁰ s. e. ACγ e. s. E ⁴¹ equus AC est equus Eγ ⁴² in A is add. in mar.: Proverbiū verissimum A¹
⁴³ sepe ACE om. γ ⁴⁴ e. v. s. ACE s. v. e. γ ⁴⁵ est ACγ om. E ⁴⁶ nimis AC minus Eγ ⁴⁷ in illo ACE vero γ ⁴⁸ et ACγ ut E ⁴⁹ Pau. ACγ, E¹ in mar. om. E ⁵⁰ et AEγ, C¹ in mar. 20 (*ud.*) C ⁵¹ erubescit Cγ erubescit AE ⁵² dicit γ dicit ACE ⁵³ dyaconii AC diaconi γ dyaconorum E
⁵⁴ 72^o ACγ a Christo (*ud.*) E, but in mar. LXXII E¹ ⁵⁵ epistolis ACγ episopis E

suisⁿ specialem doctrinam de dyaconibus, et sicut credimus, quod Cristus⁵⁶ in isto apostolo est locutus, sic credimus,⁵⁷ quod suum ewangelium est ewangelium Iesu Christi.⁵⁸ Nam in epistola sua ad Gal. sepe^o asserit, quod epistole sue sint ewangelium, et non dubium, quin per idem ewangelium Iesu Christi Lucas eciam Act. 6^p 5 exprimit, quomodo apostoli auctoritate⁵⁹ Christi elegerunt septem dyaconos et ipsi predicacioni et oracioni liberius intendebant.

Alios autem status apocryfos⁶⁰ introductos non est tantum⁶¹ peccatum dimittere sicut illos, qui ordinantur expressius in ewangelio Iesu Christi.

C fol. 21b Sed volvat homo et revolvat totum corpus legis domini et non inveniet unum verbum, in quo secta istorum fratrum vel istorum novorum ordinum approbacione domini est fundata preter in isto II Cor. 11^q: periculis in falsis fratribus. Et talia verba possunt dare hiis sectis operam ad fundacionem suam in fide scripture¹⁵ diligencius perscrutandam.⁶²

Constat quidem,⁶³ quod non decuit⁶⁴ nec oportuit⁶⁵ Christum quoscunque actus particulares laudabiles in fide legis⁶⁶ sue ecclesie expressisse, quia hoc fuisset dispendiosum et onerosum sue ecclesie, sed genera omnium necessariorum ad doctrinam ecclesie modo, quo²⁰ decuit,⁶⁷ exprimebat. De genere autem istarum quatuor sectarum non reperi, nisi reprobative et yronice quis loquatur.^r

Et sic accipiunt⁶⁸ multi ut fidem ecclesie, quod nisi expressasset in genere status⁶⁹ et opera facienda, ipsa non sunt a fidelibus amplectenda. Et frater, qui nescit, quomodo genus et secta debent²⁵

ⁿ cp. I Tim. 3, 8—10 ^o cp. I, 1; 11—13; cp. I Cor. 15, 3; 11, 23 ^p v. 5 ^q v. 26; *W.*, very frequently, recurs to this ironical remark, cp. for instance, above p. 37 l. 16 ^r cp. above p. 37 l. 16

⁵⁶ here ends in E col. 89^a, below it: specialem without a mark of ref. ⁵⁷ cr. AEγ Cristus (*ud.*) cr. C ⁵⁸ in A add. in mar.: Ewangelium Pauli est ewangelium Christi A^t ⁵⁹ auct. AC ex auct. E ex auctite (*au. ud.*) auct. γ ⁶⁰ in E appogriiffas ⁶¹ tantum A^t, E^t in mar. tamen (*ud.*) E tamen, above it tantum C ⁶² perscrutandam ACE perscrutandum γ ⁶³ quidem CEγ enim A ⁶⁴ decuit ACγ decuit E ⁶⁵ oportuit ACE oportet γ ⁶⁶ leg. is in A corr. later into the text ⁶⁷ decuit ACγ decuit E ⁶⁸ capiunt, above the a an i is add. by the texthand, and in mar. is add. ac, therefore accipiunt C capiunt AE sapiunt γ ⁶⁹ ex. inge. sta. ACγ, E^t in mar. expressisset in gestatus E

pertinenter in proposito limitari, est nimis indispositus ad tractantandum de materia ista vel heresibus et specialiter publice in studio generali.^s

CAP. VIII.^t

Sed² restat parumper ulterius pro purgacione secte prime leviter 5 pertractandum.

Videtur enim, quod verba ista^a sint duplia et locuntur^b a Christo dispariter, ac si apud loquentes foret accepcio personarum. Videtur enim per locum a sufficiente^c similitudine, quod per idem cessarent^d tam sacerdotes, quam milites de ordine Hospitalis,^e^f ymo 10 secundo cessarent in generalibus studiis^g fundata collegia, et quod est communius, cessarent utrobique^h in Anglie cantarie.ⁱ^j Sed quis non resisteret tali vesanie? Videtur, quod tam prelati dominantes et clerici, quam eciam studiosi in universitatibus commorantes et tercio burgenses, qui^k multas cantarias^l huiusmodi fun-

^s viz. in Oxford, cp. above p. 264 l. 11

CAP. VIII. ^a cp. chap. V p. 256 l. 6 ff. ^b *The Knights of St. John, founded about the middle of the 11th century by merchants of Amalfi. served as nurses to sick pilgrims in hospitals* ^c in Oxford and the universities of the Continent ^d cp. W's *The Order of Priesthood*, chap. 24 (see Matthew, p. 177), where the foundation of chantries is spoken of. These chantries had become is W's times the commonest form of religious foundations. One Order after another having fallen away from the ideal aimed at in its foundation, people ceased to look upon monks and even Mendicant Friars as good men whom it was meritorious to help; in founding chantry houses and endowing chantry priests, they hoped to get prayers in return for their money, and thus to be of the best service for the welfare of their souls. From the Tract cited above it becomes evident that only rich men (*riche men and tirauntes*) were enabled to indulge into this religious luxury., ^e *The formal religion of the day looked upon this as the safest religious investment*, Matth. 513,

CAP. VIII. ^t number of chap. not given in the codd. ² Sed CEγ om. A

³ locuntur ACγ loquentur E ⁴ sufficiente ACγ sufficienti E ⁵ cess. ACγ enim cess. E ⁶ hospitalis ACγ hospitali E ⁷ utrobique CEγ ubique A

⁸ cantarie AE canterie (*the first e ud., above it a*) C cantuarie γ ⁹ qui Cγ om. AE ¹⁰ cantarias AE cantarios C cantuarios γ

daverunt,¹¹ huic perfidie obviarent, et papa specialiter, cum in fundacione, confirmacione vel collacione¹² talium reluet sua potestas vicaria, que pari evidencia omnino detolleretur.¹³

Hic locuntur humiles tamquam persone mundo incognite, nec sunt¹⁴ pro publicacione huiusmodi¹⁵ sentencie humanum stipendium 5 exspectantes, sed a deo, qui ex lege sua movet homines ad istam sentenciam tamquam divinam in populo publicandum. Et si non repertet statim sentencie in populo,¹⁶ creditur tamen, quod paulatice potest in fructu crescere et finaliter in die iudicii credi et perpetuo observari. Nec est in istis verbis duplicitas, sed secundum 10 fidem¹⁷ et rectam conscientiam sentencie vere sinceritas, et timore ac amore personarum superstitionis omnino postpositis, dicitur consequenter, sicut creditur, sequi ex istis principiis.¹⁸ Omnia autem hec tria^e tacta in perpetuacione seculi videntur ex dictis de statu innocencie^f et statu post finale iudicium esse cum prudencia ter- 15 minanda.

Et sic quoad primum^g videtur, quod tam presbiteri, quam milites Hospitalares debent pure religionem Christi accipere et istas ad invenciones novas deserere. Hospitalarii autem sicut Templarii videntur infundabiles ratione. In cuius signum gerunt ficte nomen 20 Hospitalarie et breviter, quidquid boni¹⁹ fecerint, possent liberius ac meritorius illud²⁰ facere in²¹ liberrima secta Christi. Unde et²² privata et²³ propria obligacio huius secte onerat sepe conscientias C fol. 42ⁱ multorum et facit eas in se plus perplexas, quam forent in amplitudine secte Christi. 25

Et quantum ad punctum fructus²⁴ huius secte de expugna-

^e cp. above p. 269 l. 9 ff. ^f from this it appears that the present Tract was written after *De Statu Innoc.*, cp. Shirley, Catal. Nr. 15 (the second book of W's Summa) ^g viz. the abolition of the Hospital-Knights, cp. above p. 269 l. 9

¹¹ fundaverunt AC fundaverat Eγ ¹² collacione ACE colleccione (?) γ
¹³ detolleretur γ decolleretur EC recolleretur A ¹⁴ nec sunt ACγ ut nec sint E
¹⁵ huiusmodi ACγ huius E ¹⁶ publicandum — populo ACγ om. E ¹⁷ fidem
¹⁶ Cγ finem AE. ¹⁸ pr. ACE sentenciis (er.out and ud.) pr. γ ¹⁹ boni ACE
^{om. γ} ²⁰ illud AEγ, C² in mar. illud (ud.) C ²¹ in Cγ et AE ²² et Cγ
^{om. AE} ²³ et AC om. Eγ ²⁴ fr. ACγ et fr. E

cione²⁵ Iudeorum et infidelium aliorum, patet, quod ista pugna non est docta a domino Iesu Christo, sed per mititatem et pacienciam²⁶ vincerent²⁷ longe copiosius infideles, ideo sint cristiani pacientes et non sic²⁸ cupidi, et tunc longe cicius ex percepcione talis vite in-⁵ fideles, quos hostes dicimus, ad fidem Christi converterent, nunc autem per istam novam^h pugnam extraneam ipsos plus acuunt ad continuandum in sua perfidia.

Nec videtur, quod missio talis pecunie ad partes tam exterioresⁱ habeat fructum bonum, sed per multas manus invisc(er)atas²⁹ avaricia est populus solvens³⁰ primam elemosinam defraudatus; et sic rex cum sua milicia, clerus per multa media et omnino populus, cui subveniretur, per tempora³¹ iniustissime defraudantur. Et ille, qui contendit ad iustificandum hanc sectam per fructus eius aut verba³² apocrypha, non est a prudentibus audiendus.

15 Et ita dampnificantur tam extranei, quam indigene ex continuacione³³ infundabilis talis secte. Superbia enim³⁴ multorum per istam³⁵ acuitur, et humilitas Christi per multos³⁶ despicitur, et sic caritas ecclesie³⁷ minuitur per milites sic pugnantes.

Et eadem est consideracio de gildis et aliis privatis fraternitatibus hominum adinventis. Per omnia enim talia lex Christi minuitur, et per dyabolum dissensionis seminarium occultatur.

Quantum ad collegia³⁸ in studiis generalibus^k est idem iudicium. Nam³⁹ per ipsa patrie⁴⁰ et persone contra caritatis regulas acceptantur⁴¹ et intrinsece invidie eum peccatis aliis et periuriis

^h the Crusade to Flanders against Clement VII. ⁱ with ref. to this, c. the privileges accorded to Bisshop Spenser for undertaking the crusade in Walsingham II, 77, also Wilkins, III, 177—178; cp. also above p. 103 note l ^k cp. above chap. VIII, p. 269 l. 10

²⁵ expugnacione $AC\gamma$ expurgacione E ²⁶ in A is add. below the col.: Per mititatem et pacienciam debemus pugnare A^1 ²⁷ vincerent $AC\gamma$ vice-
runt E ²⁸ sic ACE sint γ ²⁹ inviscatas $CE,\gamma(?)$ invistatus A ³⁰ solvens
 A solutus $E\gamma,C$, but t cr. out, above it e, therefore solvens ³¹ tempora $AC\gamma$
temporalia E ³² verba $AC\gamma$ alia E ³³ continuacione $AC\gamma$ contumacione E
³⁴ enim ACE om. γ ³⁵ istam $C\gamma$ ista AE ³⁶ multos $AC\gamma$ multas E
³⁷ eccl. ACE Cristi eccl. γ ³⁸ co. ACE studia (cr. out and ud.) co. γ ³⁹ nam
in A corr. from non ⁴⁰ patrie CE,γ (? parate) facere A , in mar. is add. fa-
cies A^1 ⁴¹ acceptantur $AC\gamma$ accipiuntur E

ac symoniis contra instituta propria cumulantur.⁴² Conceditur tamen, quod ex talibus collegiis sicut ex sectis aliis eveniunt multa bona, non tamen tot, quot occasione peccati dyaboli et primi hominis.

Ideo erubescat fidelis, fructum talis commodi allegare, sed insistat fundacioni, si sciverit, et evacuet malum, quod exinde provenit.⁴³ Scimus quidem,⁴⁴ quod per errores priores et specialiter ecclesiarum appropriaciones⁴⁵ est clerus et theologie studium diminutum,⁴⁶ sed per remedium fundatum in talibus collegiis non est clerus ad pristinum gradum⁴⁶ restitutus.

Ideo rectificatis istis erroribus foret clerus in fide forcior et subductis consuetudinibus gentilibus profectui Cristi ecclesie utilior et generaliter talium collegiorum fundacio est bonorum ecclesie inequa distribucio cum redditibus et ecclesiis appropriatis. Nec populi debite pascuntur corporaliter nec spiritualiter, et tamen⁴⁷ mediantibus fraudibus hincinde factis in regnis longe plures sparsim melius pascerentur. Debemus ergo attendere, quomodo deus sapienter dat⁴⁸ pluviam et quomodo secundum Iesiae vaticinium cap. 40^{49 m} omnis caro fenum, fenum autem non plene mortuum conglobatim⁵⁰ deficit in colore, in⁵¹ odore et usque ad summum putrescit, et sic spiritualiter est de iuvenibus irregulariter conglobatis.²⁰

Et quantum vel cantarias⁵² perpetuas per mundi divites fabricatas, patet, quod fundatores in fide primo deficiunt, ac si crede-

^l In a sermon preached by Richard Archbishop of Armagh before the Pope in Arignon (in the year 1357; Vaughan writes 1387, erroneously: for Fitzralph died as soon as 1359 in Arignon), he complained that the number of students in Oxford had decreased from 30,000 who were there in his time, to 6000. Fitzralph became Archbishop of Armagh in 1347, and in consequence of his promotion left the University, whose Chancellor he had been. See a similar complaint, made by Robert Gascoigne, who was likewise Chancellor of Oxford, in Fox, *Acts and Monuments*, I, 532, 543; also Huber, *Engl. Univ.* I, 66—68 ^m v. 6

⁴² in C an illegible word has been add. at this place in mar. . . . saret (by C²)
⁴³ provenit AC γ proveniet E ⁴⁴ quidem ACE enim γ ⁴⁵ appropriaciones ACE approbaciones γ ⁴⁶ pristinum gradum γ prestinum gr. C prist. statum E grad. pristinum A ⁴⁷ tamen CE γ tam A ⁴⁸ s. d. CE γ d. s. A ⁴⁹ cap. 40 ACE om. γ ⁵⁰ conglobatim AC γ conglobatum E ⁵¹ colore in γ colore et A calore in CE ⁵² cantarias ACE canterias γ

rent deum⁵³ sibi et suo generi per tales cantarias⁵⁴ singulariter⁵⁵ suffragari. Et raro vel numquam deficit eis luciferina || superbia, qua || C fol. 42^b cupiunt nomen suum in terris perpetuari. Et⁵⁶ cum tempore⁵⁷ utriusque testamenti subiecti⁵⁸ dei⁵⁹ legibus per processum temporis 5 notabiliter erraverunt, multo magis subiecti humanis tradicionibus. Et sic⁶⁰ propter securitatem perpetuitatis⁶¹ presbiter fiet discolus, et thezaurus domini erit prelatis sive custodibus iniustissime distributus. Medicina ergo ad recolendum, quod non habemus hic manentem civitatem, sed futuram inquirimus,ⁿ est temporalitas et in-
10 securitas in hiis bonis scriptis.⁶²

CAP. IX.¹

Pro supplecione^a purgacionis secte prime,² que est propinquissima secte Cristi, videtur primo, quod in secta Cristi sunt gradus multiplices. Nam Scarioth fuit de secta Cristi, cum fuit apostolus, et in secta Cristi plurimi sunt presicti. Quia ergo non 15 sunt³ tres sequentes secte^b de secta Cristi, ut verbaliter profitentur, secta ergo Cristi foret diligentissime expurganda.

Quantum ad istud dictum est alibi^c diffuse de sectis, quod secte capiunt species suas a regula et patronis. Illi^d ergo sunt pure de secta Cristi,^e qui patronum suum et regulam fideliter profitentur. 20 Et sic videtur,^f quod duplicitur possunt aliqui esse^g de secta Cristi,

ⁿ cp. Heb. 13, 14

CAP. IX. ^a cp. cap. VIII p. 269 l. 3 ^b the monachi, canonici and fratres, cp. above cap. I p. 242 l. 25 ^c I have not found out which of his former writings W. has here in view, perhaps Trial. 361 ff.

⁵³ deum *AC_Y* demum *E* ⁵⁴ cantarias *A* cantorias *C_Y* cautelas *E*, but in mar. canterias *E^t*, cp. nn. 8, 10, 52 ⁵⁵ singulariter *AC* finaliter *E_Y* ⁵⁶ et in *A* add. later in mar. ⁵⁷ tempore *CE_Y* tempus *A* ⁵⁸ subi. in *C* repeated in mar. by *C²* ⁵⁹ dei *E* deo *AC_Y* ⁶⁰ sic *AC_Y* sic sic *E* ⁶¹ perpetuitatis *ACE* perpetui- talis *Y* ⁶² in hiis bonis scriptis *CE_Y* temporalium *A*

CAP. IX. ¹ 9 C the number of the chap. not given in *AE_Y* ² s. p. *ACE* p. s. *Y* ³ sunt *AE_Y, C^t* in mar. om. *C* ⁴ illi *AC_Y* ille *E* ⁵ p. de s. Cr. *AE, C* (transposed by marks) de s. Cr. p. *C_Y* ⁶ videtur *CE* videtur ¹⁰ *Y* intelligitur *A* ⁷ p. a. e. *C_Y* a. p. e. *A* p. e. a. *E*

scilicet nude verbaliter et vere realiter. Et existente multiplicitate⁸ graduum⁹ in primo membro videtur, quod in secundo generaliter et solummodo sint electi. Cum autem hee omnes secte quatuor profitentur patronum proprium et regulam citra Cristum, videtur, quod a secta Christi sunt nimium alienae. Nam prima secta profitetur papam patronum^d et leges suas sub obediencia sua pro regula; secunda autem secta profitetur Benedictum pro patrono et eius regulam tamquam legem;¹⁰ tercia autem secta fingit Augustinum patronum et sue regule, que est¹¹ sentencia scripture sacre,¹² ritus proprios¹³ superaddit; quarta autem secta quadrimembris¹⁴ fundata¹⁵ super vacuo variat¹⁵ in regulis et patronis,^e ut prima pars, capiens Dominicum pro patrono, capit partem regule Augustini et aliam partem infamem capit a tradicionibus propriis et a papa. Et sic de secunda parte¹⁶ huius secte, que¹⁷ ad Franciscum, tercia autem pars propter maioritatem¹⁸ antiquitatis fingit Augustinum patronum¹⁵ et sparsim colligit sibi regulam ex¹⁹ multitudine disparium patrornorum;²⁰ quarta autem pars, volens²¹ in sanctitate et antiquitate priores²² precellere, elegit beatam Virginem patronissam, licet initialiter et figuraliter in monte Carmeli prius fuerat²³ sub Elia.

Relictis autem mendaciis²⁴ istis sive sompniis,²⁵ videtur, quod proprio utendo terminis nulla istarum quatuor sectarum militat sub secta domini Iesu Christi, quia sicut²⁶ non est communicacio Christi ad belial, sic non est communicacio sui et sibi observientium²⁷ patronorum.

Conceditur ergo, quod in secta Christi sunt homines dupliciter²⁵

^a cp. above p. 248; also *De tripl. Vinc. Am.* p. 173 ^e cp. above p. 173 and *Trial.* 361 ff.

⁸ multiplicitate *AC γ* multiplice *E* ⁹ graduum *CE γ* om. *A* ¹⁰ legem *AC γ* om. *E* ¹¹ que est *AC γ* quedam (dam *ud. and est in mar.*) *E* ¹² sacre *AE γ , C² in mar.* *sacra C* ¹³ proprios *AC γ* proprios *E* ¹⁴ quadrimembris *AE γ* quadribembirs *E* ¹⁵ variat *AC γ* variatur *E* ¹⁶ parte *ACE* om. γ ¹⁷ que *AC* quo γ *E* ¹⁸ maioritatem *AC γ* maioritatis *E* ¹⁹ ex *ACE* a γ ²⁰ patronorum *AC γ* patronum *E* ²¹ pars volens *ACE* secta γ ²² pr. *ACE* volens pr. γ ²³ fuerat *CE γ* fuerant *A* ²⁴ mendaciis *C γ* mendacii *AE* ²⁵ sompniis *CE γ* sognis *A* ²⁶ sicut *CE γ* sic *A* ²⁷ observientium *A, C add. later by another hand (C¹)* observientium γ observancia *E*

atque equivoce modo dicto, nos autem, licet speremus, quod simus²⁸ de secta Cristi, non tamen habemus ad hoc demonstracionem vel revelacionem, sed evidenciam probabilem quietantem. Et stat in hoc, quod solum Cristum confitemur²⁹ patronum vel caput nostre 5 ecclesie sive secte³⁰ et solum ac³¹ plene legem dei confitemur pro regula, et sic quiete³² vivimus in fide domini Iesu Christi.

Conceditur autem ulterius, quod esset pernecessarium³³ sectam Cristi a viciis expurgare, et videtur, quod ad hoc et proficeret³⁴ talis purgacio, quod omnes secte preter istam, sicut fuit in primi-10 tiva ecclesia, || sint subducte,³⁵ et quod ista arceatur servare patronatum et regulam domini Iesu Christi. Arceatur, dico, quoad antecedencia,³⁶ illative, ex quibus libere eligat sectam Cristi modo, quo dictum est Luc. 14^f parabolice, quod seculare brachium compellat intrare in viis et sepibus evagantes. Regula autem ewangelica ad 15 perficiendum hoc opus domini foret securitatem temporalium ab hiis sectis excludere, cum Christus patronus noster noluit sic habere, ubi caput proprium³⁷ reclinaret. Et istam regulam, quoad securitatem mundanam, apostoli et sequentes discipuli usque ad dotacionem ecclesie observarunt. Stante ergo hoc fidi principio debet inten-20 dens regni nostri gubernaculo³⁸ pro quaunque parochiali ecclesia regni Anglie providere presbiterum vel curatum, qui in ipsa pa-25 rochia rite resideat pure secundum patronatum et regulam domini Iesu³⁹ Christi. Si autem a⁴⁰ Christo sit necessitatus deficere, oportet, quod de tanto sit a tali officio excusatus. Si autem plebi⁴¹ notabiliter ab officio⁴² isto ex propria culpa deficiat, sit amotus et alius ydoneus sine securitate seculi introductus. Et dic⁴³ remur-

C fol. 23a

f. v. 23

²⁸ simus ACE sumus γ ²⁹ confitemur Cγ confitentur AE ³⁰ secte ACE om. γ ³¹ ac A hoc Cγ hanc E ³² quiete ACE quieto γ ³³ ess. pern. is in C add. later by another hand (C¹), cp. above n. 27 ³⁴ et proficeret Cγ proficeret A et (ud.) profecerit E ³⁵ subducte AE subducti Cγ ³⁶ quoad antec. ACγ quod ad antecia E (compend. om.) ³⁷ pro ACE suum (cr. out and ud.) pro γ ³⁸ gubernaculo CEγ gubernacula A ³⁹ Ie. ACγ nostri Ie. E ⁴⁰ a CE om. Aγ ⁴¹ si autem plebi CE si autem a Christo sit necessitatus deficere etc. — officio excusat si autem plebi A om. γ ⁴² excus. si au. pl. n. ab off. AC om. E, but add. later below the col. by E¹ om. γ³ ⁴³ dic AC dicit E om. γ

muranti contra⁴⁴ istam sentenciam, quod ipsam impugnet, si sciverit, ratione⁴⁵ vel regula domini Iesu Christi.⁴⁶

Certum quidem videtur, quod sic regulabatur ecclesia primitiva, quando magis in prosperitate creverat et profecit et declinando ab hac⁴⁷ regula decrevit secundum singulas partes et obiectus⁴⁸ ab excommunicacionibus vel censuris⁴⁹ aliis capti(s)⁵⁰ moverent parum aut nichil Christi milites ad sui ordinacionis fundacionem infideliter dimittendum.

Et eodem modo dicitur de pseudoprophetis ac pseudoapostolis, quod sua evidencia⁵¹ secundum legis Christi regulam⁵² est videnda.¹⁰

Sunt enim multe evidencie frivole, que fiunt ab antieristi discipulis contra istud.

Quidam enim prorumpunt in hec verba insania, quod tunc periret Christi ecclesia⁵³ et per consequens milicia communiter. Sed idem est, ac si sic in isto arguerent:⁵⁴ ecclesia Christi purgata secundum eius regulas deperiret et per consequens brachium militare. Sed⁵⁵ nulla evidencia est infidelior vel⁵⁶ placencior antieristo.

Secunda evidencia stat in isto, quod regnum nostrum stetit prospere, quando fuit⁵⁷ secundum leges harum sectarum specialiter in clericis regulatum. Evidens ergo est, quod stante isto gubernaculo piostmodum ita staret.⁵⁸

Sed isti ceci solum considerant prosperitatem mundanam, ad quam solum aspiciunt, sed per quam viam debent viare ad celum secundum legem domini, non attendunt; ideo expergiscant in fide Christi et videant in eadem fide, quomodo celum a viatoribus est querendum, et tunc eligant, quod⁵⁹ istorum est optacius, vel in prosperitate mundana vivere vel celum in persecuzione acquirere. Sed fides concludit pseudoloquentibus hoc secundum.

⁴⁴ remurmuranti contra *AC* remurmurantibus *E* *om. γ* ⁴⁵ ratione *AC* racio *E* *om. γ* ⁴⁶ si autem a Christo sit necessitatus etc. — vel regula d. Iesu Cr. *ACE* *om. γ* ⁴⁷ ab hac *CEγ* ad hoc *A* ⁴⁸ obiectus *ACE* abiectus *γ* ⁴⁹ censuris *ACγ* censuras *E* ⁵⁰ captis *CEγ* *om. A* ⁵¹ evidencia *CEγ* regulacio *A* ⁵² le. Cr. re. *ACγ* re. le. Cr. *E* ⁵³ ecclesia *Cγ* ecclesie *AE* ⁵⁴ arguerent *ACγ* argueret *E* ⁵⁵ sed *Cγ, A* (*cr. out and ud.*) *om. E* ⁵⁶ vel *AEγ* et (*ud.*, above it vel) *C* ⁵⁷ fuit *ACγ* non fuit *E* ⁵⁸ staret *ACE* starent *γ* ⁵⁹ quod *CEγ* quad *A*

Tercio obicitur, quod multi pii domini, qui iam sunt mortui, talem elemosinam perpetuam ordinarunt. Quanta ergo foret impietas elemosinas ipsas destruere et in secularem vitam, que est deterior, commutare.

Sed fundent sic arguentes contra legem Cristi, si poterint,⁶⁰ quod defuncti in fundando elemosinas tales perpetuas meruerunt aut quod ipsis redactis ad ordinacionem Cristi forent expense deterius quam sunt modo. Sed confido in patrono nostro, quod omnes de istis sectis quatuor non possunt facere || evidenciam vel perfunc || C fol. 43b
10 toriam,⁶¹ ut hoc probent.

Sed quarto⁶² obicitur per hoc, quod leges hominum et specialiter⁶³ leges papales tunc deficerent, est ergo contra⁶⁴ caritatis regulam depauperare⁶⁵ homines tamdiu secundum leges probabiles prosperatos.

Sed hic⁶⁶ dicitur,⁶⁷ quod licet leges papales deficiant,⁶⁸ donetur fidelibus ista⁶⁹ iniuria. Sic enim dixit papa, quando secundum introduccionem legum papalium lex domini est suspensa. Et quantum ad regulas caritatis supponendum est, quod non sunt caritatis, sed impietatis regule,⁷⁰ que dotant presbiteros contra Cristum, unde 15 fides, si creditur, dicit⁷¹ Ioh. [13]:^{72g} mandatum novum do vobis, ut diligatis invicem sicut ego⁷³ dilexi vos, ut et vos invicem diligatis.⁷⁴ Vel ergo oportet dicere, quod Cristus odivit suos apostolos ordinando ipsos in statu tam paupere, vel concedere, quod imitando Cristum in isto diligeret seculares presbiteros, quos sic moderat ad 25 vivendum. Non enim dicitur sive consulitur, quod occidantur vel⁷⁵ moriantur pre fame presbiteri,⁷⁶ sed quod vivant in statu anime sue et utilitati⁷⁷ ecclesie ac edificacioni⁷⁸ proximi secundum legem domini meliori. Sed donate dominis secularibus istam iniuriam.

⁹ v. 34

⁶⁰ poterint *C* ⁶¹ poterunt *A* potuerint *E* ⁶² perfuctoriam *AC* ⁶³ perfectioriam *E* ⁶⁴ *quarto AC* ⁶⁵ *quatuor E* ⁶⁶ et sp. *AC* ⁶⁷ et sp. et specialiter *E* ⁶⁸ contra *CE* ⁶⁹ *om. A* ⁷⁰ *depauperare CE* ⁷¹ *deperauperare A* ⁷² ⁷³ ⁷⁴ ⁷⁵ ⁷⁶ ⁷⁷ ⁷⁸ ⁷⁹ ⁸⁰ ⁸¹ ⁸² ⁸³ ⁸⁴ ⁸⁵ ⁸⁶ ⁸⁷ ⁸⁸ ⁸⁹ ⁹⁰ ⁹¹ ⁹² ⁹³ ⁹⁴ ⁹⁵ ⁹⁶ ⁹⁷ ⁹⁸ ⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰ ¹⁰¹ ¹⁰² ¹⁰³ ¹⁰⁴ ¹⁰⁵ ¹⁰⁶ ¹⁰⁷ ¹⁰⁸ ¹⁰⁹ ¹¹⁰ ¹¹¹ ¹¹² ¹¹³ ¹¹⁴ ¹¹⁵ ¹¹⁶ ¹¹⁷ ¹¹⁸ ¹¹⁹ ¹²⁰ ¹²¹ ¹²² ¹²³ ¹²⁴ ¹²⁵ ¹²⁶ ¹²⁷ ¹²⁸ ¹²⁹ ¹³⁰ ¹³¹ ¹³² ¹³³ ¹³⁴ ¹³⁵ ¹³⁶ ¹³⁷ ¹³⁸ ¹³⁹ ¹⁴⁰ ¹⁴¹ ¹⁴² ¹⁴³ ¹⁴⁴ ¹⁴⁵ ¹⁴⁶ ¹⁴⁷ ¹⁴⁸ ¹⁴⁹ ¹⁵⁰ ¹⁵¹ ¹⁵² ¹⁵³ ¹⁵⁴ ¹⁵⁵ ¹⁵⁶ ¹⁵⁷ ¹⁵⁸ ¹⁵⁹ ¹⁶⁰ ¹⁶¹ ¹⁶² ¹⁶³ ¹⁶⁴ ¹⁶⁵ ¹⁶⁶ ¹⁶⁷ ¹⁶⁸ ¹⁶⁹ ¹⁷⁰ ¹⁷¹ ¹⁷² ¹⁷³ ¹⁷⁴ ¹⁷⁵ ¹⁷⁶ ¹⁷⁷ ¹⁷⁸ ¹⁷⁹ ¹⁸⁰ ¹⁸¹ ¹⁸² ¹⁸³ ¹⁸⁴ ¹⁸⁵ ¹⁸⁶ ¹⁸⁷ ¹⁸⁸ ¹⁸⁹ ¹⁹⁰ ¹⁹¹ ¹⁹² ¹⁹³ ¹⁹⁴ ¹⁹⁵ ¹⁹⁶ ¹⁹⁷ ¹⁹⁸ ¹⁹⁹ ²⁰⁰ ²⁰¹ ²⁰² ²⁰³ ²⁰⁴ ²⁰⁵ ²⁰⁶ ²⁰⁷ ²⁰⁸ ²⁰⁹ ²¹⁰ ²¹¹ ²¹² ²¹³ ²¹⁴ ²¹⁵ ²¹⁶ ²¹⁷ ²¹⁸ ²¹⁹ ²²⁰ ²²¹ ²²² ²²³ ²²⁴ ²²⁵ ²²⁶ ²²⁷ ²²⁸ ²²⁹ ²³⁰ ²³¹ ²³² ²³³ ²³⁴ ²³⁵ ²³⁶ ²³⁷ ²³⁸ ²³⁹ ²⁴⁰ ²⁴¹ ²⁴² ²⁴³ ²⁴⁴ ²⁴⁵ ²⁴⁶ ²⁴⁷ ²⁴⁸ ²⁴⁹ ²⁵⁰ ²⁵¹ ²⁵² ²⁵³ ²⁵⁴ ²⁵⁵ ²⁵⁶ ²⁵⁷ ²⁵⁸ ²⁵⁹ ²⁶⁰ ²⁶¹ ²⁶² ²⁶³ ²⁶⁴ ²⁶⁵ ²⁶⁶ ²⁶⁷ ²⁶⁸ ²⁶⁹ ²⁷⁰ ²⁷¹ ²⁷² ²⁷³ ²⁷⁴ ²⁷⁵ ²⁷⁶ ²⁷⁷ ²⁷⁸ ²⁷⁹ ²⁸⁰ ²⁸¹ ²⁸² ²⁸³ ²⁸⁴ ²⁸⁵ ²⁸⁶ ²⁸⁷ ²⁸⁸ ²⁸⁹ ²⁹⁰ ²⁹¹ ²⁹² ²⁹³ ²⁹⁴ ²⁹⁵ ²⁹⁶ ²⁹⁷ ²⁹⁸ ²⁹⁹ ³⁰⁰ ³⁰¹ ³⁰² ³⁰³ ³⁰⁴ ³⁰⁵ ³⁰⁶ ³⁰⁷ ³⁰⁸ ³⁰⁹ ³¹⁰ ³¹¹ ³¹² ³¹³ ³¹⁴ ³¹⁵ ³¹⁶ ³¹⁷ ³¹⁸ ³¹⁹ ³²⁰ ³²¹ ³²² ³²³ ³²⁴ ³²⁵ ³²⁶ ³²⁷ ³²⁸ ³²⁹ ³³⁰ ³³¹ ³³² ³³³ ³³⁴ ³³⁵ ³³⁶ ³³⁷ ³³⁸ ³³⁹ ³⁴⁰ ³⁴¹ ³⁴² ³⁴³ ³⁴⁴ ³⁴⁵ ³⁴⁶ ³⁴⁷ ³⁴⁸ ³⁴⁹ ³⁵⁰ ³⁵¹ ³⁵² ³⁵³ ³⁵⁴ ³⁵⁵ ³⁵⁶ ³⁵⁷ ³⁵⁸ ³⁵⁹ ³⁶⁰ ³⁶¹ ³⁶² ³⁶³ ³⁶⁴ ³⁶⁵ ³⁶⁶ ³⁶⁷ ³⁶⁸ ³⁶⁹ ³⁷⁰ ³⁷¹ ³⁷² ³⁷³ ³⁷⁴ ³⁷⁵ ³⁷⁶ ³⁷⁷ ³⁷⁸ ³⁷⁹ ³⁸⁰ ³⁸¹ ³⁸² ³⁸³ ³⁸⁴ ³⁸⁵ ³⁸⁶ ³⁸⁷ ³⁸⁸ ³⁸⁹ ³⁹⁰ ³⁹¹ ³⁹² ³⁹³ ³⁹⁴ ³⁹⁵ ³⁹⁶ ³⁹⁷ ³⁹⁸ ³⁹⁹ ⁴⁰⁰ ⁴⁰¹ ⁴⁰² ⁴⁰³ ⁴⁰⁴ ⁴⁰⁵ ⁴⁰⁶ ⁴⁰⁷ ⁴⁰⁸ ⁴⁰⁹ ⁴¹⁰ ⁴¹¹ ⁴¹² ⁴¹³ ⁴¹⁴ ⁴¹⁵ ⁴¹⁶ ⁴¹⁷ ⁴¹⁸ ⁴¹⁹ ⁴²⁰ ⁴²¹ ⁴²² ⁴²³ ⁴²⁴ ⁴²⁵ ⁴²⁶ ⁴²⁷ ⁴²⁸ ⁴²⁹ ⁴³⁰ ⁴³¹ ⁴³² ⁴³³ ⁴³⁴ ⁴³⁵ ⁴³⁶ ⁴³⁷ ⁴³⁸ ⁴³⁹ ⁴⁴⁰ ⁴⁴¹ ⁴⁴² ⁴⁴³ ⁴⁴⁴ ⁴⁴⁵ ⁴⁴⁶ ⁴⁴⁷ ⁴⁴⁸ ⁴⁴⁹ ⁴⁵⁰ ⁴⁵¹ ⁴⁵² ⁴⁵³ ⁴⁵⁴ ⁴⁵⁵ ⁴⁵⁶ ⁴⁵⁷ ⁴⁵⁸ ⁴⁵⁹ ⁴⁶⁰ ⁴⁶¹ ⁴⁶² ⁴⁶³ ⁴⁶⁴ ⁴⁶⁵ ⁴⁶⁶ ⁴⁶⁷ ⁴⁶⁸ ⁴⁶⁹ ⁴⁷⁰ ⁴⁷¹ ⁴⁷² ⁴⁷³ ⁴⁷⁴ ⁴⁷⁵ ⁴⁷⁶ ⁴⁷⁷ ⁴⁷⁸ ⁴⁷⁹ ⁴⁸⁰ ⁴⁸¹ ⁴⁸² ⁴⁸³ ⁴⁸⁴ ⁴⁸⁵ ⁴⁸⁶ ⁴⁸⁷ ⁴⁸⁸ ⁴⁸⁹ ⁴⁹⁰ ⁴⁹¹ ⁴⁹² ⁴⁹³ ⁴⁹⁴ ⁴⁹⁵ ⁴⁹⁶ ⁴⁹⁷ ⁴⁹⁸ ⁴⁹⁹ ⁵⁰⁰ ⁵⁰¹ ⁵⁰² ⁵⁰³ ⁵⁰⁴ ⁵⁰⁵ ⁵⁰⁶ ⁵⁰⁷ ⁵⁰⁸ ⁵⁰⁹ ⁵¹⁰ ⁵¹¹ ⁵¹² ⁵¹³ ⁵¹⁴ ⁵¹⁵ ⁵¹⁶ ⁵¹⁷ ⁵¹⁸ ⁵¹⁹ ⁵²⁰ ⁵²¹ ⁵²² ⁵²³ ⁵²⁴ ⁵²⁵ ⁵²⁶ ⁵²⁷ ⁵²⁸ ⁵²⁹ ⁵³⁰ ⁵³¹ ⁵³² ⁵³³ ⁵³⁴ ⁵³⁵ ⁵³⁶ ⁵³⁷ ⁵³⁸ ⁵³⁹ ⁵⁴⁰ ⁵⁴¹ ⁵⁴² ⁵⁴³ ⁵⁴⁴ ⁵⁴⁵ ⁵⁴⁶ ⁵⁴⁷ ⁵⁴⁸ ⁵⁴⁹ ⁵⁵⁰ ⁵⁵¹ ⁵⁵² ⁵⁵³ ⁵⁵⁴ ⁵⁵⁵ ⁵⁵⁶ ⁵⁵⁷ ⁵⁵⁸ ⁵⁵⁹ ⁵⁶⁰ ⁵⁶¹ ⁵⁶² ⁵⁶³ ⁵⁶⁴ ⁵⁶⁵ ⁵⁶⁶ ⁵⁶⁷ ⁵⁶⁸ ⁵⁶⁹ ⁵⁷⁰ ⁵⁷¹ ⁵⁷² ⁵⁷³ ⁵⁷⁴ ⁵⁷⁵ ⁵⁷⁶ ⁵⁷⁷ ⁵⁷⁸ ⁵⁷⁹ ⁵⁸⁰ ⁵⁸¹ ⁵⁸² ⁵⁸³ ⁵⁸⁴ ⁵⁸⁵ ⁵⁸⁶ ⁵⁸⁷ ⁵⁸⁸ ⁵⁸⁹ ⁵⁹⁰ ⁵⁹¹ ⁵⁹² ⁵⁹³ ⁵⁹⁴ ⁵⁹⁵ ⁵⁹⁶ ⁵⁹⁷ ⁵⁹⁸ ⁵⁹⁹ ⁶⁰⁰ ⁶⁰¹ ⁶⁰² ⁶⁰³ ⁶⁰⁴ ⁶⁰⁵ ⁶⁰⁶ ⁶⁰⁷ ⁶⁰⁸ ⁶⁰⁹ ⁶¹⁰ ⁶¹¹ ⁶¹² ⁶¹³ ⁶¹⁴ ⁶¹⁵ ⁶¹⁶ ⁶¹⁷ ⁶¹⁸ ⁶¹⁹ ⁶²⁰ ⁶²¹ ⁶²² ⁶²³ ⁶²⁴ ⁶²⁵ ⁶²⁶ ⁶²⁷ ⁶²⁸ ⁶²⁹ ⁶³⁰ ⁶³¹ ⁶³² ⁶³³ ⁶³⁴ ⁶³⁵ ⁶³⁶ ⁶³⁷ ⁶³⁸ ⁶³⁹ ⁶⁴⁰ ⁶⁴¹ ⁶⁴² ⁶⁴³ ⁶⁴⁴ ⁶⁴⁵ ⁶⁴⁶ ⁶⁴⁷ ⁶⁴⁸ ⁶⁴⁹ ⁶⁵⁰ ⁶⁵¹ ⁶⁵² ⁶⁵³ ⁶⁵⁴ ⁶⁵⁵ ⁶⁵⁶ ⁶⁵⁷ ⁶⁵⁸ ⁶⁵⁹ ⁶⁶⁰ ⁶⁶¹ ⁶⁶² ⁶⁶³ ⁶⁶⁴ ⁶⁶⁵ ⁶⁶⁶ ⁶⁶⁷ ⁶⁶⁸ ⁶⁶⁹ ⁶⁷⁰ ⁶⁷¹ ⁶⁷² ⁶⁷³ ⁶⁷⁴ ⁶⁷⁵ ⁶⁷⁶ ⁶⁷⁷ ⁶⁷⁸ ⁶⁷⁹ ⁶⁸⁰ ⁶⁸¹ ⁶⁸² ⁶⁸³ ⁶⁸⁴ ⁶⁸⁵ ⁶⁸⁶ ⁶⁸⁷ ⁶⁸⁸ ⁶⁸⁹ ⁶⁹⁰ ⁶⁹¹ ⁶⁹² ⁶⁹³ ⁶⁹⁴ ⁶⁹⁵ ⁶⁹⁶ ⁶⁹⁷ ⁶⁹⁸ ⁶⁹⁹ ⁷⁰⁰ ⁷⁰¹ ⁷⁰² ⁷⁰³ ⁷⁰⁴ ⁷⁰⁵ ⁷⁰⁶ ⁷⁰⁷ ⁷⁰⁸ ⁷⁰⁹ ⁷¹⁰ ⁷¹¹ ⁷¹² ⁷¹³ ⁷¹⁴ ⁷¹⁵ ⁷¹⁶ ⁷¹⁷ ⁷¹⁸ ⁷¹⁹ ⁷²⁰ ⁷²¹ ⁷²² ⁷²³ ⁷²⁴ ⁷²⁵ ⁷²⁶ ⁷²⁷ ⁷²⁸ ⁷²⁹ ⁷³⁰ ⁷³¹ ⁷³² ⁷³³ ⁷³⁴ ⁷³⁵ ⁷³⁶ ⁷³⁷ ⁷³⁸ ⁷³⁹ ⁷⁴⁰ ⁷⁴¹ ⁷⁴² ⁷⁴³ ⁷⁴⁴ ⁷⁴⁵ ⁷⁴⁶ ⁷⁴⁷ ⁷⁴⁸ ⁷⁴⁹ ⁷⁵⁰ ⁷⁵¹ ⁷⁵² ⁷⁵³ ⁷⁵⁴ ⁷⁵⁵ ⁷⁵⁶ ⁷⁵⁷ ⁷⁵⁸ ⁷⁵⁹ ⁷⁶⁰ ⁷⁶¹ ⁷⁶² ⁷⁶³ ⁷⁶⁴ ⁷⁶⁵ ⁷⁶⁶ ⁷⁶⁷ ⁷⁶⁸ ⁷⁶⁹ ⁷⁷⁰ ⁷⁷¹ ⁷⁷² ⁷⁷³ ⁷⁷⁴ ⁷⁷⁵ ⁷⁷⁶ ⁷⁷⁷ ⁷⁷⁸ ⁷⁷⁹ ⁷⁸⁰ ⁷⁸¹ ⁷⁸² ⁷⁸³ ⁷⁸⁴ ⁷⁸⁵ ⁷⁸⁶ ⁷⁸⁷ ⁷⁸⁸ ⁷⁸⁹ ⁷⁹⁰ ⁷⁹¹ ⁷⁹² ⁷⁹³ ⁷⁹⁴ ⁷⁹⁵ ⁷⁹⁶ ⁷⁹⁷ ⁷⁹⁸ ⁷⁹⁹ ⁸⁰⁰ ⁸⁰¹ ⁸⁰² ⁸⁰³ ⁸⁰⁴ ⁸⁰⁵ ⁸⁰⁶ ⁸⁰⁷ ⁸⁰⁸ ⁸⁰⁹ ⁸¹⁰ ⁸¹¹ ⁸¹² ⁸¹³ ⁸¹⁴ ⁸¹⁵ ⁸¹⁶ ⁸¹⁷ ⁸¹⁸ ⁸¹⁹ ⁸²⁰ ⁸²¹ ⁸²² ⁸²³ ⁸²⁴ ⁸²⁵ ⁸²⁶ ⁸²⁷ ⁸²⁸ ⁸²⁹ ⁸³⁰ ⁸³¹ ⁸³² ⁸³³ ⁸³⁴ ⁸³⁵ ⁸³⁶ ⁸³⁷ ⁸³⁸ ⁸³⁹ ⁸⁴⁰ ⁸⁴¹ ⁸⁴² ⁸⁴³ ⁸⁴⁴ ⁸⁴⁵ ⁸⁴⁶ ⁸⁴⁷ ⁸⁴⁸ ⁸⁴⁹ ⁸⁵⁰ ⁸⁵¹ ⁸⁵² ⁸⁵³ ⁸⁵⁴ ⁸⁵⁵ ⁸⁵⁶ ⁸⁵⁷ ⁸⁵⁸ ⁸⁵⁹ ⁸⁶⁰ ⁸⁶¹ ⁸⁶² ⁸⁶³ ⁸⁶⁴ ⁸⁶⁵ ⁸⁶⁶ ⁸⁶⁷ ⁸⁶⁸ ⁸⁶⁹ ⁸⁷⁰ ⁸⁷¹ ⁸⁷² ⁸⁷³ ⁸⁷⁴ ⁸⁷⁵ ⁸⁷⁶ ⁸⁷⁷ ⁸⁷⁸ ⁸⁷⁹ ⁸⁸⁰ ⁸⁸¹ ⁸⁸² ⁸⁸³ ⁸⁸⁴ ⁸⁸⁵ ⁸⁸⁶ ⁸⁸⁷ ⁸⁸⁸ ⁸⁸⁹ ⁸⁹⁰ ⁸⁹¹ ⁸⁹² ⁸⁹³ ⁸⁹⁴ ⁸⁹⁵ ⁸⁹⁶ ⁸⁹⁷ ⁸⁹⁸ ⁸⁹⁹ ⁹⁰⁰ ⁹⁰¹ ⁹⁰² ⁹⁰³ ⁹⁰⁴ ⁹⁰⁵ ⁹⁰⁶ ⁹⁰⁷ ⁹⁰⁸ ⁹⁰⁹ ⁹¹⁰ ⁹¹¹ ⁹¹² ⁹¹³ ⁹¹⁴ ⁹¹⁵ ⁹¹⁶ ⁹¹⁷ ⁹¹⁸ ⁹¹⁹ ⁹²⁰ ⁹²¹ ⁹²² ⁹²³ ⁹²⁴ ⁹²⁵ ⁹²⁶ ⁹²⁷ ⁹²⁸ ⁹²⁹ ⁹³⁰ ⁹³¹ ⁹³² ⁹³³ ⁹³⁴ ⁹³⁵ ⁹³⁶ ⁹³⁷ ⁹³⁸ ⁹³⁹ ⁹⁴⁰ ⁹⁴¹ ⁹⁴² ⁹⁴³ ⁹⁴⁴ ⁹⁴⁵ ⁹⁴⁶ ⁹⁴⁷ ⁹⁴⁸ ⁹⁴⁹ ⁹⁵⁰ ⁹⁵¹ ⁹⁵² ⁹⁵³ ⁹⁵⁴ ⁹⁵⁵ ⁹⁵⁶ ⁹⁵⁷ ⁹⁵⁸ ⁹⁵⁹ ⁹⁶⁰ ⁹⁶¹ ⁹⁶² ⁹⁶³ ⁹⁶⁴ ⁹⁶⁵ ⁹⁶⁶ ⁹⁶⁷ ⁹⁶⁸ ⁹⁶⁹ ⁹⁷⁰ ⁹⁷¹ ⁹⁷² ⁹⁷³ ⁹⁷⁴ ⁹⁷⁵ ⁹⁷⁶ ⁹⁷⁷ ⁹⁷⁸ ⁹⁷⁹ ⁹⁸⁰ ⁹⁸¹ ⁹⁸² ⁹⁸³ ⁹⁸⁴ ⁹⁸⁵ ⁹⁸⁶ ⁹⁸⁷ ⁹⁸⁸ ⁹⁸⁹ ⁹⁹⁰ ⁹⁹¹ ⁹⁹² ⁹⁹³ ⁹⁹⁴ ⁹⁹⁵ ⁹⁹⁶ ⁹⁹⁷ ⁹⁹⁸ ⁹⁹⁹ ⁹⁹⁹

CAP. X.¹

Ulterius obicitur, quod publicando istam materiam homo non solum loquitur contra has sectas quatuor, sed contra salutem anime secularium dominorum. Multi enim eorum per mundanas divicias et affluenciam² seculi a salute³ anime seducuntur. Tenentur⁴ ergo specialiter clero moderno⁵ in hoc, quod ipsos exonerant⁶ a mundi 5 diviciis et dominio seculari. Quid ergo secundum⁷ Cristi regulam de omnibus istis bonis?

Hic videtur sophisma anticeristi⁸ intendere, quod non sunt reges vel seculares domini et omnino, quod non habeant gladium temporalem, sed quod in papa resideat utriusque gladii plenitudo iuxta 10 illud Luc. 22:^a ecce, duo gladii hic, quod⁹ veritas dicendo: satis est,^b patule confirmavit. Sed apostolus ad Roman. 13^c plane docuit dicendo:¹⁰ non enim sine causa gladium portant, quod ad coactive castigandum¹¹ rebelles fidei sunt seculares domini ordinati. Et hinc Christus docuit tam verbo quam opere, quod tributum 15 sit dandum cesari,^d non Petro vel pape alii,¹² sed omnino, quod ipsi teneant vitam pauperem et humilem instar sui.¹³

Et quantum ad primum assumptum patet, quod derisorie loquitur sine efficacia fundamenti. Et cum domini multipliciter ad istud consciunt et istud blasphemum dominium¹⁴ foret adeo contra 20 deum, patet, quod continuacio consensus huius¹⁵ maledicti¹⁶ in seculari brachio¹⁷ est magna causa deterioracionis ecclesie militantis.

CAP. X. ^a v. 38 ^b cp. Luc. 22, 38 ^c v. 4 ^d cp. Matth. 22, 21; Marc. 12, 17; Matth. 17, 25; 27; also Rom. 13, 7

CAP. X. ¹ 10 C in mar. the number of the chap. not given in AEγ ² affluenciam ACE affluencia γ ³ a salute ACγ ad salutem (m ud.) E ⁴ te. ACγ et te. E ⁵ mo. ACγ, E ud. mundano E¹ in mar. ⁶ exonerant Cγ exonerat AE ⁷ sec. ACE fieret sec. γ ⁸ anticeristi ACE om. γ ⁹ quod Aγ, C (? quoque) quoque, above it quod E ¹⁰ dicendo Cγ docendo AE ¹¹ ad coactive castigandum Cγ ad coactive instigandum A a deo active castigandum E ¹² in A is add. below the col.: Non pape sed cesari tributum est solvendum A¹ ¹³ sui ACE Christi (cr. out) sui γ ¹⁴ dominium Aγ dictum E om. C, but filled later into the blank space by another hand, also in mar. (here not clear) by C¹ ¹⁵ c. h. AEγ h. c. C, but transposed by marks ¹⁶ maledicti ACγ malicie E ¹⁷ brachio Cγ brachie AE

Unde in lege veteri de Maccabeis legitur, quod fuerunt¹⁸ in tali seculari dominio plus potentes.^e

Et continuacio istius dominii per tempus notabile parturivit, quod sacerdotes sic dominantes Iesum nostrum et dominum occidunt. Non ergo est evidens, quod seculare¹⁹ dominium continuatum in prima harum sectarum^f prodest corporaliter vel spiritualiter brachio seculari.

Et quantum ad ista dominia per anticeristum hodie occupata est triplex responsio, prima, quod istud dominium sit manibus secularium, ut antea,²⁰ restitutum, nec²¹ negabit fidelis, quin tale dominium et longe amplius potest meritorie occupari per dominos seculares, ut patet de David et multis aliis regibus, quorum aliquem fides ecclesie || canonizat. Plus enim credit fidelis beatitudinem | C fol. 42z sancti David, quam credit beatitudinem omnium illorum, quos papa 15 a dotacione ecclesie canonizavit, quia fides scripture sonat multipliceiter ad primam sentenciam, sed solum wlgaris opinio ad secundam.

Quod autem seculares domini sunt modo sic eupidi atque ceci, hoc facit defectus predicacionis scripture et exemplar pessimum 20 captum ex operibus sacerdotum. Sed quomodounque sit de hoc, est credibile multis, quod non plus faceret²² dominatio sacerdotum. Ipsa enim preter alia mala, que impetrat, imponit Christo blasphemiam,²³ ut, quod in vita sua et doctrina fuerunt²⁴ est et²⁵ non, quoad tale dominium seculare.

25 Secunda responsio dicit subtiliter, quod post dotacionem secularium dominorum quantum eis sufficit, tenuandi sunt redditus accipiendo ab eis de suis pauperibus tenentibus. Et hoc videtur propinquius statui innocencie, supposito, quod wlgares non prorumpant

^e cp. I Macc. 13 ff. ^f viz. in the cleris cesareus

¹⁸ fuerunt *ACγ* fuerint *E* ¹⁹ seculare *CEγ* seculariter *A* in *A* is add. in mar.: Triplex responsio pro dominiis clero auferendis, cui debeantur *A*^t
²⁰ antea *AE,C^t* in mar. anna (ud.) *C* ante ea *γ* ²¹ nec *AEγ* ut (ud., above it nec) *C* ²² faceret *Cγ* fecerit *AE* ²³ blasphemiam *ACγ* basfemiam *E*
²⁴ fuerunt *Cγ* fuerit *AE* ²⁵ in *E* there is a blank space before e, fuerit est appear to be added later, the blank space is not quite filled up by them

in insolenciam²⁶ vel peccata alia propter istud. Et omnino videtur, quod acquisito isto dominio de manu dyaboli non oporteret posterius onerare pauperes pedagiis insuetis.²⁷

Tertia²⁸ vero responsio dicit, quod per illos redditus sunt marchie²⁹ vel confinia regni nostri fortificanda cum castris, villis³⁰ muratis, et fortaliciis ac hominibus armorum ipsa incolentibus ad defendendum regnum ab exteris inimicis. Tunc enim posset regnum libere servire deo et intendere actibus yconomicis in pace Christi securius utrobique. Nec scio efficaciter³¹ improbare hanc³² viam terciam specialiter servata pace tam intrinsecis³³ quam ex-¹⁰ trinsecis,³⁴ quod si hec via tercia pacem diruperit,³⁵ catholicus, ut videtur, non debet ad ipsam consulere. Ideo sanum videtur hanc viam terciam cum condicionibus personarum et temporis³⁶ moderare, quia pax et caritas sunt tam intrinsecus quam extrinsecus³⁷ preponende.³⁸ Nec credatur pseudoloquentibus in ista materia, ut victoria regnis et regibus sicut antea³⁹ ascribebatur, quia iuxta fidem pax et caritas sunt deo plus placite quam dominacionis acquisicio, fame, victorie vel honoris, et profitendo, quod nec sum⁴⁰ astrologus nec propheta, ignoro, si istorum planetarum coniuncio,⁴¹ que⁴² proximo est futura, sit benevola regno nostro, cum luna, que est planeta²⁰ infimus,⁴³ dicitur super Anglicos dominari.

Sed dimittendo istam materiam michi incognitam consulo secundum fidem scripture, quod regnum nostrum inquirat pacem et sequatur eam, licet exinde perdiderit temporalia, honorem mundanum, antiquam victoriam, vel famam nominis secularis.

25

^g on Aug. 17th, 1383, cp. Chronic. Angl. (edit. Thompson, London 1874) 360

²⁶ insolenciam *ACγ* insolencia *E* ²⁷ insuetis *AC* inconsuetis *γ* plethami vel laqueis inconsuetis *E* ²⁸ te. *ACγ* te. ut *E* in *AC* is add. in mar.: 3^a ²⁹ marchie *ACγ* marchio *E* ³⁰ efficaciter *CEγ* faciliter *A* ³¹ hanc *ACγ* et hanc *E* ³² intrinsecis *ACγ* intrinsecus *E* ³³ extrinsecis *ACγ* extrinsecus *E* ³⁴ dirumperit *γ* dirumpit *AE* dirumperit *C* ³⁵ temporis *ACγ* ipsis *E* ³⁶ quam extr. *ACE* om. *γ* ³⁷ in *A* is add. above the col.: Pax et caritas victorii fami (?) et honoribus regnorum preponende sunt *A*¹ ³⁸ antea *ACE* ante ea *γ* ³⁹ sum *ACγ* sim *E* ⁴⁰ que *ACγ* quod *E* ⁴¹ infimus *ACE* infimius *γ*

Ideo in ista materia videtur non esse credendum omni spiritui, sed fidei scripture et spiritui⁴² domini Iesu⁴³ Cristi, quia constat, quod multi pseudo in ista materia in mundum exeunt⁴⁴ et multos seducunt per fabulas infundatas. Nec scimus, si iste ultimus transitus nostratum in Flandriam,^h quem fratres multi istarum sectarum quatuor regularunt, sit a deo punitus ad regulam, vel adhuc eius punicio sit futura.ⁱ

CAP. XI.¹

Sequitur videre media, per que ista sentencia est complenda, et eo spiritualius,² quo hec pars cleri est tam³ fortis hodie, quod attemptata⁴ hac causa invalesceret contra multos de secta Christi || C fol. 42^b et⁵ nimis regnum Anglie perturbaret.

Ideo tacta sunt multa media, per que paulative conquestus iste ab anticeristo et suis complicibus est complendus,⁶ primo per hoc, quod mortuo prelato dotato et cadentibus suis temporalibus in manum regis, non forent temporalia reddenda, antequam per regem et suum consilium hoc posse⁷ fieri sine periculo foret doctum.

^h In May 1383 the Bishop Spenser left Norwich by sail, cp. Wals. II, 88 ⁱ from this it appears that news of a definitive result of the Crusade had not yet reached England. The first news of the Bishops successful campaign came to England before the middle of the summer of 1383; it allured numberless multitudes of the laity as well as of the clergy — the latter „petita licencia sed non obtenta“ (cp. Walsingham, II, 95) — under the command of John Philpot to Flanders; these arrived just in time for the siege of Ypres, which took place „in ipso fervore dierum“ (Walsingham II, 98). These new men were not at all welcome to the Bishop: „ad [not ‘ut’ as Riley reads] quid ergo venistis? ad consumendum victum, qui vix sufficiet bellaturis?“ etc. Walsingham, II, 95

⁴² spiritui *ACγ* spiritum *E* ⁴³ Ie. *AC* nostri Ie. *Eγ* ⁴⁴ exeunt *CEγ* exiunt *A*

CAP. XI. ¹ 11 C in mar. the number of the chap. not given in *AEγ* ² spiritualius *ACγ* specialius *E* ³ tam *ACE* causa *γ* ⁴ attemptata *CEγ* acceptata *A* ⁵ et *ACγ* ac et *E* ⁶ in C add. in mar.: 1^a in *A* is add. below the col.: Media per que anticristus paulative est spoliandus, tria, cave omnia *A*¹ ⁷ posse *ACγ, E*, but *E*^t has added a t (therefore posset)

Et certum est, quod pausantibus⁸ illis dominiis in manibus capitalis domini usque illuc, numquam de cetero redirent ad manum mortuam. Et cum responsio sit tam⁹ racionabilis¹⁰ et pars adversa sit¹¹ tam parva¹² atque invalida, redire possunt ad manum vivam omnia mortificata dominia infra breve tempus,¹³ ymo cum ius¹⁴ 5 regis in talibus non exspirat, et ius¹⁵ regis fuit ad quocunque tale mortificatum¹⁶ dominium retinendum, rex posset prudenter et paulative repetere¹⁷ hec perdita dominia, secundum quod sanum suum consilium viderit expedire.

Secundum medium¹⁸ foret istud, quod rex omnibus¹⁹ hiis²⁰ 10 sectis quatuor mandaret sub universali edicto, quod scribant ad instrucionem regni sui fidem orthodoxam de quidditate hostie consecrata^a et fundent se ex lege domini in sufficiencia dicti sui. Et non dubium, quin omnes hee secte quatuor eciam usque ad papam in isto deficerent, quia negando, quod sit corpus Christi vel panis,¹⁵ contradicerent antique fidei orthodoxe et concedendo, quod²¹ sit accidens sine subiecto, non dubium, quin omnes hee secte quatuor verbum, quod balbuciunt, non fundabunt, et deus ex gratia sua permisit, quod tamdiu in ista heresi perdurabunt, ut convicti²² ex ista infidelitate contra fidem antiquam servatam in populo in dominio, 20 in quo prevaricati sunt, taliter puniantur. Quid enim iustius, quam convincere has sectas de hac infidelitate vel percepto ipsos ab doctrina catholica (*et*) regno deficere, quod non gaudeant de cetero commodo²³ regni nostri, et deficiente quacunque persona vel domo usque ad finem temporis racionabilis limitati²⁴ temporalia sua et 25 bona, que de regno occupat, sint interim confiscata, quousque sa-

CAP. XI. ^a W. began to publish his heterodox views on the Eucharist during the summer of 1381, cp. Fasci. Ziz. 104

⁸ pausantibus ACE pensantibus γ ⁹ tam Aγ,C(?) causa E ¹⁰ racionabilis CE racionalis Aγ ¹¹ sit γ,C add. later in mar. om. ACE ¹² parva ACE perversa γ ¹³ te. Cγ om. AE ¹⁴ ius A vis CEγ ¹⁵ ius A vis CEγ¹⁶ mortificatum ACE om. γ ¹⁷ rep. ACγ sibi rep. E ¹⁸ medium ACE remedium γ in C is add. in mar.: 2^m ¹⁹ om. ACγ in om. E ²⁰ hiis ACE om. γ ²¹ et cone. quod ACγ et sic cone. quot E ²² convicti ACγ coniuncti E²³ commodo ACγ om. E, but quomodo in mar. E' ²⁴ limitati ACγ limitata E

tisfaccio pro dampno sit regi et regno secundum racionabile iudicium et sufficiens restituta. Nec dubium, quin stante opinione pape in suis decretalibus et istarum sectarum, que indigne²⁵ regnum nostrum incolunt, non possunt facere satisfaccionem pro ista per fidia, ut temporalia licite rehabeant²⁶ sicut prius, nec dubium, quin omnes homines non possunt defendere, quin uterque istorum modorum sit licitus a rege suis legii racionabiliter iniungendus.

Tercium medium stat in isto, quod in parlamento publico referendarius regis discretus dicat, quod de fide oportet obedire deo magis quam homini. Sed notificatum est regi, istam dotacionem esse contra legem domini nec esse licitam²⁷ nisi ad hoc prehabita sit a deo²⁸ licencia specialis. Rex wlt propter²⁹ periculum anime sue confiscare de ipsis temporalibus, quantum placet, quoisque veritas istius || materie sit edocta. Et quicunque legius regis isti sentencie | C fol. 45a

catholice contradicit, eo ipso cadat a proteccione regis, cum rex et regnum non debent defendere³⁰ talem adversarium legis dei, nec debet aliqua pars de hiis³¹ sectis contradicere isti sentencie, quod non sapiat caritatem, quia est manifeste racionabilis³² et consona legi dei.

Cum ergo rex sepe cepit in manus suas temporalia sui cleri sine causa tam patenter racionabili, videtur, quod pro tali confiscatione rex non debet ab aliquo vel tacite increpari. Et ad evelendam³³ istam radicem^b funditus consideranda est quecunque secta in regno, que secundum tradiciones humanas commisces fantastica legi³⁴ Christi. Et³⁵ temporalia regni atque regis proteccio³⁶ debent talibus derogari,³⁷ ut secta novella, que dicitur Bonorum Hominum,^c

^b i. e. the temporalities of the clergy ^c viz. the Cathari, who were divided in Crezentz (credentes) and bos homes (boni homines), cp. C. Schmidt, Hist. des Cath., Par. 1849 and Hase, Kirchen Gesch. (10th ed.) 274

²⁵ indigne *Cγ* indigene *AE* ²⁶ rehabeant *ACγ* rehabebant *E* ²⁷ licitem *CEγ* licita *A* ²⁸ a deo *ACE* om. *γ*, but in mar. a deo *γ¹ (?)* ²⁹ propter *ACE* semper *γ*, but in mar. propter *γ¹ (?)* ³⁰ def. *ACE* protegere def. *γ* ³¹ hiis *ACγ* istis *E* ³² manifeste racionabilis *ACE* manifesta *γ* ³³ ev. in *A* a corrected word (by *A¹*) ³⁴ legi *Cγ* lege *AE* ³⁵ et *Cγ* om. *AE* ³⁶ regni atque regis proteccio *Cγ* regni atque regis *E* regis atque regni *A* ³⁷ derogari *Cγ* denegari *AE*

secta monachorum Carthusiensium^{38d} et secta Sanctimonialium^e cum eis similibus. Omnes enim tales sine dei licence obligant se ad ritus privatos,³⁹ ratione cuius sunt inhabiliores servire deo et tenere plenius legem suam. Cum ergo deus obligavit totam capacitatem 5 istorum hominum ad serviendum sibi et legem suam secundum ultimum sue potencie conservandum, quis est iste anticerustus, qui privatim sine Cristi licence obligat ad eius iniuriam⁴⁰ suos servos? Nec dubium racionabili homini, quin private obligaciones huiusmodi, de quanto obligant ad ipsas⁴¹ secundum tradiciones hominum adimplendas, de tanto minuunt capacitatem hominum et libertatem 10 ac ordinacionem, quam Cristus instituit ad legem, quam ipse edidit, observandum.⁴²

Sed quis vel temporalis dominus non offenderetur ex tali prevaricancia servi sui? Teneamus itaque libertatem, quam Cristus nobis contulit, et non simus sic talibus tradicionibus hominum obligati! 15

Et multi reputant, remurmurantes contra hanc Cristi sentenciam et volentes extollere⁴³ tradiciones hominum supra liberam legem Cristi habere in hoc⁴⁴ condiciones dampnabiles anticeristi. Ideo quecunque pars ecclesie, eciam ordines isti novelli, seculares domini et wlgares, defenderent istam sentenciam tamquam caram, 20 cum tam⁴⁵ quoad temporalia quam spiritualia toti generi hominum profecisset.⁴⁶

CAP. XII.¹

Restat finaliter tangere media, per que iste secte novelle servari² poterunt,³ etsi tradiciones hominum derelinquant. Non enim

^d founded by Bruno of Cologne ^e viz. of pious women who formed a religious society, bound „certis, saepe nullis votis“; they are mentioned already by Augustine De Mor. Eccl. cap. 31; Hieron. Ep. 22, 48; Basil. De Virg. and Gregor Dial. I, 4; II, 19; 23; 32.

³⁸ in A is add. in mar.: Secta novella Carthusiensium *A*^t ³⁹ privatos *ACγ* privatus *E* ⁴⁰ iniuriam *ACE* iuriā *γ* ⁴¹ ipsas *ACE* ipsos *γ* ⁴² observandum *Cγ* observandam *AE* ⁴³ extollere *CEγ* excellere *A* ⁴⁴ hoc *CEγ* hac *A* ⁴⁵ tam *ACγ* causa *E* ⁴⁶ profecisset *CEγ* proficisset *A*

CAP. XII. ¹ XII C in mar. the number of the chap. not given in *AEγ* ² servari *CEγ* servare *A* ³ poterunt *AC* poterint *γ* potuerunt *E*

consonat legi Cristi, ut nobis videtur, homines occidere vel incarcерare, cum hoc, quod ex lege dei possent aperiū castigari.

Ideo sepe dictum est, quod isti carceres, a principibus concessi⁴ istis ordinibus, iudicant, quod declinando a lege Cristi summe 5 civilitati intendunt et suis fratribus faciunt sepe⁵ manifestam iniuriam. Ideo felix foret condicio, quod principes incarcerationem huiusmodi⁶ revocarent, cum sufficienter aliunde sint regna hominum carnifices, licet sine fructu religiosi huiusmodi ex falsa ypocrisi non taliter⁷ occidantur.

10 Debent itaque omnes hii novi ordines imprimis cognoscere,⁸ quod deus dispensat et precipit, quod sine conscientia dirumpant cathanas hominum et intendant libere secte Cristi.⁹ || Quis, rogo, • C fol. 25b nisi stolidus anticristi discipulus haberet conscientiam super isto, quod excuciendo a se presumptam stulticiam vivat Christo placen- 15 cius secundum meliorem regulam? Et sic mutando votum in melius Christus dispensat, sicut dispensat cum homine, qui vovit fratrem suum occidere et dimittit. Habiliores ergo de istis ordinibus possent secundum formam prehabitam admitti ad curam parochie, sic videlicet,¹⁰ quod expuant vestem tortoris et larvam dyaboli¹¹ et 20 instruant populum pure secundum legem domini Iesu Christi; in quo si defecerint vel in alio peccato¹² notabili, sunt cum moderamine expellendi.

Et istum punctum de prudencia rectorum¹³ huiusmodi debent domini regnorum notare eo diligencius, quo rectores¹⁴ illi sunt 25 quasi anima populo ad ipsum secundum deum et hominem instruendum. Tales autem faciunt populum¹⁵ cristianum, excludunt perturbationem regnorum et faciunt partes eorum secundu rationem et humilitatem domini concordare.

Alii autem de istis ordinibus possunt esse inferiores presbiteri, 30 alii iuvenum instructores et alii operatores, secundum quod deus

⁴ concessi *ACE* concessis *E* ⁵ f. s. *ACE* s. f. *γ* ⁶ i. h. *ACγ* h. i. *E*
⁷ taliter *ACE* om. *γ* ⁸ cognoscere *Cεγ* om. *A* ⁹ in *A* is add. in mar.: Modus
deserendi sectam *A*¹ ¹⁰ videlicet *C* valet *AEγ* ¹¹ in *A* is add. in mar.: Cappe
sunt vestes tortoris et larve dyaboli *A*¹ ¹² peccato *AE,C¹* (?) in mar. precio *Cγ*
¹³ in *γ* there is a correction before rect. ¹⁴ rectores *AEγ* rectiores *C* ¹⁵ po-
pulum *ACE* mo. *γ*

ipsos moverit ad agendum. Paulus enim, qui fuit melior omnibus hiis,¹⁶ pro¹⁷ se et suis fratribus propriis manibus laboravit, ut patet Act. 20.^{18a}

Unde audivi de quodam fratre nobili remurmurante contra quandam doctorem de labore manuum et querente,¹⁹ cui laboricio secundum legem Cristi intenderet; alias autem refertur taliter yronice respondisse, quod vendat tunicam et emat gladium^b et hortando dominos²⁰ et²¹ sacerdotes ad pugnam aggrediatur cum illis et usque ad interfessionem destruat cristianos. Michi autem videtur, quod querenti talem questionem particulariter falsam est taliter¹⁰ respondendum, quod servando religionem Cristi in principio vivat iuste et pulsando spiritum devotis²² precibus petat suum consilium, quomodo in humanis actibus est vivendum. Et si reete istam regulam²³ observasset, numquam talem privatum ordinem intrasset. Qui enim spiritu dei aguntur, in talibus unus vivit sic et alias sic,¹⁵ secundum quod deus eos limitaverit ad vivendum. Unde illud quod²⁴ est uni utilius, est alteri nocivius.²⁵

Et istud cognoscerent isti novi ordines introducti, quia per suas adinvenciones²⁶ novas sepe sunt contrarii voluntati et ordinationi domini Iesu Cristi, cum sepe carent revelatione et ratione,²⁰ quando fratres suos obligant ad vivendum secundum suam privatam regulam, per quod ipsos sepe²⁷ privant gracia pro presenti et titulo beatitudinis pro futuro.

Ideo talia privata consilia sunt sepe contraria rationi.²⁸ Unde talis, de quo²⁹ petitur tale privatum consilium, non erubescat deo 25 differre in³⁰ talibus et propriam ignoranciam humiliter confiteri, addendo, quod vivat iuste servando mandata³¹ et vivendo vitam

CAP. XII. ^a v. 33—35; cp. also I Cor. 4, 12; I Thess. 2, 9;
II Thess. 3, 8; Act. 18, 3 ^b cp. Luc. 22, 36

¹⁶ om. h. E om. hiis omnibus *ACγ* ¹⁷ pro *ACE* per *γ* ¹⁸ 20 *ACγ*
² *E* ¹⁹ querente *Cγ* querenti *AE* ²⁰ dominos *CEγ* dominas *A* ²¹ et
ACE ac *γ* ²² dev. *ACE* sanctum dev. *γ* ²³ i. r. *ACγ* r. i. *E* ²⁴ qu.
CEγ idem qu. *A* ²⁵ est un. ut. e. al. noc. *ACγ* uni melius est alteri
nocivius *E* ²⁶ adinvenciones *CE* advenciones *Aγ* ²⁷ sepe *ACE* se *γ*
²⁸ rationi *ACγ* racione *E* ²⁹ quo *ACγ* qua *E* ³⁰ in *ACE* de (*cr. out & ud.*,
above it in by *γ*) *γ* ³¹ mandata is in *γ* corrected at by *γ*

sufficienter meritoram petat a deo suo consilium, sic, quod ubique
dei spiritu fiat || ductus.

C fol. 26a

Unde speratur, quod persona hec³² disserens^c fundetur in lege
dei et sua gracia ad dicendum talia agitetur. Quod si erraverit,³³
5 humiliter wlt corrigi et dei spiritu agitari, reputat autem, quod
omnes persone harum sectarum quatuor nesciunt istam sentenciam
impugnare.

Dicitur autem, quod secularis dominacio maxime pertinet³⁴
capiti³⁵ septe prime,^{36d} ad quod figuratur evidencia ex hoc, quod
10 apostoli dixerunt Luc. 22:^e ecce, duo gladii hic³⁷ et Cristus respondit:
satis est. Cum inquiunt: isti duo gladii sunt figuraliter due po-
testates,³⁸ scilicet secularis et spiritualis, manifestum est, inquiunt,
quod utraque pertinet sancto Petro et per idem³⁹ cuicunque pape,
Petri legittimo successori.

15 Sed contra hec nuda verba audivi instancias primo per hoc, quod
secundum Augustini regulas non valet saltus a literali sensu scripture
ad sensum mysticum,⁴⁰ nisi ille⁴¹ sensus mysticus sit alicubi⁴² fundatus.
Cum igitur⁴³ iste sensus mysticus de duplice potestate clavum sancti
Petri nullibi sit fundatus, videtur, quod iste sit⁴⁴ paralogismus⁴⁵ sophis-
20 ticus false dictus. Similiter non dicitur in ewangelio, quod Petrus sit suc-
cinctus duplice gladio, sed ‘duo gladii sunt hic’,⁴⁶ quod est probabile
esse de uno⁴⁷ vel utroque gladio in⁴⁸ manu secularis persone. Quis
ergo saltus,⁴⁹ si duo gladii sic sunt ibi, quod⁵⁰ uterque fuit perti-
nens sancto Petro, et sic potest dici, quod Petrus percuciens cum
25 gladio accepit illum ad tempus a ministro aliquo, qui cum apostolis

^c viz. Wyclif, the author, cp. below note i ^d i. e. to the Pope,
cp. above p. 173 and 243 ^e v. 38

³² hec ACE om. γ ³³ erraverit ACγ erraverunt E ³⁴ pertinet CEγ
competit A ³⁵ capitl ACγ om. E ³⁶ s. p. ACE p. s. γ ³⁷ in the margin
of C there are at this place a hand-mark and the numbers 144 56 ³⁸ due pot. ACγ
due potestates due E ³⁹ idem ACE consequens γ ⁴⁰ in A is add. below
the col.: Non valet saltus a literali sensu ad mysticum A¹ ⁴¹ ille C iste AEγ
⁴² s. a. AE,C (here transposed by marks) a. s. Cγ ⁴³ igitur Cγ ergo AE
⁴⁴ sit ACγ om. E ⁴⁵ paralogismus ACE paraloismus γ ⁴⁶ sed d. g. s. hic ACγ
sunt duo gladii (ud.) E, but in mar. sed duo gladii sunt hic E¹ ⁴⁷ e. de u. CEγ
de u. e. A ⁴⁸ ut. gl. in ACγ de ut. gl. esse in E ⁴⁹ saltus CEγ status A
⁵⁰ ibi quod ACγ ibique om. E

est coniunctus, et sic fuit suus ad usum, sicut equus conductus dicitur esse ad tempus equus hominis conducentis.

Et hoc videtur Cristum docere, quando docuit^f Petrum posse gladium suum in vaginam. Si autem hii duo gladii ad sensum expositum sint gladii sancti Petri, hoc videtur esse maxime⁵¹ 5 pertinens, quod sint sui ad ipsos⁵² secundum legem ewangelii regulandum. Et notaret⁵³ papa non movens homines ad taliter pugnandum.

Similiter Petrus et ceteri apostoli ex hac levi evidencia huius textus non fuerunt moti ad sic exercendum post instrucionem 10 spiritus sancti gladium temporalem. Ideo videtur, quod iste sensus ab instruccione maligni spiritus sit exortus.⁵⁴ Cum ergo Petrus sepe figuravit totam personam militantis ecclesie, que⁵⁵ argucia dyabolica, eciam si Petrus habuit duos gladios, quod ipse habuit temporalem huiusmodi⁵⁶ potestatem! 15

Notum quidem est logicis, quod sicut iste pater est tuus⁵⁷ et tamen non est tuus pater, sic hec potestas est tua, cum omnia sint iustorum, et tamen non est potestas tua. Et ewangelium non dicit: iste est gladius tuus, hoc est, hec potestas tua,⁵⁸ demonstrando potestatem brachii secularis. 20

Ideo hec evidencia huius textus est nimis stulta, eciam si⁵⁹ dyabolus⁶⁰ ipsam fecit. Ideo studere debent catholici, si quilibet C fol. 46b papa sequens sit legittime || vicarius⁶¹ sancti Petri. Ideo non obstantibus talibus fictis evidenciis oportet sensum domini semper stare. Ideo est maior evidencia, cum Paulus fuit ante ea⁶² phariseus, ut 25 patet Philipp. 3^g et sine dispensacione papali sectam illam reliquerat,⁶³ adherens pure simpliciter⁶⁴ secte Christi, quod licitum est

^f cp. John 18, 11; Matth. 26, 52 ^g c. 5

⁵¹ e. m. *ACγ* m. e. *E* ⁵² ipsos *ACγ* tempus *E* ⁵³ notaret *AE* vocaret (?) *Cγ* ⁵⁴ exortus *AC* extortus *Eγ* ⁵⁵ que *ACE* qua *γ* ⁵⁶ ha. te. hu. *AE,C* (*here transposed by marks*) hu. ha. te. *γ* ⁵⁷ tuus *AEγ* tuus *C* ⁵⁸ tua *ACγ* est tua *E* ⁵⁹ si *ACγ* ipsam si *E* ⁶⁰ dyabolus *ACE* dyabolicus *γ* ⁶¹ vic. *CEγ* sit (*cr. out & ud.*) vic. *A* ⁶² ante ea *Cγ* anneha *E* antea *A* ⁶³ reliquerat *C* relinquenter *AE* relinquenter *γ* in *A* is add. without a mark of ref. below the col.: Paulus sine licencia pape deserit (?) sectam suam phariseorum *A* ⁶⁴ adh. pure simpl. *AC* simpliciter adh. pure *E*

phariseis nostris hodie sic⁶⁵ facere ex auctoritate domini Iesu Cristi, non petita⁶⁶ a romano pontifice alia licencia speciali. Et confirmatur per hoc, quod sponsa vovens votum, quod nec sibi ad commodum nec sponso cederet⁶⁷ ad honorem, debet votum illud 5 auctorizante sponso statissime⁶⁸ irritare.

Cum ergo quilibet cristianus debet esse sponsa Cristi, nec votum tale sibi privatum cedat ad⁶⁹ commodum nec sponso ecclesie ad honorem, videtur, quod auctorizante domino debet citissime irritari, et specialiter ex hoc, quod diminuit caritatem ad Cristum 10 et ecclesiam, sponsam suam, sic superflue onerare.

Similiter, ut patet ex fide scripture ad Gal.^h ceremonie legis veteris, que sunt longe maioris auctoritatis, cessare debuerunt,⁷⁰ ut cedant ewangelio Iesu Cristi, ergo multo magis tradiciones ceremoniales hominum cessare debent propter hoc ewangelium, cum 15 plus ab ipso distrahant, quam⁷¹ observancie⁷² legis veteris, que ordinate sunt a deo, ad sensum ewangelicum preparandum.

Et sic obviandum⁷³ est aliis erroribus contra fidem scripture, dato⁷⁴ tamen semper,⁷⁵ quod si⁷⁶ hic obviansⁱ erraverit, wlt errorem suum humiliiter revocare.

20 Et ista indigesta materia balbutita⁷⁷ potest movente dei gracia esse medium ad ecclesie prodessendum, etc.⁷⁸

^h cp. cap. 3, 25; 4, 3; 10—11; 5, 1 ⁱ i. e. *Wiclid, the Author,*
cp. above, note c p. 287

⁶⁵ sic *ACγ* est *E* ⁶⁶ petita *E* petito *ACγ* ⁶⁷ cederet *ACγ* cederent *E*
⁶⁸ statissime *Cγ* strictissime *AE* ⁶⁹ s. p. c. ad *AC* p. s. c. ad *E* p. c. s. ad *γ*
⁷⁰ debuerunt *Cγ* debuerant *AE* ⁷¹ quam *AE* quoniam *Cγ* ⁷² observancie
CEγ abservancie *A* ⁷³ obv. *AC* humiliiter obv. *Eγ* ⁷⁴ dato *Cγ, E, but, in mar.*
*is add. docto E*¹ *docto A in C is add. in mar.: Protestacio* ⁷⁵ t. s. *ACγ* s. t. *E*
⁷⁶ si *CE om. Aγ* ⁷⁷ balbutita *C* balbucita *AEγ* ⁷⁸ prodessendum etc. *CE*
prodessendum, Amen *Aγ, in A is add. in mar.: hic deest capitulum. This notice*
is not correct: (1) in all the codd. only these 12 chapp. are given, (2) cp. the be-
ginning of chap. XII, p. 284: restat finaliter tangere; cp. the same form, for in-
stance, De nova Praev. Mand. cap. VIII above, p. 145 and in some other places, (3) cp.
the concluding words: Et sic obviandum est aliis erroribus contra fidem scripture,
which by sic and aliis reproduce the total impression, and are meant as the conclusion
of the piece. I believe A was deceived by its original, in which, as in E, another
shorter work was closely connected with the present Tract (in E the short Sermo
pulcher: Dominus vobiscum follows).

De quatuor sectis novellis et de eorum
erroribus ecclesie infectivis.⁷⁹
Pilexct sutcreatat de orquauit Seicts li-
venols & ed oeurm buerirros eclsiece
feinticuis diesut mgiastaro haionem 5
Welcliffe.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ this note only in C ⁸⁰ i. e. Explicit tractatus de quatuor sectis novellis et de eorum erroribus ecclesie infectivis editus a magistro Johanne Wicleff Explicit tractatus de quatuor sectis novellis et eorum erroribus ecclesie infectivis A Sermo pulcer E (here the text goes on without any interruption) without Expl. γ, here after leaving a small blanc space De Fundacione Sectarum follows.

VII.

PURGTAORIUM SECTAE
CHRISTI.

PURGATORIUM SECTAE CHRISTI.

I. Division.

Introduction: Christ did not found the Sects; their introduction is a sin, cap I—II.

Argument: Confirmation of this thesis by the Author, who gives a description of the Sects as they really are, cap. III—XII.

Conclusion: The noble hearted and pious members of the Sects should quit them, and join the true Sect of Christ: this would be a benefit to the Church, as well as to the State, cap. XII.

II. Summary of Contents.¹

Chap. I. Jesus Christ, as God-Man, almighty, all-bounteous and all-wise, has, in His divine providence, provided for His Church in every respect, p. 298; but nowhere can it be proved from the Scriptures that Sects are founded by him to promote the welfare of the Church, p. 299. On the contrary, He shows repeatedly that they are burdensome and useless. Even if the Sects appeal to the holy men of the Old Testament (Elijah and Elisha), they cannot in any way shield themselves under their authority, as these, at least by inference, taught the imitation of Christ, p. 299—300.

Chap. II. The introduction of Sects, therefore, can be called nothing but a sin, because it can be proved that the Patrons, Priors and Superiors of Orders hinder their subordinates from following the teaching of Christ, p. 300. This, however, is the first duty of a Christian.

¹ *Wyclif has two purposes in view in this Tract: on the one hand, it is an invitation to the temporal authorities to set aside the Sects; on the other, an exhortation to the better elements of the Sects to leave their orders, and, by joining the simple Sect of Christ, to promote the welfare of the Church.*

For this reason, neither John the Baptist, nor St. Paul, nor the other Apostles founded new Sects, p. 302.

Chap. III. *Far better would it be, if within their own order the 'obediencia resistiva' were exercised against the worldly and irreligious tendencies of their leaders, and if the orders themselves joined the pure Sect of Christ, p. 301. He who has the sun daily, will not run the expense of costly dials; for as these involve a certain outlay, so are the Sects a burden to the country, and, with the priors at their head, impoverish the kingdom, especially the Poor of the land, p. 302. The attainment of dignities and rich benefices, self-interest, and greed of worldly honours, is their only aim etc. etc., p. 303.*

Chap. IV. *Every one, therefore, who upholds and defends the Sects, takes his part against Christ, p. 303. He would undoubtedly have given them a place in His Gospel, if He had approved of their practises. Thus they cannot appeal to Him. With as little reason can they cite the holy men who formerly belonged to their order, p. 304. For the most part such claims are not true, and where they are true, it must be said that these men were not holy because they belonged to the Sects, but because they rather belonged to the Sect of Christ — a better, easier and safer brotherhood than the Orders, excelling them in its patron, rules and members, p. 304. So long as the Orders have existed, the welfare of the Church has been diminished, errors and false doctrines having been introduced by them; they have mixed vain, worldly ceremonies with the service of Christ, thus furthering, not the welfare of the Church, but their own ends, p. 305.*

Chap. V. *Neither Faith, nor Hope, nor Charity is fostered by them. In the place of these, unconditional obedience to superiors is taught as the first and most meritorious of good works, and is made to surpass in value every other work of a layman, however good, p. 305—306.*

Chap. VI. *But since the Sects cannot prove this importance of obedience from the Bible, they seize on all kinds of deception, legends of the Saints etc., p. 307; forgetting thereby, that obedience is only to be rendered so far as it is in accordance with the commands of God. It may, therefore, become a duty to deny it to superiors, p. 307. Obedience resting on God's Word is the right obedience pleasing God, and therefore to be adopted by every Christian. They would then no longer*

yield obedience to the Pope, who leads a worldly life in wealth and luxury, although he ought to belong to the poorest. — As to themselves, they have been guilty of spoiling the land, and thus becoming traitors to their country, p. 307—308.

Chap. VII. *The Sects are not only wanting in the three Christian virtues, but also in many other respects. It is, therefore, a proof of love to the Church to oppose them, and give up all communication with them.*

Chap. VIII. *Not the honour of God and the salvation of their fellow-christians, but their own honour, is their principal aim, p. 309. This may be gathered from the lying and ludicrous sermons by which they amuse their hearers, and violate the three chief requisites of every (real) sermon (intencio, devocio and propositum). That, which if used in a truly evangelical manner, may be the greatest blessing to the people, thus becomes the reverse, p. 310—311.*

Chap. IX. *As the Sects deprive the people of temporal as well as of spiritual benefits, the English should (1) refuse to pay taxes to the Pope and his adherents, especially as he wishes to force these payments, p. 311; (2) they should withdraw the tithes from the unworthy clergy, and only support the deserving; (3) they should make no more grants to the Sects and Mendicant Friars, as they are neither poor nor helpless, but practised in plundering country and people, p. 312.*

Chap. X. *If the Mahometans (who in many respects are more faithful to the commands of Christ than the Sects) are shunned and despised as children of the devil, then all communion with the Sects must be broken off, p. 312. That their thoughts are only directed towards temporal advantages, is proved by their striving after rich bishoprics and livings, p. 313. Not one of them would leave the Order for the sake of a poor living, for rich endowments of bishoprics are their only and chief attraction; the better an office is endowed, the more perfect they say it is, but they despise the poor life of the Apostles, p. 313.*

Chap. XI. *Therefore the honest and upright among their members ought to leave their Orders, and join the simple Sect of Christ, in order to preach the gospel to the people, p. 313. If they are not willing to do this, the secular authorities are plainly commanded to make them do so, in order that the influence of the Church may not be still further lessened, p. 314.*

Chap. XII. *Excursus on the question, whether a priest enter, a new spiritual state, when he becomes a bishop, p. 314.* The question is generally answered in the affirmative, by referring to the fact that the Pope, when he becomes Pope, enters into a new state, that the papal decrees determine it thus, otherwise every priest could become Pope without re-consecration, and, as a further consequence, every layman could become a priest; but then what would become of the seven Sacraments? p. 314. — Against this may be urged that Holy Scripture, as well as the history of the primitive Church, and the fathers (St. Jerome) teach the contrary, p. 315.

Conclusion. If a monk have the right to leave his Order for the sake of a bishopric, it is also the right and duty of good and able members to leave their Order and enter the pure Sect of Christ. In this way a grave danger would be averted from many kingdoms, whose stability is threatened by these Orders, p. 315.

III. Date of Composition.

There is no certain date, by which to decide the period at which this Tract was written. The notice on the Holy Eucharist: nam ex tempore, quo eucharistia fundata est, etc, page 304, line 26 ff., in itself not very precise, seems to indicate at least, that Wiclif had already begun his doctrinal conflict on the Holy Supper with Rome; therefore after 1381. — In general the ideas of the Author move in the same path, as those of the Tract *De Fundac. Sect.*, in which some striking parallels to the present Tract occur. The tone employed against the orders is certainly not so violent. I am, therefore, inclined to place the date of its composition near that of *De Fundac. Sect.* viz. about 1383, but for want of positive evidence I have arrived at no certain conclusion.

IV. Genuineness.

(a) External evidence:

- (1) *Wiclif-Catalogues of the Vienna codices, compare above, page 7.*
- (2) *Walden, Doctr. Fid. capp. 23; 24.*
- (3) *Shirley, Catal. p. 51 No. 33.*

(b) *Internal evidence:*

- (1) *Compare above, General Introduction, V, e.*
- (2) *Compare its almost verbal agreement with W.'s genuine writings; ep., for instance, De nova Praev. Mand. above, p. 103 with p. 306, where the same thoughts are carried out; further, the passages on the relation of the Saints to the Orders; on "the more easy, better and safer Sect of Christ"; on the abuses of the vestments of the Orders; on the secta Machometica etc. etc. etc.; as for particulars, ep. cap. II note e; III, b; c; d; f; IV, a; b; c; e; h; V, b; VI, a; X, a; b; e; XI, c*

V. Not heretofore printed. The Tract was supposed to be lost. Compare Shirley, Catal. p. 50 and 51.

VI. Extant in cod. Ashburnham XXVII e, fol. 49^a to 54^a; printed from the copykin dly lent me by F. D. Matthew, Esqu. of London. Matthew has also done the collation, and I have every reason to rely on his conscientiousness. Whether any Correctors and Glossers have been at work at the Tract, is not shown by Matthew's copy.

JOHANNIS WICLIF
PURGATORIUM SECTAE CHRISTI.

CAP. I.¹

*Cod. Ash
fol. 49a* || Sepe assumptum est ut fides catholica, quod Cristus deus et homo | sit potentissimus, sapientissimus et amantissimus, | et ex hoc illatum est, quod Cristus dedit doctrinam saluberrimam tam | ad regendum personam quam populum pro hoc seculo et futuro.

Et ex ista radice invectum est contra sectas vel ordines sine 5 auctoritate domini introductos, et conclusio, inculcata sepius in ista materia, stat in isto, quod bonum esset ecclesie, quod omnes iste novitates forent penitus pretermissee, cum idem esset, cum isti sadulterinis ordinibus taliter despontari et dimittere immaculatam legem et ordinacionem domini Iesu Cristi. Sed quis dubitat, quin hoc 10 redundat in blasphemam parvipencionem domini dei nostri?

Dictum est secundum evidencias dantes fidem, quod, cum Cristus non auctorizat istas tradiciones novas et sit summe potens, summe sapiens et summe diligens sponsam suam, in dimittendo istas tradiciones docet, quod nichil aut modicum prosunt sue ecclesie. 15

Unde sicut est dare substancialm operis et alia, que ipsum accidentaliter comitantur, sic est dare regulam huius viacionis et alia, que ipsam accidentaliter consecuntur, ut mandatorum conservacio, thesaurizata in anima, est basis vel fundamentum religionis

¹ There is no division into chapters in the cod.

vel ordinis cristiani. Sed quomodo cristianus induetur vel comedet, et sic de aliis ritibus sensibilibus, est accidentaliter concomitans viatores. Et sic obligari ad istud vel despontari cum istis adulterinis tradicionibus est de tanto derelinquere legem dei. Quis, rogo,
5 sapiens foret affectus color(e)¹ vel alio accidenti sui iumenti et substantiam roboris eius dimitteret?

Unde, quia cristiani cognoscunt naturaliter, quod non valet religionis regula, nisi fundata fuerit in sapientia domini Iesu Christi, ideo aliquae secte colunt Eliam^a, alie Eliseum, et alie Baptistam
10 vel alium pro patrono.^b — Sed certum est, quod omnes iste fiecciones istorum novorum ordinum sunt false et contrarie sibi ipsis.

Quantum autem ad istos prophetas legis veteris, patet, quod non sunt confederati ad invicem cum istis ficticiis suorum ordinum, sicut secte iste sunt hodie obligate. Nam ut patet IV Reg. 2^c
15 Elias pater monuit Eliseum ipsum dimittere, Eliseus autem, credens esse de voluntate domini, quod ipsum sequeretur usque ad raptum, non consensit Elie monitis, quando dixit^d: sede hic; sed secundum piam obedientiam fecit contrarium illi, quod magister suus preceperat, ac si intenderet, quod pia resistiva obedientia est,
20 facere oppositum illius, quod mandat superior, dum non fundatum fuerit racione. Elias autem, volens per quater^e ab isto discipulo separari, videtur innuere, quod solum Cristum discipuli debent consequi ut patronum.

Et idem videtur de Baptista et patronis aliis legis gracie.
25 Nam Baptista laboravit sollicite ad magnificandum Cristum et parvipendendum se ipsum suis discipulis, ut patet Matth. 11^f et Ioh. 1,^g sed secte iste non servant hanc doctrinam, cum magnificant suas regulas super Cristum. Et sic cum secta cristiana manebit perpetua, et necesse est, istas sectas periculosas deficere, videtur esse pre-
30 sumptivum peccatum ipsas introducere sine auctoritate domini Iesu Christi.

CAP. I. ^a *The Carmelites*, cp. *Trial.* 436; 362 ^b cp. *Trial.*
361 ff.; 436; also 273 ff. ^c v. 2 ff. ^d v. 2; 4 and 6 ^e cp.
II Kings 2, 2; 4; 6; 10 ^f v. 2 ff.; 11 ff. ^g v. 19 ff.

Ash fol. 49^b

Iterum nullus patronus vel capitaneus prodest in ecclesia domini Iesu Cristi, nisi de quanto docuerit directe consequi hunc patronum; sed omnes capitanei vel patroni istarum sectarum vel regulariter vel in maiori parte impediunt hanc sequelam. Ergo omnes illi capitanei nedum quoad istum finem superfluent, sed ecclesie sunt nocivi. Assumptum ex hoc evidet, quod nulli cristiani in viando proficiunt, nisi de quanto secuti fuerint dominum Iesum Cristum. Ideo tolle profectum huius sequele, et ponitur nocivum devium et superfluitas ordinis sic servati.

CAP. II.

Cum ergo isti capitales istorum ordinum observant principia-¹⁰ liter signa sensibilia, que dominus parvipendit, videtur, quod se-
quendo ipsos et doctrinam eorum receditur a regula domini Iesu Cristi. Et hoc movebat Baptistam nolle perpetuare suum ordinem, sed ruditer disponere ad suscipiendum ordinem domini Iesu Cristi. Ideo misit discipulos suos ad Cristum, ut vivaci voce Christi magis¹⁵ proficiant, quam suis verbis quasi mortuis profuerunt, ut patet Matth. 11^a.

Cum ergo totum, quod Iohannes fecit, sonuit ad extollenciam domini Iesu Cristi, videtur, quod horum patronorum regula non foret utilis, nisi de quanto sonat effectualiter in extollenciam do-²⁰ mini Iesu Cristi.

Sed quis dubitat, quin extollencia Christi et regule sue per hoc dissolvitur? Ideo istorum ordinum induccio ostendit, quod sua servacio est prophana, nec licet fideli discredere in assumpto, quin sequela Christi sit per se adequata causa, quare homo aliquis est²⁵ beatus. Ymo de quanto ad illam promovetur vel ab illa receditur, de tanto est vita sua meritoria vel culpanda. Nemo enim potest beatitudinem consequi, nisi de quanto secutus fuerit dominum Iesum Cristum, nec potest aliquis sequi ipsum, nisi attingat beatitudinem vel a dispositione habita retrocedat; ymo nichil fidelius, quam quod³⁰ capita istorum privatorum ordinum de tanto proficiunt, de quanto

disponunt ad imitandum dominum Iesum Cristum. Unde Baptista, ut dicitur Ioh. 1,^b fundavit se in Iesaia,¹ quod fuit vox clamantis in deserto ad dirigendum viam domino. Isti autem capitanei non asserunt, quod sunt voces vel fistule domini Iesu Cristi, sed fun-⁵ datores authentici regule plus compendiose, quam dominus adinvenit. Sed ubi maior blasphemia?

Tales evidencie movebant Paulum et ceteros Christi apostolos non audere fundare novos ordines supra sectam vel ordinem domini Iesu Cristi.^c Unde Paulus, quando docuit populum sequi ipsum, 10 fuit perante securus, quod in hoc secutus fuit caput ecclesie, dominum Iesum Cristum. Imitatores, inquit, mei estote, sicut et ego Christi, (*I*)² Cor. 11,^d ubi videtur docere fideliter, quod precise de tanto debet homo sequi quemcunque alium, de quanto ipse secutus fuerit dominum Iesum Cristum, quia aliter seduci potest per devium 15 sequendo Christi adversarium, anticeristum.

CAP. III.

Et hec racio, quare in istis || novis ordinibus^a necessaria est obe- || *Ash fol. 50a*
diencia resistiva,^b quia, dum capitanei affectant honores mundanos vel lucrum seculi aut difficultant suos subditos a lege domini, lex Christi docet ab illis fugere ut veneno^c. Et cum omnes capitanei 20 novorum ordinum in hiis tribus deficiunt, lex Christi docet, quomodo dissolvi debeant iste secte^d. Principium autem fidei est, quomodo obediire oportet magis deo quam homini, ut dicitur Act. 5^e.

Iterum ars sequendi sectam veniendo ad beatitudinem debet ratione librari, eligendo meliorem sectam plus facilem et securam. 25 Sed illa est secta Christi pura sine talibus putaciis¹ adinventis. Ideo

^b v. 23 ^c this idea is frequently made use of by W. against the Sects: cp. above, p. 97 ^d v. 1

CAP. III. ^a viz. of the Mendicants ^b W. frequently recurs to this idea, cp., for instance, above, p. 140 and 141; also Matthew, 131, 416

^c cp. above, p. 140 l. 1 ff.; also 185 ^d as to this, cp. above, p. 101 ff.
^e v. 29

CAP. II. ¹ ysa^a MS. ² (*I*) om. MS.

CAP. III. ¹ So Matthew has copied: the Vienna and Prague codd. read as a rule pietac.

illa ad puritatem [et]² caritatem prudenter a cunctis cristicolis est colenda; est, inquam, securior tam discipulo quam magistro. Discipulus enim facilius posset obedienciam magistri primi facere secundum puram regulam Cristi, quam secundum istas regulas adinventas. Et ex parte pedagogi est securior, quia et notfidelis omnia bona spiritualia, que talis capitaneus facit suo conventui et videbit, quod secundum regulam Cristi posset humilius et, quoad superbiam blasphemam, securius tantum bonum vel maius facere.

Et sic racio necessitaret ad cunctos istos novos ordines fugendum et manu dueci potest grossus viator ad isti sententie adherendum. Si enim sol naturalis foret continue nocte et die in presencia viatoris, superfluum foret sibi orologium sumptuosum et fallax construere. — Conformiter est de sole iusticie, domino Iesu Christo, eo, quod tam vita sua quam regula deberet esse cristianis cunctis nocior, quam talis privatus capitaneus vel patronus, et talis secta 15 privata est onerosa ecclesie et multiplicitate defectiva. Que igitur foret securitas ipsam construere sive defendere pro viacione ad beatitudinem consequendam?

Possunt enim corde laxari in isto orologio adinvento, et sumptuosum ac onerosum est, ad cursum solis attendere pro principio 20 ad motum istius orologii inchoando. Et istud grossum exemplum medullitus prosecutum moveret rationales homines ad sectas istas rationabiliter fugiendum.

Sunt, inquam, ista orologia sumptuosa, quia attendat homo, quid iste secte de bonis reipublice consumunt,^f et tantum sunt eccl²⁵ies onerose et pauperibus Cristi secundum legem, quam ipse derat, dampnifere et moleste, quia elemosinas, quas Christus pauperibus suis limitat, ipse spoliant sophisticatis mendaciis, et magnates depauperant ac ipsos necessitant ad pauperes suos tenentes et subditos insuetis tallagiis onerandum.

Et sic priores istarum sectarum novarum, sicut et sui subditi ac eorum consentanei, sunt utrimque stolidi, et nichil ex hoc lu-

^f as to this, cp. above, *De tripl. Vinc. Am.* p. 193 note k; *De Fundac. Sect.* 28; also p. 103; *Trial.* 369

erantur nisi ypoocrisim et peccatum. Stulticia quidem est in affectando huiusmodi prioratum, quia, cum nesciunt dignitatem sui subditi quoad deum, eleccionem accipiunt contra divinum iudicium propter vanam gloriam quoad mundum. Cum enim tantum obli-
 5 gantur de lege dei subditis istis proficere, quantum || possunt, et || *Ash fol. 50b*
 racione istius prioratus amplius obligantur, videtur, quod in acci-
 piendo hunc prioratum obligantur stolide super vires. Stolide dico,
 quia per hoc ineitantur ad capessendam inanem gloriam. Et cum
 hoc sunt ambigui, si Cristi iudicio et suo beneplacito sint rebelles.
 10 Deus enim secundum suum beneplacitum summe racionabile libra-
 vit modum et ordinem, quo voluit a quacunque persona in ecclesia
 sua deserviri. Cum autem hoc sit secretum deo absconditum,
 patet presumptiva superbia istorum prelatorum, qui astringunt illos,
 quos nesciunt ad eandem specialem regulam conservandum. Illud
 15 enim, quod est utile uni persone, est nocivum alteri^g.

Quis igitur deus est ille, qui vlt confundere tam dispare naturas hominum in unam vanam regulam adinventam? Et patet stulticia capitalis, cum posset liberius, securius et efficacius instruere istas oves, dum hanc sectam et regulam istam dimitteret et tam-
 20 quam adiutor dei in secta sua pure secundum legem suam instrueret.

CAP. IV.

Ex ipsis patet conclusio sepius inculcata, scilicet quod persona intrans vel defendens istos adinventos ordines est ut sic stolida, quia
 25 facit partem contra dominum Iesum Cristum, quia, si Cristus approbaret hos ordines, cum sunt tam alte et tam necessarie partes ecclesie, ut false innuitur, ipsos alicubi in scriptura sacra instrueret ad edificationem ecclesie sic vivendum; sed cum hoc sit manifeste falsum,^a patet, quod Cristus non approbat, sed reprobat istas sectas.
 30 Nam nec status nec persona potest huic domino esse neutra, quia, sicut qui non est cum ipso contra ipsum est, sic statum, quem ipse

^g an assertion very often made use of by W., cp. e. g. above, p. 286 l. 16

CAP. IV. ^a The falsity of this assertion was proved by W. in *De Fund. Sect.* more accurately: cp. above, p. 13 ff.

non approbat, indubitanter reprobatur. Quomodo igitur non est stulticia intrare vel defendere talem statum? Religio igitur dilecti Christi foret servare status et officia in ecclesia, que Christus instituit, et destruere illa, que iste dominus non invenit.

Et quantum ad patronos et sanctos, qui fuerant de hiis sectis, patet, quod totum hoc est apocrifum citra fidem.^b Et supposito, quod sit verum, patet, quod hoc est eo, quod libere servaverant legem Christi, et non quia sic aliene servaverant istos ritus. Et sic illi sancti fuerunt valde extranei ab ipsis ordinibus, quia cum ordo vel secta sit res inanimata, que generatur vel corrumpitur ad generationem vel corrupcionem partis sue, patet, quomodo iste secte novelle pluries innovant.

Est igitur secta Christi melior, facilior atque securior.^c Est inquam melior, quia deus eius patronus ex summa sapiencia ipsam instituit.

Et est facilior, quia non obligat ad hos ritus sensibiles^d, sed ad virtutes anime et opera caritatis. Unde nemo potest spoliare hominem ab hac secta, nisi gratis voluerit ipsam deserere, et hoc || Ash fol. 51a iugum fideliter trahentibus est suave et onus leve Ymo doctum|| est, quod in patrono, in regula et in militibus, in secta christiana 20 militantibus, ipsa excellit ordines istos novos. In cuius signum longe plus profecit ecclesia per sectam Christi, quam per istos ordines adinventos, cum a tempore, quo introducti fuerant, decrevit ecclesia^e.

Notet igitur fidelis ritus et regulam, ad quos se obligant iste secte, et videbit, quomodo omnia, que preter legem Christi obseruant, sunt ludicria ad onus ecclesie per dyabolum introducta. Nam ex tempore, quo eucharistia fundata est infideliter esse color vel figura, iste secte in ipsis accidentibus sensibilibus floruerunt^f.

Et est secta Christi securior, quia impossibile est fidelem subista vita usque ad vite terminum militare, nisi eo ipso perpetuo 30

^b as to this assertion, cp. above, *De nov. Praevar. Mand.* cap. VII p. 144 ^c this assertion is very often and stringently repeated by W. against the Sects, cp., for instance, above, p. 22; 34; 73; 97; 139

^d as to these, cp., for inst., above, p. 143 ^e cp. the same passage above, p. 230 ^f as to the spiritual relation of the Mendicant Orders to the Roman doctrine of Transubstantiation, cp. Lechler I, 588 ff.

sit beatus. Iste autem secte non habent auctoritatem vel probabilitatem talis meriti, sed ex hoc, quod implicant se multis erroribus, probabiliter sunt dampnande, quia hoc non dicit dominus, ut taliter ecclesiam suam edificant, cum ad onus eius sine sua licencia 5 sunt quasi hillaratores subdoli introducti, et ad istud deserviunt, quod ad onus ecclesie consumendo eius cibaria tam spiritualia quam corporalia sine Cristi licencia in sua ecclesia ociantur. Si igitur aliquid boni faciunt, hoc est, de quanto perficiunt ministerium, quod Cristus mandaverat; sed cum sepe commiscent aliud ministerium dyabolice adinventum, patet, quod deficit securitas in hiis sectis. In cuius signum papa vendicat, se esse harum [sectarum]¹ patronum et regulas earum instituere et postmodum pro precio confirmare et sepe inventos defectus corrigere. Sed iste religiosarcha^g in vita et opere suo ostendit, quod est mendaciter et capi- 15 taliter contrarius Iesu Christo^h.

CAP. V.

Ex ipsis patet stulticia eorum, qui acceptant hos graves ordines et deserunt libertatem ordinis Iesu Christi, cum omne opus meritiorum facere possent liberius in secta domini Iesu Christi et a multis impedimentis liberantur, ut neverunt experti ex hoc, quod 20 ab ipsis ordinibus sunt extuti.

Cum ergo, quantumcunque diuturnus fuerit labor in ipsis ordinibus et penalibus, anima illius religiosi potest dampnari in inferno, antequam corpus eius fuerit frigefactum, et secta Christi est securitatis contrarie, fidelis extra laqueum harum sectarum potest dicere: 25 laqueus contritus est et nos liberati sumus. Benedictus dominus, qui non dedit nos in capcionem dentibus eorum^a. Quamvis autem mordent mendaciis cristianos extrinsecos, cum non ipsos incarcerant vel necessitant ad legem domini deserendum, sed possunt planius servire secundum legem domini, sua gracia protegente.

^g i. e. the Pope ^h this is proved more accurately by W. below in
De Christo et suo Adv. Antichristo.

CAP. V. ^a cp. Ps. 124, 6—7

Et sic attendendo ad has sectas novellas patet, quod ex earum fructibus inclinantur in fide, spe et caritate deficere.

In fide quidem, quia certum est, quod suppositis eorum ficticiis de bonitate suorum ordinum supra Cristi ordinem, Cristus vel foret impotens, insipiens vel invidus, qui tam necessarios ordines 5 *Ash fol. 51b* et utiles ecclesie || usque ad tempus solucionis sathanæ expectavit, et tunc nec illas scriptura sua nec verbis propheticis promulgavit, sed permisit illas suboriri in ecclesia sine officio vel regula limitata per facta mendacia et sompnia, cum, si fratres vel secte alie haberent alia fundamenta, illa detegerent ad honorem sui ordinis, cum tam 10 in scola, quam extra ad hoc crebrius sunt pulsati. — Et talis veritas de quanto magis ostenditur, de tanto ad bonum ecclesie plus splenderet.

In spe autem hee secte deficiunt, cum sperant, quod propter irregulararem onustacionem ecclesie introductam fideles pauperes, quos 15 modo spoliant, in die iudicii iudicabunt. Et tantam vim virtutis ponunt in suis habitibus, quod sperant, si persona aliqua, vir vel femina moriatur in ipsis non dampnabitur ad infernum.

Et in caritate signanter deficiunt, cum non ex caritate simplices pauperes contra auctoritatem domini spoliarent, sed pocius 20 exhonerarent ecclesiam in paucitate numeri, et manuale cum apostolo laborarent, et cum tota sua caritas consistit in obediencia, quia, ut inquiunt, in hiis tribus consistit perfeccio sui ordinis, in paupertate, castitate et obediencia.

CAP. VI.

Sed extra illos ordines congregacio eciam secularium in duo-25 bus primis poterit istis ordinibus coequari. Ymo restat illis, quod in sua obediencia sua caritas singulariter consequetur. Unde tantum magnificant obedienciam, quam faciunt preposito sui ordinis, quod dicunt, ipsam excellere omne opus méritorium,^a quod secularis posset facere. Ideo necesse est ipsos in beatitudine non so-30

^b cp. the very same idea above p. 143 note b.

CAP. VI. ^a As to this, cp. above p. 140 ff.

lum misceri cum beatis ordinibus, sed situari supra omnes illos ordines cum Maria.

Et quia deficit illis fundacio istius obediencie, sicut et fundacio istorum ordinum, ideo fingunt vel sompniant miraculum de 5 vitis patroni, quod unus virtute istius obediencie rigavit cottidie ligna pure putrida et postmodum floruerunt. Ymo, fingunt sibi principium, quod virtute obediencie faciende tali preposito, dimit- tenda est predicacio verbi dei et quocunque opus meritorium, quod exprimitur in scriptura, et colligenda sunt stramina, excorianda 10 vel riganda ligna, aut facienda quecunque opera, que prepositus ille mandat. Et sic inventa est una obediencia per hos novos ordines, quod quidquid Cristus per suos fideles precipit, non est sub tam meritoria obediencia faciendum, sicut faciendum est opus ir- racionabile et stultum, quod dyabolus illis mandat.

15 Constat quidem ex fide scripture Ioh. 6^b, quod prelatus de possibili prescitus, quod probabiliter sepe evenit, est unus dyabolus sicut Iudas, et antequam orta fuit hec obediencia, tale opus fuissest irrationabile, et vel ipse facit illud esse meritorium preter dominum Iesum Cristum, vel inclinat deum atque necessitat ad 20 dignitatem illius operis meritoriam faciendum. De obediencia autem declaratum est alias, quod nulla obediencia facienda est homini, nisi de quanto sonat in obedienciam factam ex caritate mandato domini Iesu Christi. Quod si contra ipsum sonuerit, resistendum est tali prelato viriliter, virtute obediencie || resistive, cum omnis || *Ash fol. 52a* 25 creatura dicit hanc veritatem, et per consequens talis prelatus secundum omnes eius partes mandat naturaliter, quod talis veritas compleatur. Cum ergo prelatus tam sollicite et ex tanta auctoritate domini mandat istud et aliud contra rationem, non mandat nisi ut devius et insanis: in isto debet sibi obediri precipue, et in alio 30 debet fidelis sibi in nomine dei repugnare. Et istam obedienciam vellem hos sectas novellas attendere. Tunc enim non constituerent papam dominum suarumdomorum, librorum et aliorum quorumcunque, que spoliant de regnis, que incolunt Cum ista obediencia sit lu- ciferina et contraria racioni — papa enim debet esse pauperrimus,

et cum tantum habundat in temporalibus —, sibi non videtur elemosina esse taliter facienda, cum pauperibus debilibus, claudis et cecis secundum doctrinam Cristi Lue. 14^c sit talis elemosina facienda. — Que ergo caritas filiorum in patrem et patronum effundere in tantum patrem venenum tam imperfectum, quod inficeret filios, si servarent. Ista ergo videtur progenies viperarum, que dirumpit in suo exitu matrem suam.

CAP. VII.

Et scrutata materia ista funditus videtur, quod non sapiat nisi ypoeriticum sophisma dyaboli. Quid enim sonat in sanctitatem talis ordinis, quod tribuat pape dominium, quod in sua persona ¹⁰ habere non poterit?

Omne quidem dominium sic collatum presupponit persone consistenciam sic donantis; si igitur hii fratres habere non potuerant istud dominium, quomodo in tam excellentem personam elemosinarie ipsum transfunderent? Sic enim transfundere possent in ipsum ¹⁵ mendaciter omnia regna mundi, sicut supponitur, quod dyabolus Matth. quarto cap.^a domino est mentitus. Nec dubium, quin talis spoliaio sonat in prodicionem regis et regni, quod incolunt tales fratres, colligentes de regni pauperibus in nomine pape, capitalis inimici regis et regni, bona totidem mendaci titulo, et postmodum ²⁰ hosti principali sine regis et regni licencia conferendo. Et facto toto ex hoc evidet sophisma dyaboli, quod sine redditu civili facto pape quiete occupant fratres omnia illa bona et tantum in foro civili quam ecclesiastico acute ipsa defendunt, sine repensione debita regibus et regnis, que incolunt. Sed que foret sophisticacio ²⁵ quoad deum et homines magis fallax?

Ex ipsis colligitur, quantum peccatum est defendere istas sectas. Illudunt enim Christo et sue ecclesie et per consequens in defendendo ipsas contra Christum et suam ecclesiam peccatur in deum

^c v. 21ff.CAP. VII. ^a v. 8—9

et matrem ecclesiam, cum peccatum consensus^b eque valeat peccato operis et sit aliquociens ipso maius. Fratres igitur in hoc, quod diligunt sectam suam propriam magis quam sectam domini Iesu puram, manifeste indicant, quod a caritate, quam describit apostolus, sunt expertes. Et cum necesse sit, sic deficiente in fide, spe et caritate in virtutibus aliis consequenter deficere, manifeste videatur, quod tales secte tanquam heretice sunt negande.

Et fundari potest istud auffugium ex scriptura multiplici et evidencia racionis. Nam fovendo illas ut sic fovetur Cristi proditor || et inimicus sue ecclesie. Sed que caritas stat in isto?

|| Ash. fol. 52v

CAP. VIII.

Ex ipsis colligitur, quomodo ex caritate communicacio negabitur 10 istis sectis.

Clerici enim non communicabunt cum ipsis, nisi forte sectas suas catholice reprobando et ad puram sectam Cristi prudencius 15 exhortando.

Activi autem non debent communicare cum ipsis, nisi bona fortune, que occupant, auferendo et bona corporalis elemosine subtrahendo. Ymo dicit celestis paranimphus Iohannes, qui ultra ceteros apostolos regulas didicit caritatis^a: si quis venit ad vos et hanc 20 doctrinam non affert, nolite recipere eum in domum nec ave ei dixeritis. Qui enim dixerit illi ave, communicat operibus eius malignis. — Et concordat racio cum ista sentencia, cum nemo gladium ministraret frenetico, quin cum illo a probabili se ipsum vel alios fratres occideret, et sic consultor ad peccatum tale consulteret. 25 Et hec racio, quare Cristus dicit apostolis^b: ego, quos amo, arguo et castigo, et cum ista caritas dei ad omnes servos suos, eciam quos ad dampnacionem preparat, se extendit, videtur, quod fidelis in Christo secundum istam formam diligeret istas sectas.

Dileccio quidem secundum formam duplarem se ostendit.

^b as to the five forms of assent, cp. above De Fund. Sect. p. 19; Matthew 419 and 529; Lechler, De Off. Past. 15
 CAP. VIII. ^a cp. II John 10—11 ^b cp. Apokal. 3, 19

Quedam autem est spiritualis dileccio et quedam dileccio corporalis. — Spiritualis dileccio maxime consistit in spirituali pastu secundum regulas caritatis. Unde Cristus ordinavit suos apostolos non corporaliter pascere plebem suam, sed spiritualiter, et ad hoc dedit eis carismata et mandata. Et ad istam elemosinam spirituali debent superiores ecclesie magis attendere. Sophisticari tamen potest hec elemosina, licet raro, et sic tria sunt precipue in ista elemosina fugienda: primum, quod intencio sit munda ab avaricia; quod non fiat predicacio vel dogmatizacio propter lucrum, nam Matth. 10^c mandat Cristus: gratis accepistis, gratis date. — Secundo caveri debet pastus populi per dogma contrarium verbis Christi, quia per illud dogma seduci posset populus, et ubi nutritur pabulo tendente ad patriam, nutritri posset mendacio, ducente filios patris mendacii ad gehennam. Ymo mandat Petrus I Pet. 4^d: si quis loquitur et specialiter in docendo, loquatur quasi sermones dei. Et rectificata sic intencione et purificata ministracione dogmatis spiritualiter porrigendi, videndum est tertio, quod populus, quem deus preparat ad hoc semen spiritualiter capiendum secundum duas intenciones priores, pro loco et temporé congrue fiat pastus. Sic enim apostoli post induracionem iudaicam ad gentilem populum sunt conversi, ut patet Act. 13^e.

In ista autem pastione iste secte seducunt populum, cum intencio earum sit principaliter pro temporalibus perquirendis. Et ad hoc aptant mendacia, ludicia vel prophana. Multa quidem auditoria in talibus ex malicia delectantur, et sic quamvis actus 25 predicandi sit sensibilis, deus tamen, quem oportet cooperari cum verbis, est insensibilis, sicut sunt intencio, devocio et propositum predictantis. — Intencio autem debet ad honorem dei et non ad questum temporalium terminari; devocio debet non ad ista ludicia, sed ad verba dei vivacia terminari; et propositum predictantis de-30 bet non ad gravem populum et multum pro laude humana dirigi, sed ad populum, qui creditur a sufficienti experientia esse capax et proficiens verbo dei.

Et servatis prudenter hiis tribus videtur, quod hec elemosina

sit principalior inter || omnes. Debet tamen predictor attendere, || *Ash fol. 53a* gracia cuius predicat, quid auditorio suo predicat et quale sit auditorium, cui predicat.

Qui docet, attendat finem, pabulum populumque.

CAP. IX.

5 Corporalis autem elemosina consistit in necessariis corpori pro hac vita, cuiusmodi sunt secundum apostolum alimentum et tegumentum, alimentum in cibis et potibus et tegumentum in pannis et domibus. — Et cum sophisticatur hec corporalis elemosina, attendere debet elemosinans ad hec tria, quid ministrat, quibus ministrat et 10 gracia cuius finis. Non enim ministrari debent lauticie sumptuose in forma elemosine, sed alimenta communia et necessaria, sicut Cristus in duobus suis conviviis populo ministravit.

Oportet secundo attendere, quod illis personis, quibus Cristus limitavit hanc elemosinam, ministretur; cuiusmodi sunt pauperes 15 debiles, pauperes claudi et pauperes ceci, quibus Cristus talem elemosinam limitavit, ut patet *Luc. 14.^a*

Finis autem intentus debet esse honor dei et merces beatitudinis possidenda, et per consequens honor ypocriticus, fama mundana et regraciacio temporalis debent ab ista elemosina removeri.

20 Ex quo videtur primo, quod populus Anglicanus non debet solvere suas decimas vel aliud pedagium pape, cardinalibus vel aliis curatis forinsecis, qui non rependent beneficia spiritualia a domino limitata. Talia enim non debent dari nisi titulo elemosine corporalis, sed dicti prepositi a recepcione talis elemosine et 25 pensionis debite sunt inepti. Et omnino detestanda foret condicio, quod papa et prelati necessitent ad dandum tales elemosinas contra regulam legis Christi.

Ex eodem videtur secundo, quod nec excommunicacio nec alia machinata censura debet parochianos astringere ad dandum 30 curato indigeno, noto ab experimento inhabili, decimas, oblaciones

vel alia corporalia suffragia, cum quibus est curatus ydoneus sustentandus, cum Paulus precipit in nomine domini II Thess. ultimo^b: qui non laborat, non manducet.

Et tertio videtur, quod nec fratribus nec sectis istis novis est ista corporalis elemosina ministranda, quia hoc esset contra Cristum ipsos defendere et suis peccatis et gravamini ecclesie consentire. Cum autem non sunt pauperes debiles, claudi vel ceci, sed mendicantes tam validi et habentes tot bona superflua^c, esset opus contrarium elemosine ipsis talia ministrare.⁵

CAP. X.

Unde iste secte defraudent Cristi ecclesiam in ista elemosina *10* corporali, cum furtive auferunt de Cristi pauperibus has elemosinas ipsis specialiter limitatas.

Secundo spumant libidinem, edificia sumptuosa^a et alia tam verba quam opera, que regnis, que incolunt, sunt nociva.

Et tertio videtur, quod isti hypocrite miscendo malum cum *15* bono post istam mixturam mendaciter denominant totum bonum, ac si quis misceret venenum cum vino et totum poculum quasi potum salutiferum populo propinaret.

Ash fol. 53b || Scimus quidem, quod secta Saracenica multis fidei nostre articulis auctoritate legis dei consenciat^b, et multos ritus honestos at-*20* que laudabiles ultra has sectas observat^c. Sed quia in necessariis secundum legem Cristi deficiunt nec autoritatem ab ipso accipiunt, ideo sunt infideles filii dyaboli fugiendi, quare ergo non iste secte, que Cristi ecclesie magis nocent?

Et sic videtur baptista intendere suos discipulos, tamquam *25* discentes literas fidei ad scolam domini tamquam superiorem scientiam preparare. Quid autem sonat aliud, quod baptista Ioh. 1^d

^b v. 10 ^c as to their wealth, cp. above p. 47

CAP. X. ^a These are made by W. a reproach to the Sects very frequently, cp. for instance *De Fund. Sect.* p. 47 note c ^b as to this, cp. above *De Fund. Sect.* p. 25; *Matthew* 301 ^c as to these, cp. above p. 30 ^d v. 27

dicit, se non esse dignum corrigiam calceamenti domini dissolvere, quid et aliud sonat illud Ioh. tercio cap.^e: qui de celo venit, super omnes est, cum aliis verbis commendatoriis ibi dictis? Cur et Baptista mitteret suos discipulos ad Iesum Cristum Matth. 11^f ad 5 noscendum septem miracula^g, que ultra potestatem hominum Cristus fecit? — Vel ergo oportet concedere, quod Baptista erravit in fide, vel quod suos discipulos ad sectam domini preparavit.

Quare igitur non sic facerent iste secte, tum tamen, quando exeunt istas sectas, hoc est gracia secularis dominii, ut patet de 10 religiosis factis episcopis vel curatis; sed tunc in signum sue cupidinis suos habitus secum ferunt, ac si in facto dicerent, quod appetunt luerum temporalium et non pauperiem domini Iesu Christi, quia tunc exirent illum ordinem propter episcopatum non dotatum. Quod cum non faciunt, nisi talis graduacio foret pinguis, mani- 15 festum est, quod innuant statum illum, sicut statum papalem esse perfecciorem propter mundanas divicias. Et sic ponunt in facto statum apostolicum sub non gradu. Non enim audent presumere, quod status episcoporum dotatus sit in superiori perfeccione quam status apostolicus, quin sic dotans ecclesiam fundaret statum per- 20 fecciolem, quam habuerunt apostoli Iesu Christi; et de quanto do- tantur amplius, de tanto est status perfeccior. Sed quid magis hereticum?

CAP. XI.

Ex ipsis videtur, bonus sacerdos et episcopus forent idem, ut dicit Hieronymus et ponit lex in Decret., 95 dist. cap. ‘Olym’^a, et 25 sic omnes persone habiles in hiis sectis, exirent illas de lege com- muni ad statum cure pastoralis, cum hoc foret perfeccius. Quod si corporalis habitus vel temporalis dotacio retardat ab isto exitu, ostenditur, quod diligunt sectas novas vel prelacionem cesaream plus quam ordinem domini Iesu Christi. Fratres enim et omnes

^e v. 31 ^f v. 2 ^g cp. Matth. 11, 5

CAP. XI. ^a cp. Corp. iur. can., ed. Richter-Friedberg, p. 332; cp. above p. 100 note e

sacerdotes scioli plus sequerentur vitam apostolicam ewangelizando debite sine iurisdiccione vel possessione, que modo adiacet prelatis ecclesie, quam prelacias istas cesareas acceptando. Quomodo ergo salvant suas conscientias, meliorem statum tam vecorditer dimittendo? Et sic persone istarum sectarum, dum sunt habiles, debent 5 compelli exire hos ordines et intrare sectam liberam domini Iesu Cristi. — Ad quod multum prodesset, quod secte iste forent pure expropriatarie et non cecis elemosinis defensate. Tunc enim necessitate forent intrare puram sectam domini Iesu Cristi, et ita videtur, seculares dominos et infideles clericos resistere verbis Cristi 10 Luc. 14, quando dicitur^b: ait dominus servo suo: exi in vias et sepes et compelle intrare, ut impleatur domus mea. Cum autem sunt vie iste infidelitates gentilium et sepes sunt religiones private^c, iste due partes, que debent esse unus servus domini, sicut unite debent concurrere, ut perficiant hoc mandatum, non compellunt 15 Ash fol. 54^a intrare hanc sectam Cristi, sed per cautelas dyaboli compellunt exire.

Et ista est causa, quare sic Cristi ecclesia minoratur, et omnino pape et prelati cesarei debent compelli ad istum introitum per dominos seculares. 20

CAP. XII.

Et hic mussitant infideles, si sacerdos promotus ad episcopatum cesareum recipit novum ordinem. Et videtur, quod sic, tum quia papa recipiendo papatum recipit novum ordinem, tum et quia verba pontificalia hoc exprimunt sicut in aliis ordinibus. Et aliter posset quilibet sacerdos sine nova consecracione occupare episcopatum et papatum et per idem a statu laicali possit ascendere ad officium sacerdotis. Sed ubi forent tunc septem sacramenta, cum sit necessarium ordinem esse unum?

In oppositum videtur Hieronymus, qui dicit, ut recitat in

^b v. 21 ^c as to this term which W. frequently applies to the Sects, ep. above De Ord. Frat. p. 102 and De nov. Praev. Mand. p. 137

Decretis, 95 dist. 'Olym', dicit^a, quod idem est episcopus et sacerdos. In cuius signum fides scripture habet ipsos generaliter pro eodem, nec aliam consecrationem meminit fides ewangelii de istic gradibus. Et fingendo consecrationem novam propter dotacionem foret 5 novum ludicrum, ac si quis coniuracionem statueret vel consecrationem armorum episcopi, ac si foret notabile sacramentum. Sed quis crederet istic deliramentis a dyabolo factis ex hoc, quod illite placent infidelibus?

Ideo videtur, Cristum compendiose procedere dando graciā 10 et efficaciam operandi. Nec vertitur fideli in dubium, quin status apostolicus sit perfeccior, quam episcopum¹ cesareum post dotacionem, quantumcunque fuerit augmentatum.

Et ex isto videtur, quod sicut religiosus egreditur ordinem suum privatum, acceptando tanquam perfeccius episcopale officium 15 vel curam aliam, dum sit pinguis, sic quilibet habilis debet compelli egredi has sepes^b, in quibus includitur et servare liberam secundam Cristi. Racio quidem est patencior; et tunc cum suis diviciis defendi possent partes finitime regni nostri, et instanter predicato ewangelio infra regnum et evacuatis adulterinis legibus regnum 20 vivere posset secure conformiter legi Cristi. Sed dampnabilis recordia et stulta omissione secularium est causa, quare hoc peccatum preparat ad ruinam regni et ad mala alia sequencia post hanc vitam.

Regnum autem crederet sacerdotibus, qui ex lege domini clavant cottidie istum sensum, et nemo, maior vel minor, potest ipsum, cum sit catholicus, impugnare.

Et quantum ad argacias factas in oppositum, relinquo illi, qui coniuracionem dyaboli acceptat tamquam consecrationem sanctissimam, cum a fundacione istorum statuum defuit racionis vel 30 fidei fundamentum.

CAP. XII. ^a cp. Corp. iur. can., ed. Richter-Friedberg, p. 332

^b i. e. the Sects, cp. abore p. 314 l. 13 and note c

Et sic omnes secte novelle preter sectam Cristi cum suis appendicieis sunt a regnis fidelium expellende. Et cum humanitatis Cristi opera sunt sopita secundum potentiam patris et sapienciam filii, regna et specialiter clerici ex spiritus sancti clemencia sunt purganda. Et ista operacionis omissio minatur ruinam et destructionem irremissibilem multis regnis. 5

Explicit purgatorium secte Cristi.

VIII.

DE NOVIS ORDINIBUS.

DE NOVIS ORDINIBUS.

I. Division of the Tract.

I. Theoretical Part: Whether the monkish principle, that no individual member of the Order is responsible for the actions of the whole, be right, chap I—II.

II. Practical Part: This principle is brought to bear on the actual and individual defects of the Orders, chap. III.

II. Summary of Contents.

Chap. I. A conflict is taking place in the Militant Church with God on one side, and the devil on the other, p. 323, the former being represented by Christ, the latter by the Antichrist, i. e. the Pope, p. 323. The army of the Antichrist is composed of two wings, the wealthy and the poor Orders, p. 324, their chief weapon being their lie, that no individual part of them may be blamed for the wrongdoing of the rest, while, on the other hand, what is praiseworthy in the one is counted to the honour of all, p. 324. — Evidence as to how far this principle ought to be defended (by Scripture, Philosophy, Reason and History) p. 325—327.

Chap. II. Limitation of this principle in Scripture, according to which no one will be sentenced by God to everlasting punishment except for his own sins, p. 327—329. On the other hand, a man makes himself to a certain extent guilty of the sins of others by a conscious or unconscious acquiescence in them, p. 329—330. The individual will be punished only in comparison to this acquiescence, with the exception of Christ, who suffered for all, p. 340—331.

Chap. III. To make practical use of this in connection with the Orders, it is evident, that individual members, who serve their Order rather than the Gospel, may certainly be made responsible for the transgression of the whole Order, p. 331; proved by the conspiracy against the life of the Duke of Lancaster, p. 332. Taken as a whole their life is a vain and meaningless service; for rejecting Christ, they render almost slavish obedience to the Roman bishops and neglecting the Gospel, give themselves up to an outward and ridiculous form of worship, p. 332. Daniels prophecy of the abomination, of the defilement of the holy places, is therefore fulfilled, p. 332—334. — Conclusion: The shortest way to establish the ancient unity of the Church, commanded by Scripture, would be to abolish all Sects, though with toleration, p. 334—336.

III. Date of Composition.

I have not been able, notwithstanding diligent enquiries, to determine a fixed date from accounts in contemporary chronicles of the plot of the friars against Lancaster's life, mentioned in chap. III, p. 332. From the allusion made to it in *De septem don. Spir. San.*, see p. 227 (also p. 95), I am inclined to place the conspiracy in the year 1377, so that the composition would have its date some time after. We may also conclude from the general tone of the Tract against the Pope, that the work belongs to the last period of W.'s controversy (see Lechler I, 575 ff.) and had its birth therefore after 1382.

IV. Genuineness.

(a) External evidence:

- (1) *Wiclid-Catal. of cod. B* fol. 195 ff. and *cod. 3935* fol. 223^c ff.
- (2) *cod. E*, *Index of the front cover*
- (3) *cod. β*, *Index on the fly-leaf of the cod.*; as to (2) and (3), *ep. above General Introd. IV, Description of the codices*
- (4) *Denis, Cod. MS. Theol. II*, 1438
- (5) *Shirley, Catal. No. 87 S. 28*
- (6) *Lechler, J. v. W., II*, 568

(b) *Internal evidence:*

- (1) *cp. above General Introduction V, e.*
- (2) *the passage on the conspiracy of the Friars against the Duke of Lancaster, cp. de sept. Don. Sp. S., above p. 227.*
- (3) *cp. cap. II, note f; III, a; b; c; h.*

V. Not yet printed.

VI. Extant in

cod. 1337 = E fol. 33^a—35^d { E^1 = Corrector
 { E^2 = Glosser (red hand)}
 in the Imperial Library at Vienna
cod. III. G. 11.¹ = β fol. 56^b—60^a β^1 = Glosser and Corrector
cod. XI. E. 3. = γ fol. 12^a—13^b γ^1 = Glosser and Corrector
 these in the University Library at Prague.

VII. The Manuscripts.

Only after I had formed my text from the Vienna codex alone, and after I had finished my manuscript for the printer, both Prague MSS. became for a short time accessible to me. After having collated them I became aware, that also in the present Tract E, the inferiority of which I have proved in many former cases, is not all trustworthy. I have, therefore, so far as I was allowed to do so, corrected my text from the two Prague MSS, and taken E simply as a help for the external arrangement of my text.

As to the value of the text in the three single MSS, I can give only a few hints. I believe γ to be relatively the best of them; of the 155 different readings in question, γ gives the correct reading in 105, β in 100, E in 55 cases; akin to γ is β and the corrector of E, E^1 .²

From the lacuna corpore zonam III, 56; debite etc. III, 74 and et corrig. III, 61 it is evident, that E and β belong to a family of codices

¹ Shirley, in his Catal. p. 28 No. 87, has not added this codex.

² The material is too slender to decide whether E^1 has corrected from β or γ . All his corrections agree with γ and β except principem I, 8 which is of no value in deciding his origin.

different from γ, for here the passages in question are given in full. — I believe, that also between E and γ a certain relationship exists, ep. vestr. etc. I, 15; sic eccl. mal. I, 34; in moribus (om.) I, 60; est (om.) I, 61; exerc. p. l. p. I, 24; prothopl. I, 77; cum t. p. c. II, 22; 23; summ. est II, 60. In no case γ has been copied from E, ep. corpore zon. III, 56; et corr. III, 61; deb. III, 74.

JOHANNIS WICLIF

DE NOVIS ORDINIBUS.

Explicit tractatus de triplici vinculo amoris
Et incipit de novis ordinibus.¹

CAP. I.

¶² Secundum apostolum | ad Ephes. 6^a non est nobis | colluc-|| *E fol. 33a*
tacio adversus | carnem et sangwinem, sed adversus principes et
potestates, adversus mundi rectores³ tenebrarum harum, contra spi-
ritualia nequicie in celestibus. — Ex qua fide cum aliis fideles acci-
piunt, quod quamdiu ecclesia⁴ hic militaverit in terris, sunt duo
exercitus, dei et⁵ dyaboli, compugnantes.⁶ Ideo in libris propheticis
vocatur deus communiter dominus⁷ exercituum.^b Habet autem
uterque istorum principum⁸ suum capitaneum sive vicarium, ut
deus humanitatem Cristi cum aliis membris suis et dyabolus anti-
cristum cum aliis membris suis. — Armature autem istorum duorum⁹
exercituum sunt diverse, cum armatura exercitus dei sint¹⁰ sex

CAP. I. ^a v. 12 ^b cp. for instance Ps. 103: 21; I Sam. 1, 3;
Isai. 8, 9; 2, 12 and frequently in *Jerem.*, *Zachar.*, *Malach.*

CAP. I. ¹ Explicit tract. etc. *E* om. $\beta\gamma$ ² cod. β fol. 56^b lin. 13 cod. γ
fol. 12^b *lin.* 1 ³ mun. rect. *E* γ rect. mun. β ⁴ ecclesia $\beta\gamma$ accipiunt (*er. out*
and ud.) ecclesiam *E* ⁵ et *E* atque $\beta\gamma$ ⁶ in β is add. in mar.: Exercitus duo
sunt in terris compugnantes β^1 ⁷ dominus *E* β deus dominus γ ⁸ prin-
cipium β principem γ om. *E*, but principem in mar. ⁹ duorum $\beta\gamma$ om. *E*
¹⁰ sint *E* sunt γ sint β corr. from sunt

genera virtutum, ut patet ad¹¹ Ephes. ultimo^c: accipite, inquit, armaturam dei, ut possitis resistere in die malo¹² et in omnibus perfecti¹³ stare. State ergo¹⁴ succincti lumbos vestros in veritate et induit¹⁵ lorica¹⁶ iusticie¹⁷ et calciati pedes in preparacione ewangelii pacis, in omnibus sumentes scutum fidei, in quo possitis 5
E fol. 33b ||¹⁸ omnia tela nequissimi ignea extingwere et galeam salutis assumite et gladium spiritus, quod est verbum dei. — Armatura autem exercitus dyaboli¹⁹ est genus ypocrisis cum aliis commentis mendacii. Et habet antichristus, dux²⁰ sui exercitus, duas alas²¹ sive brachia de istis novis²² ordinibus, dexterum²³ brachium religiosos possessio- 10 natos et sinistrum brachium exproprietarios. Dux autem istius exercitus ponitur esse papa. Et habet iste²⁴ exercitus multos, alienigenas stipendiarios, qui de prima professione²⁵ debent esse de exercitu²⁶ cristiano.

Habent autem dicte²⁷ ale pro commento mendacii istud principium, quod nulla pars eius²⁸ debet puniri pro delicto alterius, et sic non redundaret²⁹ in penam tocius, quod una pars eius transgreditur. Sed quidquid una pars eius³⁰ fecerit commendandum, illud, ut fingunt, est toti ordini principaliter tribuendum.^d

Et contra istud sophisma dyaboli invehernet fidelis aspere per 20 sagittas acutas³¹ verbi domini, quia supposita veritate istius sophismatis faciliter posset dyabolus cristianismum³² conquirere et

^c v. 13—17 ^d cp. the same assertion below p. 351; also Trial. 371 ff.; above p. 224 and below p. 344 l. 20 ff.

¹¹ ad *Eγ* om. β ¹² in die m. *Eγ* in tempore vel in die ma. β ¹³ perfecti β perfecte *Eγ* ¹⁴ ergo *Eγ* igitur β ¹⁵ vestros — induit¹⁶ β vestros et induit¹⁷ *Eγ* lorica βγ loricam *E* ¹⁷ iusticie βγ iusticie corr. from iusticiam *E* ¹⁸ below col. 33^a is add. without a mark of ref.: Armatura exercitus dei sunt 6, the last two words being blotted out and nearly illegible ¹⁹ in *E* is add. in mar.: Armatura dyaboli *E*² ²⁰ dux *Eβ* om. γ ²¹ in β is add. in mar.: Ale due antichristi β¹ ²² novem, above it novis β novem *E* novis, corr. from novem (?)γ ²³ dexterum β dextrum γ et dextrum *E* ²⁴ exercitus p. e. p. e. h. i. *Eγ* om. β ²⁵ professione βγ perpessione *E* ²⁶ exercitu *Eγ* exercitu corr. from exercito β. ²⁷ dicte *Eβ* om. γ ²⁸ eius *Eβ* eorum γ ²⁹ redundaret *Eγ* redundat β ³⁰ eius βγ, *E* in mar. om. *E* ³¹ acutas βγ, *E* in mar. om. *E* ³² faciliter p. d. c. *Eγ* p. d. faciliter c. β

dei exercitum superare. — Suppono autem arguendo contra istud sophisma dyaboli, quod sicut ecclesia dei³³ est unum corpus, sic ecclesia malignancium, que est exercitus dyaboli, est quodammodo unum corpus.³⁴ Patet assumptum³⁵ ex fide militanti. Nam ad Ephes. 5 primo^e sic scribitur: ipsum Cristum³⁶ deus dedit³⁷ caput super omnem ecclesiam, que est corpus ipsius. Et ad Coloss. primo^f: adimplebo, inquit Paulus, || ea, que desunt passioni³⁸ Christi in || E fol. 33c carne mea³⁹ pro corpore eius quod est ecclesia. Ymo philosophus ethnicus Porphyrius consentit⁴⁰ isti sentencie. Participacione, 10 inquit,^g speciei plures homines sunt unus homo.⁴¹ Ista autem fide supposita⁴² patet per locum a sufficiente⁴³ similitudine, quod membra dyaboli sunt partes exercitus sui, qui est quodammodo unum corpus.

Istis suppositis⁴⁴ faciliter impugnatur hoc⁴⁵ sophisma dyaboli. Nam eo ipso, quo pars alicuius corporis facit opus aliquod sive 15 laudabile⁴⁶ sive culpabile, ipsum opus est toti⁴⁷ corpori tribendum. Sed quilibet istorum novorum ordinum est unum corpus, ergo quodlibet opus membrai sui⁴⁸ est toti illi corpori tribendum. Nam ista ficcio caret rationis colore, quod totum hoc corpus pro quoconque opere laudabili partis sue a populo sit laudandum et 20 non pro quoconque opere culpabili partis sue apposito sit culpandum,⁴⁹ et nisi assumptum⁵⁰ pecierint, numquam habebunt,⁵¹

^e v. 22 ^f v. 24 ^g see *Porphyrii Introductio cum aliis commentariis in Aristotelem scriptis*, ed. Venet. 1562: *de Genere*, cap. 2 vol. I, 2^b; cp. also *Trial. II*, cap. I, p. 78; again Matthew, *E. W. h. u. 447*

³³ ecclesia dei γ ecclesia E, but in mar. dei ecclesia β ³⁴ sic eccl. m. q. e. e. d., e. q. m. u. c. Eγ om. β ³⁵ assumptum βγ assertum (?) E ³⁶ ipsum Cristum E, but in mar. idem with mark of ref. to ipsum Ipsum i(nquit) Christum βγ
³⁷ deus dedit Eγ dedit deus β ³⁸ passioni E possessioni (cr. out) β passionum γ, βⁱ in mar. ³⁹ mea Eγ om. β, but corr. into the text by βⁱ ⁴⁰ consentit Eβ
 consensit γ ⁴¹ homo Eγ homo β a corr. word ⁴² supposita Eγ sppta β, (compend. om.) ⁴³ sufficiente E sufficienti βγ ⁴⁴ suppositis has in E undergone a correction, therefore repeat. in mar. ⁴⁵ hoc βγ hoc (cr. out) E ⁴⁶ laudabile Eγ laudacione, above cione is corr.: bile β ⁴⁷ toti βγ totum E ⁴⁸ sui β om. Eγ ⁴⁹ sit culpandum β est cul (cr. out and ud.) sit culpandum E est culpandum γ ⁵⁰ assumptum βγ assumptum E ⁵¹ habebunt Eβ habebitur γ

quod totus ordo⁵² a deo vel homine sit laudandus, quia non tantum convenient, quod quidquid una eius pars⁵³ fecerit, quelibet pars concurrit et concorditer facit idem. Sicut⁵⁴ ergo homo est culpandus propter hoc, quod culpabiliter percutit cum pugno, ex hoc, ex hoc, quod sic⁵⁵ facit secundum partem, ita isti ordines sunt || culpandi 5 ex hoc, quod sic faciunt secundum partem. — Similiter iuxta fidem tota nostra operacio debet ab⁵⁶ operacione domini exemplari. Nam Luc. 6^h scribitur: estote ergo⁵⁷ misericordes, sicut et⁵⁸ pater vester misericors est. Aliter enim non essemus filii dei,⁵⁹ nisi patrem nostrum sequeremur in moribus⁶⁰ patrisando. Et hec est⁶¹ 10 operacio, quare Cristus deus et homo est optimum medium possibile, per quod possimus dominum⁶² imitari.⁶³ Cum ergo deus punit et premiat⁶⁴ totum pro opere, quod pars eius facit propriè,⁶⁵ videatur, quod nos debemus in hoc deum⁶⁶ specialiter imitari. Nam Gen. 18ⁱ promittit deus Abrahe, quod non delebit illum totum⁶⁷ 15 populum propter decem. Ex quo convincitur, quod⁶⁸ tam in merito⁶⁹ quam in pena totum participat dignitate operis sue⁷⁰ partis. Et istud patet de diluvio et aliis vindictis et premiis communibus, que deus tribuit ratione⁷¹ partis ipsis⁷² totis. Sic ergo⁷³ dampnati participant pena suarum parcium, sicut salvati parti- 20 cipant premio suarum parcium. Et⁷⁴ isto modo deus iudex iustissimus punit sepe populum propter unius persone demeritum, ut patet de Achan,⁷⁵ Jos. (7)^{76k}. Similiter Cristus docuit istam

^h v. 36 ⁱ v. 32 ^k chap. 7 v. 1

⁵² ordo γ mundus Eβ ⁵³ e. p. E p. e. βγ ⁵⁴ sicut βγ sic E ⁵⁵ sic βγ om. E ⁵⁶ ab Eγ ex, above it ab is corr. β ⁵⁷ ergo Eβ om. γ ⁵⁸ et Eγ ergo (cr. out) et β ⁵⁹ f. d. Eγ d. f. β ⁶⁰ in moribus β om. Eγ ⁶¹ est β om. Eγ ⁶² possimus dominum E possumus deum γ possumus deum dominum β ⁶³ imitari βγ in imitari E ⁶⁴ premiat Eβ puniat γ ⁶⁵ quod p. e. f. pr. Eβ quod f. e. p. pro opere (*the last two words being cr. out*) proprie γ ⁶⁶ in hoc deum E deum in hoc βγ ⁶⁷ i. t. Eγ t. i. β ⁶⁸ quod βγ quia (cr. out) E, above it quod is corr. ⁶⁹ in merito βγ in vita (cr. out) E, but in mar. is add. in merito ⁷⁰ sue βγ sui E ⁷¹ racione βγ et onere E ⁷² partis ipsis γ parcium ipsius Eβ ⁷³ ergo β enim Eγ ⁷⁴ Et Eγ Sed β ⁷⁵ achan Eγ anchor (*a corr. word*) β ⁷⁶ 6to Eγ 4o β

iusticiam in persona propria, cum faciendo se ipsum hominem passus fuit pro toto delicto humani generis,^l quia totum ipsum humanum genus secundum multas partes et specialiter secundum prothoplastum deliquerat.⁷⁷ Ideo oportet, quod ipsum⁷⁸ idem secundum partem sue condicionis⁷⁹ contrarie satisfaciat.

Tales sunt multe evidencie ex fide elicite, || ex quibus capimus a divina iusticia, quod consonum est, ut totum premietur quandoque⁸⁰ pro parte et pro parte alia⁸¹ puniatur; et istud capitur ex fide, qua oportet credere communionem sanctorum. E fol. 32a

CAP. II.

¹⁰ oacum secundum apostolum Gal. ultimo^a unusquisque onus suum portabit, et videtur in multis casibus rationi dissonum, ut unus puniatur pro reliquo, ideo videtur tractandum ulterius de pistSedrtcípio.

Quamvis enim salvati et dampnati¹ sint unum genus hominum, et tamen salvati non puniuntur in gaudio celesti pro reprobis, nec dampnati in inferno gaudent vel sunt hilares² pro beatis,

^l see II Cor. 5, 14: *νοίναντας τοῦτο, ὅτι εἰ εἴς ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀπέθανεν, ἵνα οἱ πάντες ἀπέθανον;* — Rom. 5, 19: *ὅσπερ γὰρ διὰ τῆς παρακοῆς τοῦ ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου ἀμαρτωλοὶ κατεστάθησαν οἱ πολλοὶ, οὕτως καὶ διὰ τῆς ὑπακοῆς τοῦ ἐνὸς δίκαιοι κατασταθήσονται οἱ πολλοὶ;* v. 15: *εἰ γὰρ τῷ τοῦ ἐνὸς παραπτώματι οἱ πολλοὶ ἀπέθανον, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἡ δωρεὰ ἐν χάριτι τῇ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐπερίσσευσεν;* Matth. 20, 28: *ὁ νιὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἥλθεν διακονηθῆναι, ἀλλὰ διακονηθεῖαι καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν,* cp. also Isai. 53, 11; 12

CAP. II. ^a v. 5, cp. also I Cor. 3, 8: *unus quisque propriam mercedem accipiet secundum suum laborem*

⁷⁷ prothoplastum delinquerat *E* ⁷⁸ ipsum *βγ* prothoplastum de linquerat *β* ⁷⁹ secundum partem sue condicionis *β* ⁸⁰ secundum suam condicionis *E* secundum partem suam condicionis *γ* consonum est n. t. p. q. *βγ* om. in *E*'s text, but add. later above in mar. ⁸¹ alia *β*, corr. from alias alias *E*

CAP. II. ¹ s. et d. *E* ² hilares *βγ* hylares *E*

sed pocius e contra gaudium unius est pro pena³ alterius. Quare ergo non sic foret generaliter loco⁴ a sufficiente⁵ similitudine laborare?⁶

Hic dicitur, quod propter subtilitatem materie oportet fidelem diligenter attendere et aciem mentis secundum philosophiam⁷ et eciam theologiam⁸ alcius elevare. — Suppono ergo⁹ imprimis, 5 quod invidia dyaboli mors intravit in orbem terrarum,¹⁰ et sic sunt aliquo modo duo principes sive reges.¹¹ Primus est¹² dominus Iesus Cristus, quem oportet necessario esse summum, cum sit deus; et¹³ secundus est nuncupatus¹⁴ et falsus, cum sit dyabolus, pater mendacii. Iste autem secundus, licet false usurpet condicionem¹⁰ Cristi et dei, verumtamen oportet ipsum finaliter superari, quia Esdre quarto¹⁵ scribitur 6^b: super omnia vincit veritas.

Secundo oportet supponere, quod multiplex est unitas¹⁶ in corpore, scilicet unitas naturalis et unitas superaddite¹⁷ affectionis¹⁸ secundum unitatem naturalem. — Omnes homines dampnati vel || sal- 15
|| E fol. 34^b vati sunt unus homo, sicut membrum putridum¹⁹ et sanum constituunt unum²⁰ corpus. Sed loquendo de unitate secunda invidia dyaboli introducta facit, quod dampnati et salvati, presciti et predestinati, non constituunt adequate unum corpus, quod est universitas creata vel maximum corpus mundi ut aliqua pars eius super- 20 addite affectionis, cum nec deus nec dyabolus facit aliquam talem colligenciam²¹ harum parcum. Partes enim tales,²² sicut in natura

^b cf. IV. Esdr. cap. VI (there is no division into verses): florebit autem fides et vincetur corruptela et ostendetur veritas, quae sine fructu fuit diebus tantis

³ pro pena E ad penam βγ ⁴ loco β om. Eγ ⁵ sufficiente Eβ sufficienti γ ⁶ laborare γ labore β libia (cr. out) labore E ⁷ philosophiam Eγ propheciā β ⁸ theologiam Eγ ethelogiam β ⁹ ergo Eγ igitur β ¹⁰ terrarum in β corr. word ¹¹ in E is add. in mar.: Duo principes ¹² est Eγ enim est β ¹³ et Eβ om. γ ¹⁴ nuncupatus E nuncupatius βγ ¹⁵ Edre IIIIo β tercio Esdre E secundi Esdree γ ¹⁶ in E is add. in mar.: Unitas duplex, this is the last marginal note by the texthand; from the following one (ad) a new hand (E¹) in blacker ink seems to begin writing in β is add. in mar.: Unitas multiplex est in corpore β¹ ¹⁷ superaddite βγ superaddita E ¹⁸ affectionis βγ affectiones E ¹⁹ putridum βγ pudet (cr. out) putridum E ²⁰ unum Eγ adequate (cr. out and ud.) unum β ²¹ colligenciam E colliganciam βγ ²² partes enim tales β cum tales partes Eγ

conveniunt,²³ sic participant in communicacione²⁴ universitatis²⁵ et faciunt naturaliter ad pulchritudinem universi, nec dyabolus potest impedire aliquam partem mundi, quin²⁶ secundum ordinacionem dei²⁷ proficiat beatis, sicut²⁸ omnes dampnati ad integritatem mundi proficiunt et beatis. Et de tali unitate affectionis²⁹ loquitur apostolus II Corinth. 6^c dicens, quod nulla est communicacio Cristi³⁰ ad belial. Nam secundum summas virtutes, hoc est voluntates, sunt Cristus et dyabolus summe³¹ contrarii.

Et per hoc dicitur particulariter ad obiectus.³² Ad primum conceditur fides apostoli,^d quod unusquisque onus suum portabit, cum omnes peccatores secundum³³ gradum, quo peccaverunt,³⁴ punientur, ut peccantes in spiritum sanctum^e secundum gradum, in quo finaliter impenituerunt, dampnabuntur, et peccantes venialiter secundum gradum, quo liberati sunt a malo, temporaliter puniuntur. Et sic duplex est portacio oneris³⁵ ad propositum, perpetua scilicet³⁶ et eciam³⁷ temporalis.

Fides autem docet concedere, quod nemo perpetue³⁸ punietur nisi secundum peccatum proprium, quo ingrate peccaverit in spiritum sanctum. Non negamus tamen, sed concedimus, quod tam penis perpetuis quam temporalibus || pro aliorum criminibus homines || E fol. 34c punientur, cum presciti, sicut peccatis,³⁹ participarunt, sic⁴⁰ et penis

^c v. 15 ^d cp. Gal. 6, 5 ^e cp. Matth. 12, 31 ff.; Mark 3, 38 ff.; Luke 12, 10

²³ convenient *Eγ* veniunt *β* ²⁴ communicacione *Eγ* communitate *β*
²⁵ here ends in *γ* fol. 12^b; from fol. 13^a a new hand begins; though a small one
 it is larger than that of fol. 1—12; the ink being paler; the new hand comes
 down only to the end of the Tract (two folia) ²⁶ quin *βγ* qui *E* ²⁷ dei
Eγ om. *β* ²⁸ sicut *Eβ* sed *γ* ²⁹ de t. unitate a. *βγ* de t. affectione veritate
 (but transposed by marks) affectionis *E* ³⁰ Cristi *Eγ* om. *β* ³¹ summe
Eβ om. *γ* ³² part. ad. obi. *βγ* parti obiectus *E*, but the texthand has corr.
 aliter between p. and o., and *E'* has add. later in mar. ad ³³ secundum *Eβ*
 om. *γ* ³⁴ peccaverunt *Eγ* peccaverant *β*, corr. by *β'* ³⁵ in *β* is add. in
 mar.: Portacio oneris duplex *β'* ³⁶ p. sc. *E* sc. p. *βγ* ³⁷ eciam *Eβ* om. *γ*
³⁸ perpetue *Eγ* perpetuo *β* ³⁹ sicut peccatis *γ* sicut *β, E*, but peccatis is
 add. in mar. by *E'* ⁴⁰ sic *Eγ* criminibus sic *β*

perpetuis, et predestinati⁴¹ sicut in peccatis consenserant, sic⁴² et in penis temporalibus. Et hoc acute est fidelibus ponderandum, quoniam predestinati in via communiter, licet insensibiliter consenserint criminibus aliorum, ut alii cooperando cum illis, alii defendendo et alii consulendo.^{43f} Et sicut⁴⁴ hoc fit communiter in sacerdotibus sive religiosis, sic quartus⁴⁵ consensus, qui fit auctorizando,⁴⁶ est communiter in dominis secularibus et prelatis. — Quintus autem consensus et sextus sunt faciles et communes, ut quidam consenserint differendo adiutorium,⁴⁷ quod⁴⁸ debent intendere. Et sic consenserint homines peccatis presentibus proximorum⁴⁹ quantum- 10 cunque⁵⁰ distantes fuerint, dum differunt⁵¹ spiritualiter adiuvare. Et sic iusto⁵² dei iudicio puniuntur tam presciti quam predestinati, qui videntur esse iusti et omnino immunes a crimine perpetrato, et tamen propter desidiam sui spiritualis adiutorii peccant cum principaliter peccantibus plus vel minus. — Sexto vero⁵³ et ultimo 15 consenserint, qui differunt⁵⁴ reprehendere, sicut debent,⁵⁵ sicut Eli⁵⁶ consensit criminibus puerorum,^g et ita ex fide capimus, quod non est possibile, quod aliqui⁵⁷ temporaliter vel eternaliter pro aliorum criminibus puniantur⁵⁸ nisi proporcionaliter consenserunt,⁵⁹ excepto Christo, qui summe voluntarie et gratissime pro suorum fratrum 20 criminibus est⁶⁰ punitus. Hoc tamen fuit iustissime, cum factus est humana species et sic genus hominum, quod peccavit.⁶¹ Et

^f as to the several kinds of the consensus, cp. below p. 336 n. 99; also above p. 19 n. g ^g cp. I Sam. 2, 12—17; 22 ff.

⁴¹ predestinati $\beta\gamma$ prodestinati E ⁴² sic E γ sicut et in peccatis perpetuis consenserant (*ud. by β^1 except peccatis*) sic β , therefore peccatis sic ⁴³ in E is add. in mar.: Consensus multiplex E² ⁴⁴ sicut β sic E γ ⁴⁵ quartus E γ Cristus quartus β ⁴⁶ auctorisando E γ auditorisando β (*the d is cr. out*) ⁴⁷ in β is add. in mar.: Crimini consenserint, qui adiutorium differunt β^1 ⁴⁸ quod $\beta\gamma$ in (E¹) quod E ⁴⁹ presentibus proximorum $\beta\gamma$ parentibus et prox. E ⁵⁰ quantumcunque γ quamcunque β quomodo cunque (?) E ⁵¹ differunt β differunt E differunt γ ⁵² iusto γ in isto β in isto (cr. out) E, but by E¹ is add. in mar. in iusto ⁵³ vero E γ verbo β ⁵⁴ differunt E β differunt γ ⁵⁵ debent $\beta\gamma$ dicunt (cr. out) E, but in mar. debent ⁵⁶ Helias (cr. out and ud.) heli E heli $\beta\gamma$ ⁵⁷ aliqui E aliquid β , corr. into aliquis by β^1 aliquis γ ⁵⁸ puniantur E puniatur β puniuntur γ in E is add. in mar.: Punitur quis pro peccato alterius E² ⁵⁹ consenserunt E consenserit $\beta\gamma$ ⁶⁰ summe v. et g. p. s. f. e. est β summe est E γ ⁶¹ peccavit γ pec (cr. out) peccavit E spectat β

E fol. 34^d

per hoc patet in parte, quomodo homines iusto dei iudicio participant penis fratum suorum proporcionaliter ad consensum,⁶² et sic multiplicantur peccata proporcionabiliter⁶³ || penarum, et ita iustum foret, si quis racioni⁶⁴ attenderet, quod viator humiliter participatur⁵ penis communibus, ut pestilenciis, depopulationibus et aliis penitentibus, quas deus infert iustissime plebi sue, et per istam participanciam posset pena temporalis cedere⁶⁵ ad purgacionem et meritum predestinati, cum Cristus⁶⁶ elonganeius pro⁶⁷ aliorum criminibus est punitus. Et sic⁶⁸ concedi debet ulterius, quod salvati¹⁰ et dampnati pro illis statibus non participant dictis penis. Cum iusto dei iusticio oportet e contra, quod salvati habent accidentale gaudium de iustis punicionibus dampnatorum, et dampnati¹⁵ habent accidentalem penam vel remurmuracionem⁶⁹ de gaudiis beatorum. Et hoc est iustissimum, cum in via predestinati paciebantur humiliter remurmuracionem⁷⁰ prescitorum contra observantes iusticiam, qui ipsos irridebant, vocando ipsos⁷¹ hypocritas, sua merita retardantes. Ideo iustum est, quod fiat proporcionalis retribucio post diem iudicii, et sic arguens per locum a sufficienti similitudine verum⁷² infert, sed⁷³ illa sufficiencia similitudinis discrecius est²⁰ notanda.⁷⁴

CAP. III.

Ex ipsis dictis de consensu et practica patet, quod fratres consencentur criminis sui tocius corporis, quia non est aliquis frater alieuius ordinis, quin efficiat particulariter¹ in hoc, quod integrat

⁶² consensum *E* *γ* consensus *β* ⁶³ prop. per participanciam ([?] patiencia) *E*, below it perpetua, this is again er. out ut particip(anc)ancia *β* ⁶⁴ racioni *E* *om. β*, but *β*¹ has corr. ratione into the text racionem *γ* ⁶⁵ temporalis cedere *γ* temporalibus (*in mar. corr. into temporalis*) cedere *E* temporalis cadere *β* ⁶⁶ Cristus *E* *β* unus *γ* ⁶⁷ pro *β* *γ* per *E* ⁶⁸ sic *E* *β* *om. γ* ⁶⁹ remurmuracionem *E* *β*, here a correction has taken place remuneracionem *γ* ⁷⁰ remurmuracionem *E* *β* remuneracionem *γ* ⁷¹ ipsos *E* *γ* illos *β* ⁷² verum *E* *β* vere *γ* ⁷³ sed *β* *γ* quod (er. out) *E*, but in mar. sed ⁷⁴ notanda *E* *γ* notanda et cetera Sequitur capitulum tertium per ordinem et cetera *β*

CAP. III. ¹ particulariter *E* *γ* parcialiter *β*

illum ordinem. Ex quo patet studenti, quod quelibet pars observans talem ordinem quolibet sex generum^a consensuum² consentit eidem, et cum ordo ille sit quodammodo³ ydolum tantum distans a Christo, patet, quod inordinato amore committunt ydolatriam.⁴ Plus || *E fol. 35a* enim afficiuntur suo ordini, quam || observancie⁵ legis dei,^b ut posito, quod unus istorum ordinum magis familiaris domino duci Lancastrie consenciat⁶ in mortem eius^{7c} pro amore illius ordinis, quis dubitat, quin committeret ydolatriam cum illo ordine et scelus nequissimum pro communitate Anglie, et sic non solum plus amaret suum fetentem ordinem quam dominum⁸ ducem, Angliam vel se¹⁰ ipsos, sed eciam⁹ plus quam deum, quia cum Christus dicit Ioh. quarto decimo^d: qui habet mandata mea et servat ea, ipse est, qui diligit me. Christus autem dicit in lege duplice^e: non occides. Frater, qui sic occidit dominum ducem in animo ob graciā sui¹⁰ ordinis, postponit propter illum ordinem amorem dei sui, et cum¹⁵ secundum fidem I Ioh. tertio^f, omnis, qui inordinate odit¹¹ fratrem suum, homicida est, patet, quam spisse et communiter contingit fratribus istorum ordinum, quod sint sceleratissimi homicide. Illos autem, qui dicunt eis¹² veritatem ewangelicam et vanitatem sue religionis, magis odiunt, cum tam¹³ ipsos quam¹⁴ proximos²⁰ suos in domino plus amantes magis diligerent.

Unde ista est abominacio desolacionis, quam Daniel^g pro-

CAP. III. ^a Consentit operans, defendens, consilium dans,

Ac auctorisans, non invans, nec reprehendens,

ep. below p. 336 n. 99 and above p. 19 n.g b ep. Trial. 371 c W.

recurs this accusation also in different other places, cp. above p. 227

note c d v. 21 e see Matth. 5, 21 and Exod. 20, 13; Levit. 24, 17

f v. 15; in the Textus receptus inordinate is not given g Dan. 9,

26—27; cp. Matth. 24, 15

² consensuum $\beta\gamma$ consensum *E* ³ quodammodo *E\gamma* quod β ⁴ in *E* is add.
above the col.: Fratres ydolatras *E²* ⁵ observancie *E\gamma* observacioni β , corr.
from observacione ⁶ consenciat $\beta\gamma$ consenciant *E* ⁷ in *E* is add. above
the col.: Conspiracio fratrum in mortem ducem Lancastrie *E²* ⁸ dominum
ducem $\beta\gamma$ dominum quia cum Christus dicit (*er. out and ud.*) ducem *E*, but in mar.:
Dominum, *the copier got into the wrong line* ⁹ eciam $\beta\gamma$ esse (*er. out and ud.*)
E, but in mar. eciam ¹⁰ sui $\beta\gamma$ suis *E* ¹¹ odit *E\beta* diligit γ ¹² eis *E\gamma*
ipsis β ¹³ tam *E\gamma* tamen β ¹⁴ quam *E\gamma* tamquam β

phetavit, licet quelibet abhominacio istarum quatuor sectarum,^h que non intrarunt¹⁵ per Cristum, abhominabilis desolacio potest dici et specialiter¹⁶ vanus cultus ac honoracio romani¹⁷ episcopi. Et¹⁸ sic si aliquod sit accidens sine subiecto,¹⁹ ipsum est talis²⁰ religio.
 5 Nam secundum principia Augustiniⁱ super illud²¹ Ioh. primo^k: sine ipso factum est nichil, peccatum nichil || est,²² et nichil faciunt²³ homines, cum peccant. Persone ergo subiectantes hos ordinates ex hoc, quod sic defendant ipsos, in nichil sunt perversi, et ergo²⁴ cum talis religio vana sit accidens, potest dici accidens
 10 sine subiecto. Qua fronte²⁵ ergo illuderet frater²⁶ simplicibus, vendens sibi spirituale suffragium sui ordinis, cum ipsimet²⁷ fratres tantam culpam ab ipso contrahunt ex hoc²⁸ consensu. Et hoc sentient²⁹ exteri,³⁰ qui ordinem ipsum³¹ defendant³² tam pertinaciter contra Cristum. — Unde quidam intelligunt, quod prepositi ista-
 15 rum³³ sectarum sunt similes³⁴ ducentibus simias in cordis. Que quidem simie in vestitu humano, zona et ornamenti aliis vestiuntur et sciunt³⁵ cum nutibus suis et³⁶ signis alii³⁷ risus hominum provocare. Sed cum Cristus sit veritas odiens³⁸ tales iocaciones ridiculas, patet, quod irridentes Cristum sic modo graviter puniet in
 20 die novissimo, cum in interitu³⁹ inimicorum suorum et specialiter hypocitarum ipsum irridencium tunc ridebit. Et hii ipsi⁴⁰ figurati

^h viz. the four known Sects: clerus cesareus, monachi, canonici, fratres

ⁱ cp. August. Opp. (Edit of the Benedict.) tom. VIII, contra Secundinum Manich. p. 536 E; cp. also P. I tom. III De Genesi ad literam I, 15; p. 217 ^k v. 3

¹⁶ intrarunt E β intrant γ ¹⁷ specialiter E β precipue γ ¹⁸ Romani βγ racioni E ¹⁹ Et E β abhominabilis dici potest (cr. out) et γ ²⁰ subiecto βγ substancia E ²¹ talis βγ realis E ²² illud E illo βγ ²³ in γ in mar. by γ¹: Peccatum nichil est ²⁴ faciunt (?) Fγ fuit β ²⁵ ergo E si ergo β ideo γ
 26 fronte Eγ firmitate β ²⁷ frater E β om. γ ²⁸ ipsimet Eγ ipsemēt β, below ipse β¹ has add. ipsi ²⁹ hoc β om. Eγ ³⁰ sentient γ sentiant E scientur β ³¹ exteri β extreme γ om. E, there is a blank space ³² o. i. Eγ i. o. β
 33 defendant βγ deser (cr. out and ud.) defendant E ³⁴ istarum E β illarum γ
 35 in γ in mar.: Monachi sunt similes symeis γ⁴ ³⁶ sciunt βγ sciverunt E
 37 et β in Eγ ³⁸ s. a. Eγ a. s. β ³⁹ odiens E β ordines γ ⁴⁰ in interitu β interitum E interitu γ ⁴¹ ipsi E β om. γ

sunt per pueros, Eliseum⁴¹ ascendentem⁴² in montem domini deridentes,⁴³ de quo IV Regum 2.^l

Unde quidam⁴⁴ considerantes realitatem religionis Cristi, quomodo⁴⁵ non consistit in talibus signis adulterinis, sed in iusticia animi⁴⁶ et pietate quoad deum et proximum, plus odiunt videre 5 talia signa hypocrita quam ludum estivum tortorum, quia signa eorum sunt irrisiones dei et voces et⁴⁷ mendacia; et talis ludus, || E fol. 35^c cum sit illusioni || dei propinquior,⁴⁸ est magis abhominabilis quam ludus⁴⁹ aliquis laicorum. Talem autem ludum non docuit Baptista, preco domini,⁵⁰ quem trinitas prenuncium Cristi eter- 10 naliter ordinavit. Et veritas^m testatur Matth. 11,⁵¹ⁿ quod inter natos mulierum nemo ipso maior⁵² surrexit. Iohannes, inquam, non posuit⁵³ religionem suam in istis habitibus vel signis adulterinis aut obedienciis factis fratri, sed in faciendo deo obedienciam solitarie in suo corpore, zonam pelliceam⁵⁴ circa lumbos cingen^(do)⁵⁵ 15 et veste camelina, ministrandoque⁵⁶ baptismum⁵⁷ preparatorium⁵⁸ baptismu Cristi⁵⁹ et in predicando audacter ewangelium ad popu- lum convertendum⁶⁰ et corrigendo scribas et phariseos hypocritas, similiter regem Herodem de adulterio. Sed instans⁶¹ introducta religio est omnino condicionis opposite. Unde sicut rudit po- 20 pulus iocatur⁶² in nativitate vigilie Baptiste⁶³ ex ewangelio⁶⁴

^l see. II Kings 2, 23—24

^m i. e. Christ

ⁿ v. 11

⁴¹ Heliseum E heliseum β om. γ ⁴² ascendentem in β a corr. word
⁴³ in β is add. in mar.: Pueri deridentes heliseum qui sunt β^t ⁴⁴ quidam Eγ quidem β ⁴⁵ quomodo Eβ que γ ⁴⁶ animi βγ omni (underlined) E, but in mar. is add. animi ⁴⁷ et β om. Eγ ⁴⁸ dei propinquior β depropinquior E cristi propinquior γ ⁴⁹ ludus βγ ludens (cr. out) E, but in mar. (with mark of ref. to depropinquior) ludus ⁵⁰ p. d. Eγ d. p. β ⁵¹ XI Eβ XII γ ⁵² i. m. Eγ m. i. β ⁵³ posuit βγ posset (cr. out and ud.) posuit E ⁵⁴ pelliceam β ciliceam γ, above cili γ^t has add. pel om. E ⁵⁵ the (only) cod. γ reads eingente ⁵⁶ corpore zonam p. c. l. c. et v. c. m. γ corpore in ministrando Eβ ⁵⁷ baptismum Eγ baptismum β ⁵⁸ preparatorium βγ per preparacionem E ⁵⁹ baptismo cristi γ om. Eβ ⁶⁰ convertendum Eγ predicandum (underlined in red ink) convertendum β ⁶¹ et corrigendo scribas (γ^t has add. in mar.: et phariseos) y. s. r. H. de a. Sed ista γ Sed instans Eβ ⁶² populus iocatur βγ plus locatu (loc. ud. and cr. out) iocatur E ⁶³ baptiste Eβ eius γ in β is add. in mar.: Populus radix iocatur in vigilia baptiste β^t ⁶⁴ ewangelio E hoc ew. βγ

erronee intellecto Lue. primo^o: multi in nativitate eius gaudebunt, sic iste septe nove et fratres specialiter sub nomine obedientie, penitencie, paupertatis⁶⁵ et alterius religiose observancie religionem sophisticam introducunt; et sicut wlgus indisponitur per 5 vigilanciam⁶⁶ in nocte sancti⁶⁷ Iohannis, in qua tam omittendo quam committendo committit⁶⁸ multa crimina, ut in die colat⁶⁹ deum debite⁷⁰ in honore⁷¹ Iohannis Baptiste,⁷² sic dicti religiosi per studiosam observanciam religionis sue vane indisponuntur, ut⁷³ debite et reverenter placideque colant⁷⁴ deum. Et ita Cristi religio 10 secundum partes plurimas⁷⁵ est eversa.

Cristus enim docuit deum colere corde puro⁷⁶ et simplici, in mente abscondita,⁷⁷ sed hodie colit⁷⁸ secta sive religio corde avaro et duplice, in⁷⁹ signis ludicrosis,⁸⁰ || mundo patentibus. Sed num quid credimus irrisores tales dei evadere, quin positi in profundum 15 infernum erunt⁸¹ a deo eternaliter irrisi? Tales autem videntur impossibilire⁸² se ipsos, ut in eis sit caritas ordinata, quia necessitantur⁸³ plus diligere suum privatum ordinem, quam alia meliora. Et cum hoc⁸⁴ repugnat regulis caritatis, patet, quod,⁸⁵ ut sunt⁸⁶ in talibus ordinibus, obligant se carencie⁸⁷ caritatis. Sed procul a⁸⁸ 20 fidelibus talis ordo. Et sic deus punit et homo deberet punire personas sectarum huiusmodi⁸⁹ propter peccatum commune cum hoc, quod cedat ad utilitatem ecclesie et commodum personale.⁹⁰

E fol. 35d

^o v. 14

⁶⁵ paupertatis γ om. Eβ ⁶⁶ vigilanciam Eβ in vigilanciam γ ⁶⁷ sancti γ om. Eβ ⁶⁸ committit β committunt E perpetrant γ ⁶⁹ colat Eβ colant γ ⁷⁰ debite Eβ om. γ ⁷¹ honore E honorem βγ ⁷² baptiste γ om. Eβ ⁷³ ut βγ nec E ⁷⁴ debite et r. p. c. γ colant Eβ ⁷⁵ partes pluras (plu. cr. out) β, but in mar. plurimas is add. by β^t plurimos Eγ ⁷⁶ puro Eγ puro (ud.) puro β ⁷⁷ in mente abscondita β, corr. from absconde in mente absconde E mente in absconde γ, in mar. is add. absconde by γ^t ⁷⁸ collit γ, corr. from collitur collitur Eβ ⁷⁹ in Eβ et in γ ⁸⁰ ludicrosis βγ ludicro sed E ⁸¹ erunt βγ cum (cr. out) E, but in mar. erunt E^t ⁸² impossibilire Eβ impossibilitare γ ⁸³ necessitantur Eγ necessiutur β ⁸⁴ hoc Eγ om. β ⁸⁵ quod Eβ om. γ ⁸⁶ sunt β super E sunt γ, above it by γ^t: sic ⁸⁷ carencie has undergone a corr. (by γ^t) ⁸⁸ a βγ om. E, but add. in mar. by E^t ⁸⁹ huiusmodi βγ huius E ⁹⁰ personale Eβ personale γ, but corr. by γ^t into temporale

Et patet, quod prudens punicio istarum sectarum quatuor ad hoc, quod illas sectas eiciant,⁹¹ est⁹² misericorditer adhibenda. Et facta unitate secte Cristi in celo predestinati de illa compulsione ewangelica congaudebunt,⁹³ et sic numquam debet pena⁹⁴ inferri⁹⁵ communitati vel persone nisi ad honorem dei⁹⁶ et utilitatem ec- 5 clesie,⁹⁷ quod viatores possunt⁹⁸ in parte cognoscere ex scriptura.⁹⁹

⁹¹ eiiciant γ exeant Eβ ⁹² est Eγ et β ⁹³ congaudebunt βγ gaudebunt E ⁹⁴ pena βγ, E¹ in mar. om. E ⁹⁵ in β is add in mar.: Pena propter quid debet inferri β¹ ⁹⁶ dei β om. E and γ, but in the latter cod. γ¹ has add. deus vel above et before util. ⁹⁷ ecclesie Eγ dei ecclesie β ⁹⁸ possunt βγ possent E ⁹⁹ scriptura E ex scriptura (corr. on an erasure by γ¹) et sic est fins huius etc. γ then below the text the texthand, not γ¹, has added: Nota sex sunt species consensus:

Consentit cooperans, defendens, consilium dans,

Ac auctorisans, non iuvans, non reprehendens.

Explicit tractatus de novis ordinibus Monachorum et cetera β (*in very big writing*).

IX.

DE ORATIONE

ET

ECCLESIAE PURGATIONE.

DE ORATIONE ET ECCLESIAE PURGATIONE.

I. Division

(compare end of the Tract).

First Part: On Prayer, chap. I—III.

Second Part: On Lying, chap. IV.

Third Part: On the reform of the Church, chap. V.

II. Summary of Contents.

Chap. I. On the nature of Prayer. Its division into orationis mentalis, vocalis, vitalis is founded on Holy Scripture I Cor. XIV; Matth. VI; Luke XVIII; I Thess. V, p. 342. The third kind especially commanded by God who has as great pleasure in real prayer as displeasure in vain repetitions, p. 343—344.

Chap. II. Hence it follows that we cannot rely on the prayers of others, p. 344, but that we must live according to the Gospel, p. 344. The many prayers, the much singing, the ceremonies, confessions etc. required by the Church, are not commanded in the Gospel, p. 345; it is true they are not to be entirely condemned — true prayer is undoubtedly of avail and is answered (Elijah) by God, p. 345—346; but it is false to place reliance on long prayers as a mere form, p. 346.

Chap. III. The sale of prayers as carried on by the novi ordines is a disgrace, p. 347: it not only corrupts the Church, but individual Christians are also deceived, if they rely on the intercession of the Four Sects, whose whole work rests on lies, p. 347—348.

Chap. IV. For lying is the peculiar sin of the Four Sects, and must, therefore, be treated more fully, p. 348. According to St. Augustine

no lie, not even the smallest, is allowed, for it separates us from Christ, the source of truth, p. 349. Now all the Four Sects have fallen into this sin — especially the Pope who falsely calls himself the vicar of Christ, although some hold him to be the Antichrist, p. 349; by virtue of this fundamental lie, he — himself a fugitive man — publishes bulls to combat the adherents of his opponents, to deprive them of their offices and thus obstructs the source of spiritual gifts for many Christians, p. 350—351. (2) The second Sect is also guilty of lying, because, although it asserts its poverty, it tries by various means to gain wealth, p. 351. (3) The third Sect lays claim to St. Augustine as founder, and to the Saints in Heaven as patrons of their order; this also is a lie, p. 351. (4) Finally the fratres are, as it were, covered from head to toe with lies, p. 351; for every thing they say about their orders, rests on falsehood. — Thus these Four Sects are the ruin of the Church, p. 351—352.

Chap. V. But as they lie not only before men, but before God, who is the father of truth, it is well to consider, how their order may be reformed, p. 352. There are two means which might be made use of: either to lead them back to the pure Gospel, or to separate them from the body of the nation, as a physician cuts away a tumour from the human body, p. 353. They are both hurtful and superfluous, are even as a pestilence to the nation etc., p. 353. As, however, their eventual assimilation with the Church appears to be a grande miraculum, which God alone can accomplish (as in the instance of St. Paul), there remains nothing for men to do but to use the energetic remedy of expulsion, p. 353—354.

III. Date of Composition.

I have not arrived at any certain result on this subject. The mention of the Pope as refuga seems to me the only notice of any value in deciding the matter. Wiclif had repeatedly styled the Pope by this term (comp., for instance, above page 128; again De Christo et s. Adv. chap. XII). It is true, the term might also refer to Clement VII. who fled to Avignon from Urban's persecution, in 1379, ep. Wals. I, 395; Lechler, J. v. W. I, 648. But the tone of the pamphlet does not suit this period, as it says nothing of the Authors vacillation between the

two Antipopes, nor does the sharp attack on the Pope suit it (dicitur a quibusdam, quod papa est perversus antichristus, *chap. IV p. 346; comp. also p. 351, l. 1—2*). *W. only came to this decisive opposition to the papacy in the year 1382* (*comp. abore General Introduction II*). *Then the terminus refuga must be referred to Urban's flight to Naples from the Romans* (*comp. Ypodig. Neustriae 338*) *and the bullae heretice, repeatedly mentioned, are probably the papal ordinances concerning the Crusade, and promulgated against the adherents of Clement.* *With every reservation necessary, therefore, I am inclined to fix the date of the pamphlet at the end of 1383.*

IV. *Genuineness.*

(a) *External evidence:*

- (1) *Wielif-Catalogues of the Vienna codd., see above p. 7.*
- (2) *cod. E, Index of the front cover, see above General Introduction IV, Description of the codices.*
- (3) *Denis, Cod. MS. Theol. II, 1439.*
- (4) *Shirley, Catal. No. 25 p. 11.*
- (5) *Lechler, J. v. W. II, 568.¹*

(b) *Internal evidence:*

- (1) *ep. above General Introd. V, e*
- (2) *ep. here especially the designation of the Pope as refuga, the division of the Four Sects, the first of which is tacitly presumed to be clerus cesareus*
- (3) *ep. cap. I, note e; II, e; d; IV, b; f; g; m; n; o; p; V, a; b*

V. *Not yet printed.*

VI. *Extant only in cod. 1337 (E) of the Imperial Library at Vienna; fol. 68^a—71^b. E^t = Glosser.*

The Tract is written by the same hand which copied the first part of the whole codex (fol. 1^a—73^a). There are peculiarities in the ductus, especially in certain abbreviations to be noticed, for instance: e^e = ecclesie, g^r = igitur, compare also tamen, tam and sive; diabolus occurs usually with i. It is written carelessly, as may easily be seen from the list of variations.

¹ See also Lewis, *Hist. of Life and Suff. 166 No. 47 under the title: De veritate et mendacio.*

JOHANNIS WICLIF

DE ORACIONE ET ECCLESIE PURGACIONE.

Explicit de dissensione paparum
Incipit tractatus de
oracione et ecclesie purgacione.

CAP. I.

E fol. 68^a lin. 25 Dicturus de oracione | suppono imprimis | eius quidditatem et divisionem | eius multiplicem. Quedam est oracio mentalis, quedam vocalis et quedam vitalis. De prima recolit apostolus I Cor. 14^a, quando dicit: orabo et mente; de secunda loquitur Cristus Matth. 6:^b sic, inquit, orabitis: pater noster, qui es in celis; de 5 *E fol. 68^b* tercia loquitur Cristus Lue. 18^c: oportet, inquit, || semper orare, et apostolus I Thess. 5^d: sine intermissione orate, nam in ista vita et opera meritoria bene orant. — De ista tercia oracione patet ex fide, quod tercia amplectens ambas priores¹ est a domino maxime commendata.^e — Et hic docet Cristus Matth. 7, quando dicit^f: non 10 omnis, qui dicit mihi: domine, intrabit in regnum celorum, sed qui facit voluntatem patris mei,² qui in celis est, ipse intrabit in regnum celorum. Eece, oracio triplex innuitur, primo oracio mentalis et vocalis, dum dicitur: non omnis, qui dicit mihi: domine, domine, et

*CAP. I. ^a v. 15 ^b v. 9 ^c v. 1 ^d v. 17 ^e ep. Matthew,
E. W. h. u. 321; 76; 190 ^f v. 21*

*CAP. I. ¹ Above the col. is add. with mark of ref.: Oracio vitalis sive realis necessaria includens mentalem et vocalem ^{E¹} ² qui fa. vo. pa. mei (*sic*) cod.*

tercio oracio realis, dum annexatur: sed qui facit voluntatem patris mei, et prestancia illius oracionis tercie a domino commendatur, dum subditur: ipse intrabit in regnum celorum. Cum enim oracio generalior a Christo prefertur,³ et generalius est iuste errare in opere quam animo vel sermone, patet, quod ista oracio est melior altera precedente. Multi enim sunt muti et infantes,⁴ qui non habent tempus sensibile taliter exorandi, et tamen propter eorum iustum vitam a domino, cui cuncta fient cognita, sunt salvandi. Et per hoc potest intelligi sententia scripture ut Iac. primo capitulo, quando dicit^g: estote factores verbi dei et non auditores tantum fallentes vosmet ipsos, quia si quis est auditor verbi et non factor, hic comparabitur viro consideranti ultum nativitatis sue in speculo. Sicut enim sufficit homini ad habendum sui ipsius noticiam talis noticia specularis, sed deus alternavit gratia huius noctem et diem, estatem et hiemem, morbum et sanitatem cum ceteris contrariis, ut homo cognoscat sui ipsius fragilitatem atque miseriam,⁵ sic ordinavit auctor nature, quod homo non solum oret in mente et voce, sed omnino in iusto opere sive vita, quia deus est auctor realis,⁶ qui non requirit cogitationem vel vocem, sed omnino vitam sue iusticie complacentem; et hinc Iac. 2º capitulo^h sic subiungit: sicut enim corpus sine spiritu mortuum est, ita et fides sine operibus mortua est.

Secundo potest per istud intelligi dictum apostoli I Thess. 5º:ⁱ sine intermissione orate. Homines enim debent continue iuste vivere, cum intercisa illa iusticia vivunt dyabolo,^j et nisi peniteant, dampnabuntur. Et per hoc patet dictum Matth. 6, quando dicit^k: orantes autem nolite multa loqui, sicut ethnici faciunt; putant enim, quod in multoloquio suo exaudiantur; nolite ergo assimilari eis. Scit enim pater vester, quid opus sit vobis, antequam petatis eum.

Cum enim ex fide deus scit omnia presencia, preterita et futura,

^g v. 22—23. ^h v. 26 ⁱ v. 17 ^k v. 7—8

³ in mar. is add.: Generalior est realis oracio E¹ ⁴ in mar. is add.: Infantes muti orant vita E¹ ⁵ in mar. is add.: Miseria, fragilitas humana E¹ ⁶ in mar. is add.: Deus est auctor realis E¹ ⁷ in mar. is add.: Intercisa iusticia peccatur E¹, again above the col. with mark of ref.: Orat continue, quod iuste vivit assiduo E¹

et non solum scit, sed preparat et disponit, quid est utile viatori, patet ex eadem fide, quod homine vivente iuste⁸ deus propter suam iusticiam dabit sibi, quid racionabiliter postularet. Unde, cum sepe ignoramus in talibus particularibus secundum apostolum, quid petamus,^l patet perplexitatis exclusio⁹ per hoc, quod vivamus bonam vitam,¹⁰ 5 et deus omnipotens dabit nobis utile, quod ab eo vocaliter expostulamus. Et hec racio, quare deus non vlt nos esse in oracione vocali nimis prolixos,¹¹ sed omnino, quod iusticie vite vel operis intendamus.

CAP. II.

Ex istis colligitur, quod nemo speraret de nuda oracione alte- 10
 E fol. 68d rius, || sed omnino in propria iusticia vite sue, quia de fratre con-
 versante cum eo ignorat, si in dei presencia sit dampnatus, et si
 hoc, sua oracio non meretur beatitudinem sibi vel alteri. Et totum
 hoc ordinat deus, ut homo non stulte confidat in oracione proximi
 meritum proprium dimittendo, et loquitur apostolus Gal. sexto 15
 cap., quando dicit^a: unusquisque onus suum portabit. Nam ex fide
 cognoscimus, quod deus intimetur vitam eiusque et secundum
 dignitatem suam ipsam remunerat quoad premium sive penam; et
 sic, qua(n)tu(m)cunque¹ sedule quis orat pro alio, nisi ipse se ipsum
 dignificet, ut sit meriti proximi sui particeps, vel percipiet de eodem, 20
 sed secundum dignitatem sui participii percipiet a domino, sive
 orator de ipso cogitet, sive participationem ipsam noluerit in effectu.

Unde in ista fide errant plurimi, ac si cum sacerdotibus Baal
 audirent, III Reg. 18 verbum Elie talibus stolidis eis dictum^b:
 clamate voce maiore; deus enim vester forsitan cum alio loquitur, 25
 aut in diversorio est aut² in itinere, aut certe dormit, ut excitetur.

^l cp. Rom. 8, 26CAP. II. ^a v. 5 ^b I Kings 18, 27

⁸ in mar. is add.: Homine vivente iuste elicitur (?) E¹ ⁹ below the col. is add. with mark of ref.: Oracionis perplexitas excluditur, dum est vita bona E¹

¹⁰ in mar. is add.: Bona vita orat ut decet E¹ ¹¹ in mar. is add.: Prolixa oracio E¹

CAP. II. ¹ quameunque (?) cod. ² autem cod.

Ex isto considerant fideles, quod multe oraciones prolixes³ et cantaciones cum variis ritibus in ecclesia ordinantur, et tamen non est fides, quod earum quantitas vel qualitas placet deo, ymo prolixitas orandi et cantus altus, qui uni competit, ab altero dissonant. Et hinc conventus plurimi congregantur contrarii domini voluntati. Et ista creditur causa, quare deus elegit Scarioth cum aliis sanctis undecim, et non ordinavit eos concinere, sed ad edificationem ecclesie operari.

Et hinc quidam accipiunt Usus in ecclesia introductos, ut Usum 10 (*Sarum*)^{4c} || et alios, non ut ewangelium nec omnimode contempnendos, sed cum prudencia, de quanto utenti proficiunt, sic tamen, quod lex domini et operacio ex ipsa procedens non propter Usum huiusmodi dimittantur. Unde errant quidam satrape,^d qui dimissionem oracionis aut cantus huiusmodi tantum ponderant, quod 15 tant satisfaccionem pro illis non fieri, nisi reiteretur oracio Usus talis, et dimissionem illius magis ponderant, quam prevaricanciam mandatorum. Usus autem talis non est contempnendum vel omnino gener(*aliter*)⁵ dimentendum, licet quibusdam prosit et debeant omnes tales oraciones prudenter dimittere et operacioni ewangelice cum 20 libertate dei intendere, cum sepe operacio ewangelica est melior quam oracio talis Usus.

Ideo dictum est de confessione. Videtur, quod generalis obligacio sub tanta pena ad Usus talis observanciam non est prudens,⁶ cum apostoli longe magis profuerunt ecclesie sine observancia talis 25 Usus. Ideo obligare tam generaliter et tam stricte homines ad oracionem huiusmodi videtur libertati domini derogare, et ita multi novorum ordinum orarent melius manualiter operando quam tam sollicite in claustro, in basilica vel loco alio abscondito sic orando. Non negatur tamen, quin multum valet deprecacio iusti assidua, 30 cum Iac. ultimo^e sic habetur: Elias, inquit, homo erat similis

^c cp. above p. 262 note f ^d a favourite term of W.'s for the Pope and the Prelates ^e cap. 5, 17

³ below the col. is add. with mark of ref.: Oraciones prolixes, cantus cum ritibus tanguntur E¹ ⁴ sacrum cod. ⁵ generatur cod. ⁶ above the col. (69^a) is add.: Prudencia necessaria in ritibus ecclesie E¹

nobis passibilis et oracione oravit, ut non plueret super terram, et non pluit annos tres et menses sex, et rursum oravit, et celum dedit
E fol. 69^a pluviam, et terra dedit fructum suum,^f et Luc. 6^g || de Cristo legimus, quem cristiani singuli debent sequi, quod exiit in montem orare et erat pernoctans in oracione dei. Et multe sunt auctoritates 5 huiusmodi moventes homines ad orandum.

Sed caveat hic fidelis arguciam gulosorum⁷ et intendat prudenti operi non deceptus per istam arguciam: oracio vocalis multum prodest iusto et populo, pro quo orat, igitur oracio in duplo diuturnior plus prodest. Sic enim posset stultus dimittere opera me-10 liora et intendere oracioni vocali, ac si necessitaret deum ad dandum homini id, quod petit. Sed pauci sunt tales oratores, qui evidenciam istam applicant ad ieunium salvatoris. Cristus enim ex fide ieunavit quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus, ut patet Matth. 4^h et Luc. 4ⁱ: Iesus autem agebatur in spiritu in 15 deserto quadraginta diebus et temptabatur a dyabolo et nichil manducavit in diebus illis. Multi autem oratores assidui excedunt virtuosum medium ieunandi⁸ et propter dimissionem oracionis talis ieuniū multis petulanciis se involvunt. Et tamen cognoscimus, quod multis talibus plus prodesset oracio taliter abstinendi quam usitata 20 mocio labiorum.

Ideo necesse est, fidelem duci a dei spiritu⁹ docente, quante et qualiter debet in talibus operibus alternare, ut patet de sompnio, ieunio et cibariis, que omnia homo debet capere conformiter rationi et dimittere istam prudentem agitacionem ac liberam spiritus sancti, 25 et stulte obligari ad opus humanitus limitatum nocet multis in ecclesia militante.

CAP. III.

E fol. 69^a Ex istis colligitur, quod nemo debet oracionem suam vendere pro possessionibus, prediis aut bono alio temporali, et per idem

^f cp. I Kings 17, 1; 18, 1 ff. ^g v. 12 ^h v. 1-2 ⁱ v. 1-2

⁷ in mar. is add.: Argucia gulossorum E¹ ⁸ ieumiandi cod. ⁹ in mar. is add.: Libertas spiritus E¹ ¹⁰ in mar. is add.: Obligari stulte E¹

CAP. III. ¹ Below the col. is add. with mark of ref.: Oracio non venderetur E¹

nullus secularis debet cum presbyterio vel aliquo taliter commercari. Et hic erubescerent novi ordines fundantes suam dotacionem vel possessionem in oracione tali, quia solide illam vendunt. Nesciunt enim — credunt aut sperant —, utrum oracio sua p(ro)ficiat² vel noceat sic mercanti, et in casu, quo proficiat, cum p(ro)fectus³ sit spiritualis, non comparabilis numismati, numquam processit ex dei ordinancia taliter commercari. Ideo probabile est multis, quod tales conventus istorum novorum ordinum plus officiunt ecclesie quam proficiunt precando,⁴ cum ex fide cognoscimus, quod nichil 10 valet talis oracio, nisi de quanto ipsa a domino est accepta, et mirum foret, quod propter tam stultam deliracionem a lege domini deus oracionem talem ad tantum commodum acceptaret.

Ideo tales stulte mercantes cum oracionibus sunt simil(e)s⁵ stolidis mercantibus cum suis umbris sole ad vesperam declinante. 15 Nam secundum apostolum^a nos sumus, in quos fines seculorum de- venerunt, et sol iusticie declinat a perpendiculo irradiando multos viantes et specialiter hypocritas sacerdotes. Unde dicunt quidam presbyteri dominis, qui rogant oracionum suarum suffragia, quod vi- 20 vant iuste servando dei mandata, et erunt oracionum suarum et meriti tocius ecclesie participes.⁶ Velint, nolint et quantumcunque orando clamaverint, sine tali iusticia secularis domini privata oracio nichil valet.

Et sic necesse foret, hypocritas istarum sectarum || quatuor E fol. 69a
dicere fideles, quos defraudant. Blasphemant quidem, cum oracio- 25 nibus suis hypocriticis decipiendo multos stolidos cum specie vana in ipsis imprimunt causa lucri. Nemo enim mercaretur cum aliquo emendo aliquid, nisi commerio sit securus.⁷ Cum igitur nullus talis fictus orator securare potest aliqua, quod propter suam ora- cionem deus vitam alterius acceptabit, non habundet aliquis tanta 30 desidia, quod debet precium commercii, antequam de illo, quod emitur,

CAP. III. ^a I Cor. 10, 11

² perficiat cod. ³ perfectus cod. ⁴ above the col. is add.: Mercantes cum oracionibus salutantur acute E¹ ⁵ similis cod. ⁶ in mar. is add.: Particeps oracionum quis E¹ ⁷ above the col. is add. with mark of ref.: Emere volens querit assecurari, ideo oraciones non emerentur E¹

si(t)⁸ securus, sicut quilibet habet proprietates aliquas personales, que ex natura rei vel vite hominis consecuntur. — Sic est de premiis meritorum; unde Apoc. 14^b dicit propheta: opera illorum secuntur illos. Sicut enim umbra sequitur in vespera ad currentem hominem versus solem, si(c)⁹ premiorum dignitas infallibiliter et proprie 5
consequitur hominem apud solem iusticie promerentem. Sicut enim non proficit emere a proximo statum suum, ut magisterium, dedecus vel honorem, sic non prodest ab ipso emere meritum vel peccatum. Et in ista metaphysica atque theoria¹⁰ deficiunt multi hypocrite istarum sectarum quatuor per dyabolum introducti. Unde licet moderni 10
multi seneant ad tempus pruriginem in istis novitatibus¹¹ signorum sensibilium propter hoc, quod sunt pauperes veritatum fidei solidarum, tamen necesse est, quod in fine mendacia in vita, verbis et opere seducant stultos in ipsis pueriliter confidentes. Unde dicunt quidam, quod quatuor sunt, que seducunt ecclesiam, correspondencia 15
istis sectis,¹² videlicet humane tradicionis autorizacio, quoad primam,^c
|| E fol. 70^a specialis || propiciacionis ficta oracio, quoad secundam,^d hypocitarum variata larvacio, quoad terciam^e et novissimorum pseudofratrum mendax mendacio, quoad quartam.^f Mendacium quidem in istis quatuor necessario seducit stolidos in ipsis temere confidentes. 20

CAP. IV.

Cum secundum sanctos multos^a omne peccatum est mendacium^b et e contra eo, quod quelibet res dicit se ipsam, deo et per consequens peccans in quantum huiusmodi dicit defectum a correspondencia veritatis et sic mendacium, de mendacio aliquid est dicendum. 25

Supposito autem, quod assumptum premissum sit verum,^c vi-

^b v. 13 ^c i. e. the cleris cesareus ^d i. e. the monachi ^e i. e. the canonici ^f i. e. the fratres

CAP. IV. ^a cp. I John 2, 21—22; 3, 8; Apoc. 22, 15; John 8, 44; Ephes. 4, 25; Gen. 3, 4; Prov. 21, 28; Wisd. 1, 11 ^b cp. Trial. 435, 436 ^c viz. omne peccatum est mendacium

⁸ sic cod. ⁹ sibi cod. ¹⁰ theoria cod. ¹¹ nonovitatibus cod. ¹² below the col. is add. with mark of ref.: Quatuor sunt per que seducitur ecclesia, attende que E¹

detur ulterius inferendum, quod omne mendacium, quantumcunque leve fuerit, est cavendum.¹ Et hinc Augustinus declarat,^a quod inter octo genera mendaciorum mendacium levissimum ut officiosum vel iocosum, cum sit peccatum, non est propter bonum aliquod com-
5 mittendum.^e Et ex istis infertur, cum cristianus quilibet debeat sequi Cristum, quod nemo, in quantum mendax ipsum sequitur, cum ipse sit prima vel omnis veritas, ymo quod omnis mendax, in quantumcum(que)² mentitur, a Christo declinat.³ Et sic discerni potest, qui homines auffugiunt salvatorem, et patet, quomodo istud
10 auffugium fuit per multas novitates supra fidem scripture multipliciter introductum non solum nunc novissime, quod scriptura sacra et specialiter ewangelium sit falsissima. Sed omnes iste secte
15 quatuor super mendacio sunt fundate,^f ut papa dicit, quod est summus Christi vicarius, et ex isto mendacio multiplicat indulgencias, excommunicaciones⁴ et mendacia alia infinita. Et cum sit grave || sic mentiri in domin(um)⁵ inducendo totam ecclesiam militantem, patet, in quantum periculum inducit homines p(rima) secta.⁶
|| E fol. 70b
Nam mentiri super terrenum magnatem in concernentibus famam suam est magnum periculum et peccatum; quanto magis mentiri
20 super (domini) dominum veritatis in illis, que concernunt salutem ecclesie militantis!⁷

Ideo dicitur a quibusdam, quod, sicut papa perversus est anticristus atque dyabolus, sic est mendacium in abstracto et pater mendacii contrarius veritati; nec excusantur homines
25 militantes, qui mendacio isti consciunt, quibuscunque⁸ sex modis⁹ consciunt. Et sic videtur, quod peregrinantes isti consciunt uno

^a cp. August. Opp. Tom. IV Enarr. in Psalm. V p. 18 G; cp. also Tom. VI De mendacio § 25 p. 435 E, F ff. and ibidem p. 419 D

^c cp. August. Opp. 2 p. III Tom. De mendacio p. 445 B, C ^f cp. Trial. 436; 437 ^g with ref. to them, cp. above p. 19 note g

CAP. IV. ¹ Above the col. is add. with mark of ref.: Mendacium quantumcunque leve precavendum E^t ² in quantum cum cod. ³ below the col. is add. with mark of ref.: Mendaces qualitercunque non secuntur Cristum E^t ⁴ excommunicaciones cod. ⁵ domini cod. ⁶ p. secta (sic) cod. ⁷ above the col. is add. with mark of ref.: Mentiri in dominum grave, sed in deum gravissimum E^t
⁸ in mar. is add.: Consciens non excusatur E^t

modo vel alio. Quis enim est, qui non omittit vel iuvare vel reprehendere istum patrem mendacii, ymo presumendo temere illud, quod ignorat, mentitur domino et homini manifeste. Et sic quando dat indulgenciam, malediciones vel alia talia propter pecuniam,⁹ mentitur, eciam licet cum isto mendacio verum dicat. Sic enim docet 5 Augustinus,^h quod dicendo verum presumpcione temerariaⁱ homo peccat et per consequens mentitur.¹¹ Sic iste refuga, quando dicit verbis vel scripto, quod facit conformiter legi dei, et talis diccio est temeraria, cum talia bona fieri debent abscondite, manifestum videtur, quod ex presumpcione temeraria est mentitus. Et sic¹⁰ patet, quod tota vita prelati cesarei est mendacium manifestum¹² veritati, et ad gravandum mendacium ipsum in scriptis asserit sive bullis. Sicut enim iudex mundanus sedendo et scribendo fert iu-
E fol. 70c dicium dicendo tacite, sed deo manifeste, quod ipsum in veritate est solidum, sic in scribendo tales || bullas dicit manifeste deo et 15 hominibus, quod sua sentencia est consona legi dei. Et cum sentencia sua sit veritati primeⁱ et ecclesie sue contraria, manifestum est, quod ista bullaris sentencia gravat mendacium et per consequens peccatum.¹³ Cogitet, rogo, fidelis, quot bulle heretice sunt in ecclesia, quod tales, qui de facto sunt inhabiles per istum refugam,²⁰ in tali beneficio sunt prelati et per consequens, quod conferunt tamquam dei vicarii eis beneficia tamquam dignis. Et totum istum est plenum mendaciis scripture sacre contrariis quoad deum, cum nec deus prefert tales indignos, nec ipsi possunt, sed presumptio bullata est scripture sacre contraria.¹⁴ Manifeste videtur, quod bulle 25 tales heretice sunt per istum refugam in ecclesiis seminate, et cum cristianus non debet verbis dei addere sive minuere,¹⁵ ut patet Deut. 4^k et 12^l patet, quam graviter iste refuga deo et sue

^h cp. August. Opp. 2 P. Tom. III De mendacio p. 422 B,C,D
ⁱ i. e. to Christ cp. p. 349 l. 6 ^k v. 2 ^l v. 32, cp. Prov. 4, 2

⁹ below the col. is add. with mark of ref.: Indulgencie ficte E¹ ¹⁰ temera cod.; it should be, I believe, temeraria, cp. a little on l. 9 diccio temeraria and ex presumpcione temeraria l. 10 ¹¹ below the col. is add. w. mark of ref.: Verum dicendo quandoque peccat homo E¹ ¹² in mar. is add.: Vita tota quandoque mendacium E¹

¹³ above the col. is add. w. mark of ref.: Bullaris sentencia gravat mendacium quando E¹
¹⁴ in mar. is add.: Presumptio bullata E¹ ¹⁵ in mar. is add.: Addere non licet legi E¹

ecclesie publice est mentitus. Nec sufficient lingwe nostre,
mendacia istius curie publicare.

Et idem videtur de secunda^m secta, quod in verbis quam opere
est mentita. Dicit enim in appropriando sibi redditus seculares
5 sive ecclesias, quod eget omnibus illis ad suam egenciam secundum
dei bene placitum relevandum. Et cum totum istud sit mani-
festum mendacium quoad deum, patet, quam publice mentitur deo
in inicio vite sue. Et cum continuat in tali diccione mendacii us-
que ad finem multarum vitarum, patet, quomodo in ista secta¹⁶ men-
10 dacium est sepultum. Quid igitur valet talis oracio secte mendacis
porrecta deo veritatis?

Et idem patet de tercia secta,ⁿ que noviter ex impetracione
a patre mendacii impetravit habitum atque || claustra. Fingit enim || E fol. 70d
licet mendaciter, quod Augustinus, patronus suus, talem sectam
15 docuit atque vitam et sic de sanctis in celo, quod fingit mendaciter
esse patronos suos, seminat multa mendacia. Numquid bene? Nam
mentiri super proximo suo superstite est grave peccatum, et longe
gravius peccare super sancto in celo¹⁷ et per consequens super deo
et tota ecclesia triumphante.

20 Quantum ad quartam sectam,^o videtur, quod ipsa in habitu et
cunctis, que religioni sue pertinent, a planta pedis usque ad ver-
ticem, mendaciis est opera, et breviter, quidquid de ordine suo
mundo dixerit et quidquid a fidelibus mendicaverit, est mentita.

Et necesse est, quod tales secte sic seminantes mendacia de
25 regibus, de ducibus et populis simplicibus menciantur, quia tales
minere¹⁸ mendacii in suo inicio non quiescunt, sed germinant
ad nocumentum ecclesie mendacia ampliora. Sicut enim ex vi
communionis sanctorum sancti in merito se iuvant reciproce,¹⁹ sic ex
vi communionis²⁰ peccati tales mendaces participant malo suo, sicut
30 in inferno omnes dampnati participant gravedine pene sue.^p

^m i. e. the monachi ⁿ i. e. the canonici; as to this, cp. *De Christo etc.*
cap. II ^o i. e. the fratres, cp. *ibidem* ^p cp. *De novis ordin.* p. 326

¹⁶ facta cod. ¹⁷ above the col. is add.: Mendacia dicuntur super sanctos a
quibus prima E¹ ¹⁸ iminere cod. ¹⁹ below the col. is add. with mark of ref.:
Sancti se mutuo iuvant et dampnati nocent E¹ ²⁰ communionis cod.

Iste igitur quaternarius^q mendax est radix mendacii ecclesie militantis, nec dubium, quin prodeat usque ad sempiternum mendacium dampnatorum. Oportet enim mendacium terminari in reprobis in inferno, sicut oportet vitam veracem terminari ad partes veritatis, que in celestibus sunt beate.

5

CAP. V.

Ex istis videtur ulterius, quod iste secte quatuor taliter mencientes et alii ipsis consentes contra veritatis dominum et totam ecclesiam menciantur. Sicut enim nemo potest quidquam dicere, nisi domino dicat illud, sic non potest mentiri, nisi || (*domino*)¹ veritatis menciat, et cum veritati prime sit necessarium, odire mendacium, cum omne tale sit sibi contrarium, patet multiplicatio testium falsorum in hoc seculo contra Cristum. Et ideo sicut contra apostolos fuerunt multe secte Christo contrarie,² sic contra apostolos sunt hodie multe secte per dyabolum introduce.

Et contra illas invehernet fidelis prudenter, ut ad puram sectam¹⁵ Christi per suam gratiam convertantur. Sic(*ut*)³ enim corpus peccare poterit (*tam*)⁴ in superfluitate parcium quam defectu, sic peccatum potest contingere corpori ecclesie et legi dei tam ex presumpta superfluitate vocatarum parcium quam ex defectu parcium, que ex⁵ primaria ordinacione domini requiruntur. Ideo sicut medicus⁶ eva-20 cuat superfluitates intrinsecas, sanando homines educit apostemata et putrefacciones, que partes naturales corrumperent, sic spiritualis medicus⁷ ad sanacionem corporis ecclesie niteretur. Sic enim Saraceni et secte alie a Christianis fidelibus sunt seiuncti; et sic racionaliter iudaizantes a Christianismo fuerant separati.

25

Vel igitur convertat ecclesia has sectas quatuor ad sectam simplicem Christianam, vel illas evacuet propter sanitatem corporis

^q i. e. the Four Sects

CAP. V. ¹ om. cod. ² fuerunt multi f secte per Christo contrarie (*sic*) cod. ³ sic cod. ⁴ om. cod. ⁵ quam ex defectu (*ud.*) ex cod., quam *is corr.* into que ⁶ mendicus cod. ⁷ above the col. *is add.*: Secte evacuare (? -antur) nisi quasi apostema 1^{ma} E¹

ecclesie conservanda. Sicut enim sidus animalium nocivorum debet destrui in radice, ut patet de muribus, serpentibus et aliis, que inferrent rei publice nocumentum, sic debet esse de istis sectis nocivis, ut Cristus docuit in exemplo de phariseis et sectis aliis, contrariis lege sue. Sicut enim potest esse error personalis, sic potest esse generalis et error, inquam, huius debet corrigi, et eo diligenterius, quo plus || periculosus.

|| E fol. 71^b

Et ad discernendum errores harum sectarum serutetur fidelis radices earum,⁸ ex quibus fuerant introduce, et quomodo veritati corporis ecclesie Christi sunt consone, et inveniet omnes istas sectas quatuor esse superfluas et nocivas et ex falsitate mendacii germinantes, ut fratres ostendunt de fundacione suorum ordinum, de necessitate sanctitatis suorum operum et de mediis fallacibus, que exercent ad pauperes ex mendicacione blasphemam et ypocritham spoliandum.^a Sic(ut)⁹ enim membra ecclesie Christi fundantur in veritate,¹⁰ que est dominus Iesus Christus, sic membra sinagoge sathanae fundantur in falsitate patris mendacii.^b

Sed sunt due vie, per quas fideles ecclesie debent in partes istas superfluas operari, silicet convertendo illas vel assimilando partibus, veris corporibus ecclesie Christi, quod foret grande miraculum propter innatum toxicum.¹¹ Et ideo opus istud foret deo proprium, sicut convertit Paulum a secta pharisaica ad cristianismum.

Sed sanacio secunda rudis,¹² ad quam omnes tres partes ecclesie^c poterint operari, foret, has sectas educere negando eis comunicacionem et sustencionem secundum regulas legis Christi. Gravacio autem mendaciorum in vita et verbis acuit ad maturiacionem talium apostematum,¹³ ut postmodum educantur. Veritas autem

CAP. V. ^a as to this, cp. Trial. 361 ff., again above p. 20; 44; 189—190; 253 ^b cp. Trial. 436 ^c i. e. ecclesie militantis; with ref. to this, cp. De Christo et adv. suo Antichristo, cap. I, commencement

⁸ above the col. is added: Radices sectarum scrutande E¹ ⁹ sic cod.
¹⁰ in mar. is add.: Veritas fundat ecclesie membra E¹ ¹¹ in mar. is add.: Toxicum innatum E¹ ¹² below the col. is added: Sanacio rudis sectarum attenderetur E¹
¹³ in mar. is add.: Maturiacio apostematum E¹

legis dei est patula, que numquam erit totaliter per sophistas dyaboli obfuscata.

Et sic dictum est leviter¹⁴ de sophisticacione oracionis istarum sectarum quatuor, et quomodo in mendaciis sunt fundate, ac tertio, quomodo sunt ab ecclesia expellende. —

Ineipit (fol. 71^c) Exhortacio doctoris cuiusdam.

¹⁴ beniter *eod.*

X.

DE DIABOLO ET MEMBRIS EIUS.

D E D I A B O L O E T M E M B R I S E I U S.

I. Division.

Introduction: Definition and Classification of the term dyabolus, cap. I.

Thesis: The Friars are dyaboli,

(a) *the arguments of the Friars against this thesis refuted, cap. II.*

(b) *positive argument that they really are membra dyaboli, cap. III—V.*

(α) *their poverty, cap. III—IV.*

(β) *their lies, cap. V.*

Conclusion: Having intruded into the Church lawlessly, they ought to be done away with, cap. V.

II. Summary of Contents.

Chap. I. The thesis: nemo dampnabitur nisi fuerit dyabolus although attacked by a Friar, is Catholic doctrine (John VI), p. 361; the exact notions of the term dyabolus ought to be taken into account: there are dyaboli incarnati and dyaboli spiritus, the former and more pernicious being represented on earth by the Friars, p. 362—363.

Chap. II. All arguments raised against this thesis ought to be refuted, p. 364—365.

Chap. III. That the Friars really are dyaboli incarnati, may be seen from certain characteristics, p. 366; (1) their so-called poverty being a

mere pretension, and nothing else than a diabolical lie, p. 366; it is based on sin, on greediness for wealth and robberies, and is an invention and inspiration of the devil, p. 366; (2) In like manner their pretension that their begging is after the example and by the command of Christ, is another diabolical lie, p. 367; for (3) in strong contrast to this command of Christ, stands their longing after beautiful houses and churches, p. 368.

Chap. IV. *Thus it is easy to prove how in many cases they are in sharp contrast to the disciples of Christ (according to Luke X), p. 369. This proof is made by the Author, p. 369—371.*

Chap. V. *Again, inasmuch as they scatter calumnies against the poor simple priests of the Gospel, they are in a special manner called ministers of the devil, p. 371. They persecute the poor priests, whose simple preaching they replace by ornate, jestful and buffoon-like sermons, p. 372. — They have lawlessly taken possession of the Church, p. 372; every Christian, therefore, should refuse them his help, and take from them all donations, as they are in no way authorised by Christ to accept them, p. 373—374.¹*

III. Date of Composition.

No suitable allusion for fixing the date of the Tract conclusively is to be found in the text. From the contrast between the Friars and W.'s simplices sacerdotes, we may, perhaps, conclude, that the Tract was not written before 1382: cp. *Introduction to De Ordin. Fratr.*, above p. 84

IV. Genuineness.

(a) External evidence:

- (1) *Walden, Doctr. Fidei III, cap. 27; IV, cap. 6.*
- (2) *Epist. Univ. Oxon. apud Wilkins, Conc. M. Brit. III, 348 ff., where three passages of the Tract are printed verbatim, tho' Shirley is in doubt whether the quotations are correct.*

¹ As to this Summary of Contents, cp. the erroneous view Shirley entertains on the Tract, *Catal.* p. 12. The English Tract to which Shirley refers, is in no way connected with the present one; there is merely a similarity in the title: ‘How Anticrist and his clerks traveilen to destroy holy writ’, cp. *Matthew, E. W. h. u.* 254 ff.; also *Arnold, S. E. W. III*, No. 19.

- (3) *Wyclif-Catal.* of the Vienna codd., ep. above p. 7.
- (4) *Bale, Summ.* fol. 156, also *Lewis, Hist. of Life and Suff.* 153, No. 65 under a different title: *Dialogus de fratribus*; but the *Incipit* is correct.
- (5) cod. C, *Explicit*, ep. p. 373.
- (6) cod. J, *Index* on the front cover.
- (7) cod. β, *Index* of the fly-leaf; as to (5), (6) and (7), see above, *General Introduction IV, Description of the coda*.
- (8) *Denis, Cod. MS. Theol. II*, 1444; 1473.
- (9) *Shirley, Catal.* No. 29 p. 12.
- (10) *Lechler, J. v. W. II*, 568.
- (b) Internal evidence:
 - (1) ep. above, *General Introduction V, e.*
 - (2) a number of ideas peculiar to W., cap. I, note e; II, a; d; g; III, e, d; e; IV, e; d.

V. Not yet printed.¹

VI. Extant in

- | | |
|--|--|
| cod. 4527 = C fol. 181 ^a —184 ^a | $\begin{cases} C^1 = \text{Corrector (in red ink)} \\ C^2 = \text{per citratas} \end{cases}$ |
| cod. 1338 = J fol. 26 ^c —29 ^c | no Corrector
in the Imperial Library at Vienna |
| cod. (Prag) III. G. 11 = β fol. 170 ^b —173 ^b | β ¹ = Glosser
the latter in the Univers. Library at Prague. |

VII. The Manuscripts.²

A. Their relationship. In the first sentence of the Tract the predicate is wanting in all codices; from this it is evident, that they all are to be derived from a common archetype, however remote it be, which is spoiled by this omission; ep. also si ecclesia defect. sacerd., where in like manner a participle, perhaps 'habens', is lost. — But from their extensive disagreement in the remaining passages, we must conclude, that they are not taken immediately from this archetype.

¹ except three short passages, printed by Wilkins, *Conc. M. Brit. III*, 368.

² The criticisable material of the Tract is so slight, that I can give only a few hints.

Class C—J: in about 100 variants, which are to be noticed here, C—J agree in 59 cases (C— β only in 6 against J, and β —J in 20 against C); but cp. also fidei c. e. sp. II, 10 and fitoniam III, 15. —

J— β are also closely connected. This may be proved from their close common agreement, just mentioned, and from the following lacunae, cp. nec I, 29; omnino m. et i. III, 10; virg. IV, 13; in dom. IV, 26; quam IV, 27; auch nunc V, 12; amen V, 14; part. V, 4. These readings are so characteristic for both codd., that I am inclined to presume that β has been copied from J; all its readings disagreeing with J, can be reduced without any difficulty to small graphical errors.

B. *The best Codex.* β , which is very probably taken from J, cannot enter into the competition. As to the betterness of C or J, I have not arrived at a definitive result. Among the 62 readings which are decisive, C gives the correct readings in about 50 cases, J in 43 (but I will not forget to draw attention to cap. II note 3; III, 2; 11; 16; 20 which are characteristic for J). This number alone would not be sufficient to give C the preference before J (cp. also cap. I, note 9; 20; 22; 27; II, 14; III, 23 and some others); but because of its completeness, I shall take C as the basis of my text, supplementing it, in doubtful cases, by the readings of J.

JOHANNIS WICLIF

DE DYABOLO ET MEMBRIS EIUS.

CAP. I.¹

¶² Fertur quendam fratrem inflatum superbia graviter (*ferre*)^a || C fol. 181^a
istam sentenciam or|thodoxam,³ quod nemo dampnabitur nisi
fuerit dyabolus.

Istud autem | est catholicum, et sic multi sunt modi dyab-
5 rum cum fidelibus in ecclesia con|versantes. Fundatur autem
ista sentencia ex testimonio veritatis Ioh. 6:^{4b} nonne vos duodecim
elegi, et unus ex vobis dyabolus est. Si ergo ex veritatis testi-
monio Scarioth fuit dyabolus, et non potest⁵ esse personarum ac-
cepcio apud deum, per locum a sufficienti similitudine infertur
10 sciolis, quod quilibet prescitus sit in facto dyabolus,⁶ et concordat

CAP. I. ^a In all the codices the verb is lost. ‘*ferre*’ has been con-
jectured by myself; cp. a similar use of this verb in *De tripl. Vinc.*
Am. p. 178 l. 16; *De quat. Sect. nov.* above p. 262 l. 20; 264 l. 12;
‘*impugnasse*’ is also possible, cp. *De quatuor Sect. nov.* p. 287 l. 6–7
and *Responsiones ad 44 questiones sive ad argucias monachales*, in
cod. 1338 (*Vienna*) fol. 123^c; cp. also C fol. 46^b: quidam doctor nitit
tut impugnare sentenciam quam sacerdotes fideles predican tamenquam
fidem ^b v. 70

CAP. I. ¹ Title not given in C Explicit speculum secularium dominorum De
dyabolo et membris eius et quod nemo dampnabitur nisi fuerit dyabolus *J title*
wanting in β: above the Tract is added by the texthand: Nemo dampnabitur
nisi fuerit dyabolus incarnatus ² β fol. 170^b lin. 5 *J fol. 26^c lin. 15* ³ ortho-
doxam in β a corr. word ⁴ 6^o CJ 5^o β ⁵ per (cr. out.) potest C potest *Jβ*
⁶ in β is add. in mar.: Prescitus quilibet est dyabolus β¹

condicio aut interpretacio, quam fideles imponunt dyabolo. Habet enim dyabolus istam blasphemam condicionem contra viam⁷ veritatis, quod sit dyabolice finaliter induratus. Et ista⁸ proprietas, que connectitur⁹ cum dyabolo, infert de omnibus prescritis, quod sunt dyaboli secundum testimonium veritatis.^c

Sic¹⁰ enim omnis predestinatus est bonus angelus; nam Mala-
ch. 20^d et sepe alibi^e vocat fides scripture predestinatos angelos,
et non dubium, quin sunt boni angeli, — quare ergo non sunt
presciti missi a dyabolo ad seducendum ecclesiam, mali angeli et
sic dyaboli? Cum ergo quelibet persona hominis sit spiritus, patet,¹⁰
quod quilibet predestinatus sit bonus spiritus et quilibet prescitus
malus spiritus.

Et concordat interpretacio nominis cum hoc sensu. Dicitur¹¹
enim dyabolus a dya, quod est duo, et bolos morsellus, quasi mordens
usque ad consummacionem corpus et animam.¹² Cum ergo presci-
tus sic mordet proprium corpus et animam, cum iuxta testimonium
Chrysostomi^f nemo sic leditur, nisi principaliter¹³ fuerit lesus a se
ipso, patet ex sufficienti testimonio, quod omnis prescitus est dyab-
olus, et sic nemo dampnabitur, nisi fuerit dyabolus incarnatus.

Et sic dicunt theologi, quod duplex est dyabolus,¹⁴ scilicet 20
dyabolus incarnatus, cuiusmodi est omnis homo prescitus, licet ad
tempus fuerit pure spiritus, nec fidelis dubitat, quin malus spiritus.
— Alius autem est spiritus dyabolus, qui non naturaliter, licet
quandoque accidentaliter, fuerit incarnatus, cuiusmodi sunt spiritus,
qui consenserunt primo apostate. Et primi dyaboli habent maio-
rem || condicionem superbie quam secundi, sicut primi spiritus

C fol. 181^b

^c cp. the same idea in Lechler, J. v. W. I, 550; a similar one in
W.'s Festival Sermons XXIV. No. IV cod. 3928 fol. 130^c ^dv. 7 ^efor
instance, Gal. 4, 14 ^f I have not been able to verify the quotation,
the reference to St. Chrysostom being too general

⁷ viam a corr. word in β misericordiam CJ ⁸ ista CJ ita β ⁹ conne-
titur J convertitur Cβ ¹⁰ sic CJ sit β ¹¹ dicitur Cβ dya (cr. out) dicitur J,
in mar. is added by the texthand dyabolus ¹² in β is added in mar.: Dyabolus
unde dicitur β^t ¹³ principaliter Jβ om. C ¹⁴ in J is added in mar. by the
texthand: Duplex dyabolus in β is added in mar.: Dyabolus est duplex β^t

beati, qui sunt homines predestinati,¹⁵ habent maiorem condicionem bonitatis,¹⁶ quam alii, qui pure spiritualiter sunt creati, ut patet de Christo, omnes angelos excellente,^g et, ut probabiliter dicitur, beata virgo et ceteri sancti excedunt bonos angelos. Unde angelus 5 Apocal. ultimo^h dicit Iohanni: conservus¹⁷ inquit, tuus sum et fratum tuorum, quando Iohannes cecidit ad pedes angeli, ut ipsum dulia adoraret. Et sic dicitur, quosdam incarnatos dyabolos esse iuvenes¹⁸ dyaboli vel larvatos, et quosdam inveteratos dyabolos suam maliciam detegentes, ut carentes gracia predestinacionis, ante- 10 quam de facto indurati fuerint,¹⁹ sunt iuvenes dyaboli, cum peccatum presciti²⁰ sit infinitum peius quam peccatum predestinati ad gloriam. Illi autem possunt vocari larvati dyaboli,²¹ qui ex simulata nova religione, licet presciti, per ypocrisim sunt inducti.²²

Et isto modo supponitur, multos fratres esse dyabolos licet ad- 15 hoc nobis incognitos. Domesticari vero non possunt, in filios lucis cum sint necessario filii sicut²³ lupi.

Inveterati vero²⁴ dyaboli²⁵ sunt cuiusmodicunque presciti, qui sunt in sua malicia indurati, ut sunt presciti istorum novorum ordinum vel quicunque²⁶ extra ipsos, qui sunt in sua heresi insolubiliter involuti, et specialiter in hoc, quod ingratit et infideliter deserentes religionem et sectam Christi ut minus bonam²⁷ religiones ac sectas hominum tamquam meliores et magis utiles amplectuntur.²⁸

Tales enim multi dyaboli sive dyaboli sunt in²⁹ mundo, et 25 cum in ista heresi putant, se patrare deo obsequium, verisimile est, nisi ex maiori gratia, quod³⁰ in ista heresi sunt insolubiliter involuti.

^g ep. Hebr. 1, 4 ^h v. 9

¹⁵ predestinati CJ beati (cr. out) predestinati β ¹⁶ bonitatis Jβ superbie (cr. out) bonitatis C ¹⁷ conservus CJ conversus β ¹⁸ in β is add. in mar.: Dyaboli iuvenes β^t ¹⁹ fuerint CJ fuerunt β ²⁰ presciti Jβ om. C ²¹ in β is added in mar.: Dyaboli larvati β^t ²² inducti Jβ induiti C ²³ sicut CJ sive β²⁴ vero CJ non β ²⁵ in β is added in mar.: Dyaboli inveterati β^t ²⁶ quicunque CJ cuiuscunque β ²⁷ bonam CJ bonas β ²⁸ amplectuntur CJ am- plectantur β ²⁹ in Jβ nec in C ³⁰ quod CJ quam β

CAP. II.

Restat swadere evidencius¹ contra has sectas et specialiter fratrum; verumtamen citra demonstracionem topice, quod fratres sunt dyaboli,^a evidencius, quam frater iste^b scit ostendere, hoc esse hereticum, quod omnes presciti sunt dyaboli, quia numquam auditum est, rationem ad istud procedere, nisi forte talis racio moveat fratre 5 istum. Si omnes presciti sunt dyaboli, tunc sunt pure spiritus, sicut sunt illi, qui in tartaris sunt dampnati sed ista fallacia consequentis numquam eximet fratrem istum a sorte dyaboli, cum videtur innuere, quod dictum Cristi de Scarioth sit² heresis manifesta.

Secunda evidencia, quam audivi contra istud, quod omnes presciti sunt dyaboli, stat in isto: iuxta istud homines possunt estimare, omnes fratres et religiosos istorum ordinum esse dyabolos, et sic auferre ab illis subsidium temporale, et periret ordo tam sanctus, qui a tam sanctis patronis est fundatus et a tam sanctis papis tam 15 multipliciter confirmatus.³

Sed moveat ista racio iuvenem et iuvenem dyabolum, quia verisimile est, quod moveret inveteratum dyabolum induratum, sic non moveret fundare novum ordinem super mendacio, quia Petrus incepit⁴ iurare et anathematizare, quod non novisset hominem, 20 ut dicitur Matth. 26,^c quia constat, quod Petrus ex vi gracie predestinacionis tunc fuit melior hii patronis.

C fol. 182a Tercia evidencia || movet⁵ aliquos, quod tunc quilibet viator foret dubius vel perplexus, an ipsem⁶ sit dyabolus, et sic non acciperet eucharistiam, vel faceret bonum opus de genere, quia 25 nescit, si ex condicione dyaboli cedet⁷ sibi ad malum anime, sed istud interimeret⁸ omnia opera bona viatoris.

Quantum ad istud patet nosentibus fidem et distincionem

CAP. II. ^a cp. the same idea, in a milder form, in Trial. 367

^b cp. above p. 361 l. 1 ^c v. 72

CAP. II. ¹ evidencius CJ evidenciam β ² sit C est J β ³ confirmatus C β confirmatis J ⁴ incepit CJ incepit β ⁵ movet J β monet (?)C ⁶ ipsem⁶ C β ipse J ⁷ cedet a corr. word in C ⁸ interimeret CJ intimeret β

inter virtutes⁹ theologicas,^d quod non est color in ista argucia. Licet enim viator nesciat, quod non sit dyabolus, debet tamen sperare de ipso, et de aliis supponere, quos videt bona facere, quod sunt de numero salvandorum. Ista tamen debet supponere 5 citra fidem, licet fides spei¹⁰ et suppositioni virtualiter sit coniuncta. Fides autem isti spei vel suppositioni connexa stat in isto, quod fidelis debet credere, quod si in mandatis et preceptis finaliter perseverat, tunc salvabitur, et ad hoc omnis fidelis citra hos ordines est dispositus credere tamquam fidem. Isti autem ordines 10 ex ingratitudine sue professionis preter sectam Cristi sunt dispositi arraliter,¹¹ ut incurvant ingratitudinem maximam vel peccatum longe plus quam Petrus fuit indispositus, Matth. 16,^e quando dixit: absit hoc a te, domine, unde Christus vocavit eum non dyabolus, sed sathan¹²: vade, inquit,^f post me, sathan,¹³ quia voluit voluntati 15 divine adversari.

Iste autem secte videntur pertinaciter ita velle, quia nolunt de secta Cristi et regula contentari, sed unam novam in multis frivolam et legi Cristi contrariam machinantur. Ideo videtur non solum esse sathanas, sed ipse dyabolus, tamquam Iudas, quia in 20 sua innata¹⁴ malicia finaliter perseverat. Ideo si aliquos moveret ista argucia, moveret fratres ex sua ingratitudine antiqua.¹⁵ Nos autem credimus, quod Christus concessit libertatem suo ordini, in signis sensibilibus et habitibus variari,^g sic tamen, quod servent virtutes in anima, cum in signis huiusmodi non sit virtus¹⁶, et ex 25 ista gratitudine religionis Cristi, quam speramus nos finaliter observare, speramus, quod salvabimur, nec ex aliqua evidencia in oppositum dubitamus. Ideo dubitent illi, qui peccato ingratitudinis sunt infecti.¹⁷ Nos scimus quidem, quod velle adiacet, et speramus, quod ex dei gratia assistet dei adiutorium hoc consummans.

^d fides, caritas, spes, cp. Trial. 128; 133 ff. ^e v. 22 ^f v. 23

^g cp. Trial. 431 ff.; De Ordinat. Fratr. cap. III p. 96

⁹ virtutes CJ veritates β ¹⁰ fides spei J fides i. spei (sic) Cβ ¹¹ arraliter J araliter Cβ; perhaps ‘naturaliter’ is meant, cp. however Du Cange s. v. aralis, and Wilkins, l. l. ¹² sathan CJ sathanam β ¹³ sathan CJ sathana β
¹⁴ innata Jβ ingrata C ¹⁵ antiqua Jβ antiquata (ta ud.) C ¹⁶ virtus CJ
 litus (?) β ¹⁷ infecti CJ infecti corrected from infecto β

CAP. III.

Superest videre aliqua signa dyabolica, que istos ordines et fratres specialiter consecuntur.

Sunt enim in mendicacione et mendaciis generaliter multiplicati,¹ et sic videntur innuere, quod vellent, omnes homines, sicut ipsi eligunt, mendicare. Et videtur, quod ista sit condicio dyaboli, 5 quia dyabolus wlt impossibiliter omnes homines sicut se ipsum perpetuo condempnari. Licet autem angeli boni velint viatores, quos adiuvant, ipsis² in beatitudine simulari, ista tamen condicio est celestis et lege³ domini recta, sed volucio⁴ est condicionis contrarie, ut patet de statu innocencie, ubi non forent aliqui mendi- 10 cantes, sicut nec erit in beatitudine, sed in dampnacione videntur

c fol. 182^b dyaboli perpetuo || mendicare, cum Luce 16^a spiritus dicit condempnatus⁵ Abrahe: mitte Lazarum in domum patris mei, habeo enim quinque fratres, ut⁶ testetur illis, ne et ipsi veniant in hunc locum tormentorum. Ex quo videtur, quod iste spiritus sepultus 15 in inferno racionabiliter mendicavit.⁷

Ideo quoad statum innocencie et statum benedictionis patet, quod in illis non est consonum mendicare, et quoad statum via- 20 cionis misere patet, quod nulla est talis mendicacio, nisi fuerit ex peccato. Ex peccato quidem vel⁸ mendicantis validi, cui non est necessarium taliter mendicare, vel ex populi peccato, qui mendicacionem huiusmodi preveniret. Ideo deus precipit Deut. (15)^{9b}: omnino indigens et mendicus¹⁰ non erit inter vos. Ex quibus col- ligitur, quod omnis huiusmodi mendicacio sit a malo, et est talis, mendicacio instinctu dyaboli introducta^c et quod fratres noluerint¹¹ 25

CAP. III. ^a v. 27—28 ^b Deut. 15, 4 ^c cp. the same idea
in Trial. 342

CAP. III. ¹ in β is add. in mar.: Mendicacio fratrum multa mala facit β¹
² ipsis C ipsos Jβ ³ lege CJ legittime β ⁴ volucio CJ volicio β (*a corr. word*)
⁵ condempnatus CJ condempnatis β ⁶ ut Jβ uti (i ud.) C ⁷ mendicavit CJ mendicat β ⁸ vel CJβ est (cr. out) vel J ⁹ 30 CJ 230 (?) β in mar.
in C is 30 corr. later by C¹ ¹⁰ omnis indigens et mendicus C quod omnino men-
dicus et egenus β omnino mendicus et egenus J ¹¹ noluerint CJ noluerunt β

innuitive^a populum mendicare, ex hoc evidet, quod velint pauperem populum usque ad egenciam ex suis temporalibus spoliare. Sed quid superest populo ad laborandum indisposito, nisi postmodum mendicare?

5 Secundo videntur ex hoc velle mendicacionem huiusmodi, quod volunt iuvenes filios divitium¹² et magnatum in artem sue mendicacionis inducere, nec habet volucio sua finem in istis, ac si velint contra dominum omnes alios mendicare.

Et tertio volucio fratrum ex hoc innuitur, quod imponunt¹³ 10 Christo blasphemum mendacium, quod ipse taliter mendicavit,^e et cum omnes cristiani debent sequi Cristum, quantum sufficiunt, quid innuunt, nisi quod omnes cristiani deberent taliter mendicare?

Ex istis et aliis dicendis colligitur, quod fratres in mendicacione huiusmodi induunt condicionem dyaboli, quia volunt illud¹⁴ 15 malum a deo prohibitum eciam singulos habundare. Ideo quidam catholici coniurant tales dyabolicos taliter mendicantes. Unde dicitur, quod capiunt a dyabolo artes suas ad perficiendum mendicacionem huiusmodi, ut nigromanciam, philomanciam, fitoniam,¹⁵ augurium, aruspicium cum ceteris falsis a(r)tibus,¹⁶ a magistro mendacii intro-20 ductis.

Secundam condicionem¹⁷ dyaboli habent fratres, quod extolluntur supra Cristum, sicut dicit apostolus II Thess. 2^f esse proprium anticeristo. Cristus enim non elegit nisi duodecim apostolos et tamen unus eorum ad confusionem sequentis dyaboli, scilicet 25 Iudas Scarioth, fuerat anticeristus. Numquid¹⁸ credimus, fratres in isto excessu Christi in eligendo tot fratres eligere aliquos anticeristos et sic de domibus, de vestibus et aliis infinitis condicionibus, a patre nostro Christo vel superficialiter non fundatis, in quibus putant esse laudabile, quantum excedunt mensuram, quam trinitas 30 approbaret. Et ista indubie est condicio dyaboli manifesta.

^a in contradistinction from 'declamatorie', cp. Trial. 341 ff. and above, p. 187 ff. ^e cp. the very same objection in Trial. 341; also above, p. 192 f. v. 4

¹² divitium Cβ ad nutum J ¹³ imponunt in Ja corr. word ¹⁴ illud CJ
id β ¹⁵ fitoniam C sittoniam β fitoniam J ¹⁶ actibus CJβ ¹⁷ in C is
add. in mar.: Secundo condicio ¹⁸ numquid CJ numquam β

Et eodem modo¹⁹ tertio dicitur²⁰ de numero collegiorum sic, quod in una provincia sunt fratrum collegia^g in numero monstruoso, sic quod minor numerus sufficeret pro personis edificantibus²¹ ecclesiam legi Christi, ut patet de apostolis et suis discipulis, qui edificaverant²² cristianismum, postquam totaliter fuerat²³ 5
C fol. 183a infidelis. Et sic ubi increata trinitas || cuncta disposita in mensura, numero et pondere, iste secte ex instinctu sui patroni laborant, ut extra mensuram dei, extra numerum mensurantem, extra pondus amoris ecclesie statuantur.

Ideo certum videtur, quod pater mendacii docuit eos irregulariter mendicare. Non enim possunt²⁴ fingere, quin iste secte novelle fuerunt²⁵ propter defectus sacerdotum de secta Christi, licet stolidi introduce,²⁶ nec dubium, quin anticeristus in ista fundacione defecit duplamente, primo²⁷ in hoc, si ecclesia defectum²⁸ sacerdotum de secta Christi fuerat adiuvanda, ergo ipsis manentibus in suo criminis sunt secte alie introducende,²⁹ que secundum humanas regulas sunt fundate.

Secunda infamis anticeristi argucia stat in isto : adiutores ecclesie loco sacerdotum insolencium,³⁰ qui pretendunt, se esse de secta Christi, sunt prudencius inducendi, ergo infinitus numerus fratrum est ad onus ecclesie inducendus, et sic utrobique peccatur contra trinitatem divine essentie et per consequens contra quamlibet creaturam.

CAP. IV.

Cum autem anticeristus cum omnibus membris suis sit manifestus dyabolus, videtur, quod secta fratrum, tam manifeste in men-

^g as to this, cp. Vaughan, *J. de W.*, a monograph, 83; *Suppl. Trial.* 444. Matthew, *E. W. h. u.* 490. *Trial.* 364

¹⁹ eodem modo C ex eodem β eodem J ²⁰ dicitur CJ videtur (*underlined with red ink*) dicitur β ²¹ edificantibus in β, but above it, fi is corr. by the texthand ²² edificaverant CJ edificarunt β ²³ fuerat C fuerit Jβ ²⁴ possunt CJ possent β ²⁵ fuerunt ĆJ fuerint (?) β ²⁶ introduce J introducea Cβ ²⁷ primo CJ ideo β ²⁸ defectum CJ de fratrum (?) β ²⁹ introducende CJ introduce de β ³⁰ insolencium CJ insolenciam β

dicacione et aliis Christo contraria,¹ sit patulus antieristus. ²Cristus enim limitavit² cunctis eius discipulis, ut patet Luc. 10^a: nolite, inquit, portare saceulum³ neque peram, neque calciamenta et neminem per viam salutaveritis; in quamecumque domum intra-⁵ veritis, primum dicite: pax huic domui, et si ibi fuerit filius pacis, pax vestra super illum requiescat, sin autem, ad vos revertetur. In eadem autem domo manete, edentes et bibentes, que apud illos sunt. Dignus enim est mercenarius mercede sua. Nolite transire de domo in domum.

¹⁰ Et ex isto textu ewangelico patet, quod, si alicubi isti novi ordines sunt fundati tamquam illi⁴ septuaginta duo discipuli subintrant, sed videamus, quomodo primo in ipsis ultimis correspondet.

Illi autem discipuli, sicut et apostoli, non habuerunt domos proprias. Isti autem ordines habent habitaciones proprias,^b a Cristi ewangelio discordantes. Ideo in principio induunt habitum anti-eristi, cum Cristus noluit suos apostolos sive discipulos habere hic manentem civitatem sive habitacionem, ut patet opere quam sermone. Ubi autem precepti sunt, non portare sacculum neque peram, invenies irregulariter fratrem circuentem⁵ ad officium mendicandi ferentem sacculum ad inferendum spolia de⁶ pauperibus mendicata. Lex autem Christi precipit, ubi supra:^c omnino indigens et egenus non erit inter vos. Fratres autem dando⁷ dant occasionem ad libere mendicandum, et sic necessitant tam se quam alios, quos depauperant, aliud ab aliis contra legem domini mendicandum.

²⁵ Et quantum ad peram⁸ vix vel numquam invenies, quin vel in persona propria habeat peram, vel loculum ad pecuniam colligendum, cum hypocrite,⁹ qui non tangunt monetam cruce domini figuratam, circueuntes¹⁰ per patriam unum Scarioth habent secum.

Et quantum ad calciamenta, patet, quod verbum intelligit, quod

CAP. IV. ^a v. 4—7. ^b as the property of the Order ^c cp. Deut. 15, 4; also above cap. III note b

CAP. IV. ¹ contraria CJ, here corr. from contrariis contrariis β ² limitavit CJ limitat β ³ sa. C neque sa. J β ⁴ illi CJ om. β ⁵ circueuntem CJ circueuntem J ⁶ de CJ om. β ⁷ dando CJ om. β ⁸ peram (?) β personam CJ ⁹ hypocrite β hypocritice CJ ¹⁰ circueuntes CJ circueuntes J

|| C fol. 125b non habeant quidquam, quod ipsos¹¹ || impedit ab ewangelizacione vel spirituali edificatione ecclesie.

Ideo confidentes in deo non debent se in dorsis vel birris¹² vel calciamentis induendis postmodum onerare. Nunc autem dicitur, quod fratres habent unum excedentem Scarioth, qui cum 5 arcu et sagittis deferat bona fratris. Et sic multi in persona propria habent non solum virgam¹³ in manibus, sed baculos¹⁴ cum instrumentis aliis habiles ad pugnaendum. —

Et quantum ad salutacionem per viam,¹⁵ patet, quod ubique supponunt¹⁶ personam vel domum esse, ubi per mendacia 10 mendicacionis proximum spoliarent, ibidem dimisso ewangelizacionis¹⁷ officio immorantur. Iste enim est finis, gracia cuius¹⁸ circueunt¹⁹ per²⁰ contratas.²¹

Et quantum ad pacem dicendam domus incolis, patet, quod raro vel numquam intrant²² domum in patria nisi gracia mendi- 15 candi. Et cum temporalium ablacio sit gracia tocius dissensionis inter homines, patet, quod in facto dicerent domibus, quas visitant, non pacem,²³ sed discordiam, domum illam a suis temporalibus spoliando.

Et propter istam discordiam ab ewangelio patet, quod raro vel nunquam pax dei ad fratres huiusmodi revertetur, cum fratres 20 non solum in diversis ordinibus sepe pugnant, sed sepe fratres eiusdem ordinis occidunt fratres suos simplices, qui vellent eos ad vitam apostolicam emendare.

Ubi autem Cristus precepit: in eadem domo manete²⁴ edentes etc., fratres nedum volunt²⁵ in alciori loco domus tamquam domini 25 ministrare, sed vel de piscibus, qui non sunt in domibus²⁶ illis communiter, vel de aliis sumptuosis lautiis, plus quam²⁷ domus domini volunt pasci. Cristus enim vlt discipulos suos esse domestici-

¹¹ ipsos C eos βJ ¹² birris C byrris J biris β ¹³ virgam C om. Jβ
¹⁴ baculos CJ loculos β ¹⁵ viam CJ foris viam β ¹⁶ supponunt CJ supponit β ¹⁷ ewangelizacionis C ewangelico tunc βJ ¹⁸ cuius CJ eius β
¹⁹ circueunt Cβ circumeunt J ²⁰ per J om. C p β ²¹ per contr. Jβ om. C, but in mar. is add. by C² per citratas ²² intrant J, also C, but here intrant was first corr. into intravit, then this correction was abolished intravit β ²³ non pacem CJ non pacem non pacem β ²⁴ manente C, but the second n. u.d. by C¹, therefore manete manere Jβ ²⁵ nedum volunt CJ volunt nedum β ²⁶ in domibus C om. Jβ ²⁷ quam C om. Jβ

cos et de omnibus cibariis sufficientibus suo officio contentari. Ideo dicit apostolus I Timo. 6^d: habentes alimenta etc.²⁸; non dicit: preciosa cibaria, scarletum²⁹ etc.

Ultimo ubi Cristus precepit³⁰: nolite transire de domo in domum, 5 fratres mendicantes habent pro regula, quod, postquam predicaverunt dispositio ad mendicacionem vel melius ad spoliacionem populi principaliter intentam, eligunt unam personam graviorem parochie et transeunt de domo in domum, pauperes ypocritere spoliando.^e Nec dubium, quin de fratribus, in dominibus propriis ir- 10 regulariter congregatis, sunt multa mendacia seminata.

Istis autem modis impediendo, ne ewangelium Cristi currat, fratres ewangelio contradicunt.

Quod autem fratres fingunt quemcunque sensum, quem ipsi aptare voluerint, esse sensum ewangeli,³¹ est verbum meriti diani demonii,^f quia sic possent sensum Cristi abscondere, et sensum nigromanticum,³² in quo delectant,³³ introducere. Sed ubi foret heresis magis placens?

CAP. V.

In istis autem versuciis Iudas non dormit ponendo offendiculum ewangelio Iesu Cristi, sed fratres fideles sacerdotes, qui 20 ipsis non congregant stercora temporalium et applaudunt istis mendaciis, scandalizant et nequiter persecuntur. Et sic ubi sancti probant pro regula, quod non pro toto mundo salvando aliquis mentiretur, fratres volunt pro opere vel verbo ewangelico || ad vindicandum propriam suam iniuriam multa scandalosa mendacia semi- 25 nare. Et sic ubi simplices sacerdotes habent sensum ewangelicum divinitus eis¹ datum, fratres improperando eis dicunt, quod sunt

^d v. 8 ^e as to this bad habit, which is often reproached by W.,
ep. Thom. Wright Polit. Poems, London 1859, I, 253 ff. ^f as to this
expression, cp. Ps. 91, 6

²⁸ etc. CJ om. β ²⁹ scarletum CJ starletum β ³⁰ precepit Cβ precipit J ³¹ ewangelii CJ ewangelicum β ³² nigromanticum Cβ om. J ³³ delectant CJ declinant β

CAP. V. ¹ eis CJ eum β

heretici ydiote, cum ipsi non sciunt sensum scripture, sed thesaurus sensus domini est absconditus apud fratres. Et sic cum clamosis² et ornatis sermonibus^a superant fideles,³ qui dicent sensum dei, et ubi deus wlt habere simplices et mites adiutores dicente apostolo I Cor. tercio^b: dei adiutores sumus, iste secte invide, contra caritatis regulas querentes lucrum proprium, machinantur, quomodo substernerent sacerdotes fideles, qui volunt esse secundum formam ewangelii dei adiutores, discipuli antieristi, et adiutores dyaboli, vel verius proditores dei et partim⁴ dyaboli depravatores, quia augendo qualitatem partis dyaboli nocent sibi. Et sicut subvertunt ewangelizacionem, contrarii legi et ordini Iesu Cristi, sic sunt contrarii toti ecclesie, eciam sibi ipsis, et multos⁵ fautores habent, qui ut sic sunt discipuli antieristi vel ignari. Ipsi autem stulti discipuli antieristi nocent insensibiliter sibi ipsis, cum dicant⁶ partem dyaboli et fortificant contra Cristum. Nam fideli non est dubium, quin militans ecclesia sit domus domini specialis.

Querat ergo fidelis a fratribus, ex cuius licencia et⁷ auctoritate in domum domini subintrarunt, cum simplex pater familias graviter ferret, quod extranei intrarent cenam suorum comedencium illicenter.⁸

20

Quomodo ergo introducti sunt tales fratres hillerantes⁹ inurbane et sophistice, cum consumunt temporalia et sophisticant spiritualia ecclesie militantis. Viator ergo fidelis non conferret¹⁰ illis elemosinas temporales, nec diceret illis ave, antequam fundarent

CAP. V. ^a as to this, cp. p. 97, also Suppl. Trial. 436. *W.* makes frequently this kind of preaching a reproach to them; they made in their sermons use of jokes and drolleries, went into a sort of buffoonery, told scandalous stories ('chronicles' cp. Matthew 16; 26; 50; 59; 104; 124; 153) and sometimes preached verses, cp. Matthew 438: *God axiſ not dyuysiouſ ne rȳmes of hym þat shulde preche;* see also *Exposition of Matth. XXIII (cod. Ashburnh. fol. 75)* the passage: *fratres predicanter verba ficta et poemata ripinisata* ^b v. 9

² clamosis CJ clamerosis β ³ fideles CJ fides β ⁴ partim C partem Jβ ⁵ multos CJ iustos (?) β ⁶ dicant CJ dicunt β ⁷ et CJ vel β
⁸ illicenter CJ illicens (*a corr. word, not clear*) β ⁹ hillerantes CJ hillerantes β ¹⁰ conferret CJ conferens β

licenciam sui introitus atque officii et docerent ecclesiam, quod Cristus, (*qui*) dedit semet¹¹ ipsum sub forma panis in hostia consecrata, taliter mendicavit. Et sic finaliter tota talis innovacio in Christi ecclesia per discipulos anticeristi de christianorum stulticia atque desidia inolevit. Ideo non dubium, quin ex peccato illo punientur finaliter in hoc seculo vel futuro.

Examinet ergo fidelis responsonem sophisticam, quam anticeristi discipuli sophisticant contra Christum, et videbit cum deliberacione prudencie, quod non est nisi sophisma dyaboli contrarium 10 veritati, ut religiosi possessionati et sacerdotes dotati fingunt nunc¹² non noviter, quod omnia illa habent ex douacione¹³ secularium cottidie innovata.^c

Sed queratur ab illis, si habent ad illorum donacionem licenciam domini capitalis, quia ut fidem capimus, quod non valet donacio, nisi fundari poterit licencia et nisi fiat per deum, qui est dominus capitalis.

^c A reproach very frequently made by W. to the rich clergy; with reference to the preceding remark, cp. a passage, which is characteristic for the doings of the rich clergy, Matthew, p. 62: *But lord, who is nowe so coveitous abouten worldly lordships and temporal goodis as oure prelatis, for comuly alle here visitacion, alle here sacramentis and blissyng is done for coveitise and worldly pride and dignyte; alle here preve spekyng and prechynge and techyng in scolis is for coveitise and magnyfyyng of here worldly staat: who is more idel in goddis seruyce, more in glotonye and wastyng of pore mennus goodis in schynynge vesselis and other costis? and zif þei preyen, þat is wiþouten deuocion to plese þe peple, and comunly for offrynge, and cotidian distribucion, and stynkyng lif of lecherie, robberie, pride, coveitise, glotonye; etc. These donationis, the clergg said, were well merited; by prayers for the laity there was acquired the „dispositio, quae Canonicis fit quotidie“. In an ordinance for the Church of St. John at Ghent the passage occurs: *Vice-curati de distributionibus, corpore praebendae, aliisque praerogativis praenarratis non gaudebunt, sed illorum portio absentiae cedit Quotidianae, i. e. cum absentes fuerint, nihil precipient eorum, quae praesentes recepissent, sed id ad Quotidianam redibit, seu ad eam, quae quotidie fit Canonicis, distributionem,* cp. Du Cange s. v. *dispos.**

¹¹ semet CJ se β ¹² nunc Jβ om. C, but added by the texthand in mar.
¹³ donacione CJ dotacione (?) β

Et constat ex fide ewangelii de particione temporalium facta discipulis a domino Iesu Cristo, quod sophista dyabolus potest faciliter decipere mundi divites in particione temporalium datis ypocritis. Ideo distribucio horum sterorum est magis periculosa quam carencia eorundem, et ideo Cristus nec in persona propria nec per suos apostolos voluit fieri talium distributor.^d

Rogemus ergo, quod non prevaleat versucia dyaboli contra fideles de ecclesia Iesu Cristi.¹⁴

Pexlicit tratuseta de lobrady te
brsimem suie Ih. Winclevi.¹⁵

^a ep. for instance *Luc. 12, 14*

¹⁴ Cr. C Cr. amen *J* ^b ¹⁵ i. e. Explicit tractatus de dyabolo et membris eius Johannis Wi(u)clevi tractatus de magisterio ^b Explicit hoc. De fundacione religionis *J*

XI.

DE DETECTIONE PERFIDIARUM
ANTICHRISTI.

*DE DETECTIONE PERFIDIA RUM
ANTICHRISTI.*

I. Division.

Thesis: The Church demands unity.

First Part: The Four Sects are in opposition to this unity.

Second Part: They are, therefore, to be abolished.

II. Summary of Contents.

The Apostle says that the Church demands unity, unity of Faith, Hope and Charity, p. 380; but the Friars are in every respect against this unity, especially what regards Faith, keeping the people of the realm in a perfidious manner in doubt and uncertainty on the Sacrament of the Altar, p. 381. Publicly they teach other things than in their schools, (1) by distinguishing one faith for the clergy, another for the people, (2) by entertaining and encouraging false hopes as to eternal recompensation, and (3) by offending against Charity (of this there is no proof given by W.), p. 381. — But it must be said that the temporal lords have not without good reason received from God authority against these disturbers of the Faith, p. 382; they should, therefore, take measures against the Friars, p. 382; on the other hand it is to be regretted that also among them christian love is nearly extinct, p. 382. The wealth and the welfare of the land would flourish again, if these seducers of the people were done away with, who are more obnoxious to the country than open attacks of robbers etc., p. 382—383; for they deprive the people of their christian faith, p. 383—384.

*DE DETECTIONE PERFIDIARUM
ANTICHRISTI.*

I. Division.

Thesis: The Church demands unity.

First Part: The Four Sects are in opposition to this unity.

Second Part: They are, therefore, to be abolished.

II. Summary of Contents.

The Apostle says that the Church demands unity, unity of Faith, Hope and Charity, p. 380; but the Friars are in every respect against this unity, especially what regards Faith, keeping the people of the realm in a perfidious manner in doubt and uncertainty on the Sacrament of the Altar, p. 381. Publicly they teach other things than in their schools, (1) by distinguishing one faith for the clergy, another for the people, (2) by entertaining and encouraging false hopes as to eternal recompensation, and (3) by offending against Charity (of this there is no proof given by W.), p. 381. — But it must be said that the temporal lords have not without good reason received from God authority against these disturbers of the Faith, p. 382; they should, therefore, take measures against the Friars, p. 382; on the other hand it is to be regretted that also among them christian love is nearly extinct, p. 382. The wealth and the welfare of the land would flourish again, if these seducers of the people were done away with, who are more obnoxious to the country than open attacks of robbers etc., p. 382—383; for they deprive the people of their christian faith, p. 383—384.

III. Date of Composition.

From a mere glance on the Tract it is evident that the disputation on the Roman doctrine of the Eucharist is over (*Summer of 1381*, ep. *Fase. Zix. 104 ff.*). Therefore after 1381. I am not able to fix the date more exactly. But I will not forget to mention that from the passage *Sed heu, amor etc.*, p. 382, Wiclifs confidence in the help of the temporal lords appears to be a very small one; this seems to have been the case in the month of May 1382, if I am right, ep. *Lechler, J. v. W. I*, 675—677. I should also think that the concluding words: *de ipsa hostia questio est ventilata*, p. 384, from which it is evident that the dogmatical disputation on the subject is closed, were written after the composition of the *Triologus* (*i. e.* according to *Lechler, Trial. p. 2 ff.*, 1383 or 1384). Thus we would come down into Wiclifs last year.—But I give both dates with all necessary reserve.

IV. Genuineness.

(a) External evidence:

- (1) ep. *Wiclit-Catal.* of the Vienna codd., see above p. 7.
- (2) ep. cod. *E*, index on the front cover.
- (3) cod. *β*, index of the fly-leaf; as to (2) and (3), see above *General Introd. IV, Description of the codd.*
- (4) *Denis, Cod. MS. Theol. II*, 1438; 1460.
- (5) *Shirley, Catal. No. 86* p. 28.
- (6) *Lechler, J. v. W. II*, 568.

(b) Internal evidence:

- (1) ep. above *General Introduction V*, e.
- (2) ep. especially *W.'s argumentation on the hostia consecrata* p. 382 l. 17 ff.
- (3) ep. in particular note *c; d; e; h; i; l.*

V. Not printed heretofore.

VI. Extant in

cod. 3927 = F fol. 8^b—8^d F¹ = Corrector
cod. 1337 = E fol. 36^a—36^d E¹ = Corrector
both in the Imperial Library at Vienna
cod. III. G. 11. = β fol. 55^b—56^b β¹ = Corrector
the latter in the Univers. Libr. at Prague.

VII. *The Manuscripts.*

On these I have very little to say. — As in the preceding Tracts, cod. E has been copied in a very careless manner, cp. toto note 8; unica 9; fid. salt. eccl. 31; exornari 43; huic 46; et ut 47; quam 48; memor 50; essem 53; et et per ist. 56; cred. 60; sing. 63; ypoer. 65; a great many of graphical errors occur also in it, cp. for instance unitali 4; fides 7; divis. etc. 10; quod est etc. 16; et fid. s. 36; quidem 37; et ut loq. 44 etc. etc. etc. On account of this corruption (and because in many former cases E has proved itself not at all trustworthy) I prefer cod. F to E. F, it is true, has also been copied in a faulty manner, cp. valant 21; die. 34; ex; et fid. (om.) 36; qua 51. From quodne fid. 42 it appears, that both codices (as it was the case in some of the preceding Tracts, cp. De Fundac. Sect., De Ord. Fratr.) belong to the same family; whether they have copied from the same original, or one from another, the small number of variants does not show. From the reading: salt. n. ip. 31; et ut loq. 44; ut ut 27 it appears, I believe, that F was not copied from E.

Cod. β of the Prague series which became accessible to me for a short time after I had already formed my text, seems to belong to another family, cp. ne fidel. 42. It is not much worth, cp. subtr. 12; modo (om.) 17; spec. 23; emit. 45; per 52; in fidem 57; debent 58; but I think, it ought to be preferred to cod. E. — For forming the text of the Tract, I have taken F as my best source, β comes as second; E has not been made use of.

JOHANNIS WICLIF

DE DETECCIONE PERFIDIARUM
ANTICRISTI.¹

Explicit tractatus de Confessionibus.²

¶ F fol. 8^b
lin. 29

¶ ³ Paulus docet ad Ephes. 4,^a quomodo Cristi ecclesia debet diligere unitatem ex unitate dei, ex unitate domini nostri Iesu Christi et ex unitate baptismatis, quod est ecclesie medicina. Et ex hoc infertur, quod debet esse unitas⁴ fidei, unitas spei et unitas caritatis.^b Iste autem secte quatror,^c que ab unitate secte domini sunt divise, faciunt divisionem in his⁵ tribus virtutibus theologicis et in aliis unitatibus catholicis, quantum possunt. Licet^d autem debet esse una fides^e credita a toto^f corpore ecclesie, cum sit una persona et una^g sponsa Christi, faciunt tamen^h divisionem in uni-

^a v. 5—6: *unus Dominus, una fides, unum baptisma, unus Deus et pater omnium, qui est super omnes et per omnia et in omnibus nobis*

^b *the unity of the three virtutes theologicae, ep. I Cor. 13, 13* ^c *the secular rich clergy, the Monks, the Canons and the Friars*

¹ de deteccione perfidiarum anticeristi *E high above in mar. in red ink; above the col. repeated in large red writing*: De Deteccione perfidiarum anticeristi in *F* in mar. opposite the first line of the Tract: Deteccio perfidie sectarum anticeristi ² Explicit tr. etc. *F* De unitate dei, unitate domini Iesu Christi et unitate baptismatis Incipit tractatus *E in red ink Expl. and Inc. om. β* ³ *E* fol. 36^a lin. 3 ^β fol. 55^b lin. 12 ⁴ unitas *Fβ* unitali (*ud.*) unitas *E* ⁵ his *F* hiis *Eβ* ⁶ licet *Fβ* licet *E* ⁷ fides *Fβ* fides (*cr. out and ud.*) fides *E* ⁸ toto *Fβ*, also *E*, but in mar. is add. by *E¹* tota, which was afterwards corr. into toto ⁹ una *F* unica *Eβ* ¹⁰ tamen *Fβ* divisionem in his tribus virtutibus (*cr. out and ud.*) tamen *E*; the writer got into a wrong line, deceived by faciunt divisionem

tate fidei, ut patet de hostia consecrata.¹¹ Ubi enim ex doctrina Cristi fuit creditum, quod est una hostia, licet in diversis basilicis et temporibus consecrata, quia omnes ille hostie et earum quelibet est unicum corpus Cristi, iste secte ex earum varietate istam perfidiam induxerunt, quod illa hostia nullo modo || est corpus || ^{F. fol. 8c} Cristi, cum sit accidens sine abstracta¹² substancia sive nichil, et sic pro diversitate loci vel¹³ temporis,¹⁴ licet dicant populo fidem antiquam de ipsa hostia, quod est realiter corpus Cristi, tamen private in¹⁵ scolis suis dicunt, quod ipsa hostia nullo¹⁶ modo¹⁷ esset¹⁸ corpus domini Iesu¹⁹ Cristi,^d sed est peior quam hostia non sacra, quia accidens sine subiecto vel unum innominabile, quod ignorant.

Et sic ubi dicit apostolus: una fides Cristi, in²⁰ fide variant²¹ dicentes, quod una est fides subtilium clericorum, quales sunt ipsi, et alia est fides impossibilis laicorum. Nec volunt isti errori fidei contradicere, sed favere.²²

Et sic variant in spe,²³ sperantes, quod²⁴ ex suis habitibus et novis ordinibus sunt plus in beatitudine cristianis ceteris premiandi. Et sic vocati sunt in illam spem²⁵ per suum patronum

^a cp. the same idea Trial. 339; 365 ^c W. here as elsewhere alludes to the known superstition of the time: *et tantam vim virtutis ponunt in suis habitibus, quod sperant, si persona aliqua, vir vel femina, moriatur in ipsis, non dampnabitur ad infernum, Purgatorium Secte Christi*, cp. above p. 306, also 143; unde multe sunt hereses in tali materia introduce, *ut quod sint habitus fratrum tam sacri et tam virtuosi, quod nullus mortuus in istis habitibus dampnabitur ad infernum*, Tract. de Matth. XXIII, cod. Ashburnh. fol. 72^a. Cp. also Erasmus, Colloquia Funus et Exequiae Seraphicae; Matthew, E. W. h. 316; Arnold, S. E. W. III, 389. As to the symbolical meaning of the monks habit, cp. Suppl. Trial. 435

¹¹ in β is add. in mar.: Hostia consecrata diversimode creditur β¹ ¹² abstracta FE subtracta β ¹³ vel F et Eβ ¹⁴ temporis EF temporibus (bu cr. out) β¹⁵ in EF et in β ¹⁶ nullo Fβ quod est realiter corpus Christi (cr. out and ud.) nullo E, the copier was deceived by the preceding ipsa hostia ¹⁷ modo EF om. β¹⁸ esset EF potest esse β ¹⁹ Iesu EF nostri Iesu β ²⁰ in EF ipsi in β²¹ variant Eβ .valant (? vatant) F ²² favere β favore EF ²³ spe EF specie β ²⁴ quod EF quid β ²⁵ illam spem EF illa spe β

vel pium patrem et non per dominum²⁶ Iesum Cristum. Nec dubium, quin in caritate domini notabiliter variantur, quia vel in ipsa deficiunt, vel habent caritatem aliam, quam deus ex fide scripture docuit matrem nostram.²⁷

Et iste error a prima secta^f incipit et²⁸ usque ad novissimam 5 se extendit. Cum ergo²⁹ seculares domini non sine causa a deo³⁰ habeant potestatem ad coercendum rebelles fidei, saltem non ipsos contra fidem ecclesie³¹ defendantes,³² tales domini, qui Cristum diligunt, sicut³³ tenentur sub pena anathematis, debent³⁴ ex suo officio pro³⁵ ista declaracione fidei laborare. — Sed heu! amor 10 Cristi et fidei sue³⁶ ab istis contempnitur, et plus quam Cristus illud, quod³⁷ retardat,^g ab isto officio infideliter preamatur.

Quomodo, queso, vigeret regnum, quod habet tot et tales hereticos, sicut sunt in ipsis sectis quatuor. Et³⁸ eum multi sunt eorum³⁹ legii homines regis nostri, regnum posset faciliter sub 15 pena illis iniungere, quod dicant sub sufficienti testimonio et evidencia fidei,⁴⁰ quid credunt de ipsa⁴¹ hostia consecrata, utrum sit corpus Christi vel non, et si non, quid est, quodve fideles⁴² adorent ydiotice, quod ignorant^h; et si deus voluerit, per istud medium

^f viz. the cleris cesareus ^g cp. II Thess. 2, 6 ^h cp. John 4, 21; cp. the same assertion Trial. 339; again Festival Sermons No. 47, cod. 3929 fol. 96^b: nescit ista generacio, quid sit sacramentum altaris etc. This superstitious adoration of the host is very frequently made a reproach to the Sects by W.; cp., for instance, Trial. 269: ideo oportet hos fratres etc. The adoration of the Sanctissimum was not demanded in W.'s time even by the most ardent defenders of the Transubstantiation; only two hundred years later by the Council of Trent it was made an ecclesiastical law for the faithful. Sessio 13 De cr. de Sa. Eucharistiae Sacram. cap. 5: nullus dubitandi locus relinquitur, quia omnes Christi fideles pro more

²⁶ dominum β deum EF ²⁷ matrem nostram β om. EF ²⁸ et β in E it is later corr. into the text om. F ²⁹ ergo EF igitur β ³⁰ a deo Fβ, E^t in mar. om. E ³¹-fidei s. n. i. c. f. ecclesie Fβ fidei saltem ecclesie E ³² defendantes EF defendendo β ³³ sicut Fβ sed E ³⁴ debent Eβ dicunt F ³⁵ pro Eβ ex F ³⁶ et sue fidei β et fidei sue E^t in mar. om. EF ³⁷ quod E^t in mar. quidem FE in the text quod vel quid β ³⁸ et EF regulantes et β ³⁹ sunt eorum EF eorum sint β ⁴⁰ fidei F fidelis Eβ ⁴¹ ipsa EF ista β ⁴² quod ve fideles F ne fideles β quod ne (the latter ud.) fideles E

posset regnum exonerari⁴³ de istis sectis quatuor, et, ut loquar⁴⁴ sensibiliter, tam in secularibus dominiis quam in bonis mobilibus secundum ordinacionem domini redditari, quia, ut a multis asseritur, tolerabilius esset regno, predari per hostes || publicos quam sic cor- || F fol. 8^a
 5 rodi subdole per huiusmodi infideles.ⁱ Nec est honor deo, sic filios dyaboli enutrire,⁴⁵ et omnino debet fidelis populus prudenter examinare istos hereticos in hac parte, quia per subtilitates dyaboli sedant hinc⁴⁶ per verba sophistica serutinium veritatis, ut⁴⁷ unus dicit, quod ibi est corpus Cristi, sed non illud. Contra quem⁴⁸
 10 dictum est sepius, quod hoc non queritur, sed quid est illud album et rotundum, quod ewangelium dicit tam esse panem, quam eciam⁴⁹ corpus Cristi, et scitur ex fide, quod natura melior⁵⁰ corpore Cristi sit ibi, cum deitas sit ubique.^k — Et eodem modo dicitur ad aliam responcionem sophisticam, quam⁵¹ heretici fingunt laicis,
 15 quod propter⁵² subtilitatem materie non est de illa ipsis laicis disserendum, sed satis est illis credere, esse in⁵³ ibi corpus⁵⁴ Cristi. Laici quidem credunt, ut debent, quod ipsa⁵⁵ sit virtute verborum domini corpus Cristi suum, et per ista⁵⁶ tollitur excusacio tercia infidelium⁵⁷ in hac parte. Dicunt⁵⁸ enim generaliter sine specifica-
 20 cione⁵⁹ ulteriori, quod credunt de ipsa hostia, sicut ecclesia sancta credit; sed cum communitas fidelium a tempore ascensionis domini credidit,⁶⁰ ipsam hostiam esse corpus domini nostri⁶¹ Iesu Cristi,

in catholica ecclesia semper recepto latiae cultum, qui vero Deo debetur, huic sanctissimo sacramento in veneratione exhibeant, Conc. Trid. Canon. et Decr., ed. G. Smets, fourth ed., Bielefeld 1854, p. 58 ⁱ W. frequently in his polemical works speaks of the heavy yearly expenses the Four Sects put the country to. He generally mentions the sum of 40,000 Mark, in one passage 60,000 Mark, see above p. 192—193; 98; 103; Trial. 369

^k as to this, cp. Lechler, J. v. W. I, 633

⁴³ exonerari *F* ³ exornari *E* ⁴⁴ Et ut loquar *F* ³, *E* ¹ in mar. om. *E* ⁴⁵ enutrire *EF* emitire ³ ⁴⁶ hinc *F* huic *E* hic ³ ⁴⁷ ut *F* et ut *E* et ³ ⁴⁸ quem *F* ³ quam *E* ⁴⁹ eciam *EF* om. ³ ⁵⁰ melior *F* ³ memor *E* ⁵¹ quam *E* qua *F* ⁵² propter *EF* per ³ ⁵³ esse in *F* ³ essem *E* ⁵⁴ corpus *EF* esse (*cr. out*) corpus ³ ⁵⁵ ipsa *EF* ipse ³ ⁵⁶ et per ista *F* ³ et et per ista *E* ⁵⁷ infidelium *EF* in fidem ³ ⁵⁸ dicunt *EF* debent ³ ⁵⁹ specifice ³ spe-
 cimine (?) *EF* ⁶⁰ credit *F* ³ credit *E* ⁶¹ nostri *EF* om. ³

queratur ab ipsis hereticis, si hoc credant, et non credatur persone⁶² singulari⁶³ in ista materia, quousque tota secta sub sigillo suo generali dederit fidem suam.

Et tali evidencia⁶⁴ utendum est cum istis ypocritis,⁶⁵ qui sub verbis sophisticis ascendunt ad corpus Cristi in natura sua secundum naturam, qua corpus domini est in celo. Sed de ipsa sacrata⁶⁶ hostia, que sensibiliter tractatur cottidie in altari, sentiunt heretici ut priores, et de ipsa hostia questio est ventilata.⁶⁷

De Gradibus cleri.⁶⁸

^l as in this place, also in the Trial. 366, the position of the Friars in the disputation on the Holy Eucharist is styled their 'primus error'; W. looks upon it as a first experiment to falsify the pure faith of the Church.

⁶² pers. EF isti pers. β ⁶³ singulari β, F^l in mar. repeated, illegible in the text singuli E ⁶⁴ evidencia EF prudencia β ⁶⁵ ypocritis Fβ ypocriticis E ⁶⁶ sacra EF consecrata β ⁶⁷ ve. EF ve. amen β ⁶⁸ de gradibus cleri F de gradibus cleri ecclesie E Secundum Apostolum ad Eph. 6 non est nobis etc. (commencement of De novis ordinibus, see. above p. 223) β.

 The Society's first Issues for 1882 and 1883 are now ready, and will be sent forthwith to those Members, and only those, who have paid their Subscriptions. The Subscriptions for 1883 became due on Jan. 1, and should be paid at once to the Hon. Sec. J. W. Standerwick, Esq., General Post Office, London, E.C. Cheques to be crossed 'London and County Bank.'

The Wyclif Society.

First Report of the Executive Committee, 1882-83.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Purpose of the Society.
2. Members, & Advance-Subscriptions.
3. Manuscripts copied.
4. Books for 1882 and 1883. | 5. Books for 1884. Appeal for £1000 for the Quincentenary Publications.
6. Thanks to Helpers. Miscellaneous. Hon. Sec.'s Cash Account. |
|---|---|

1. The Wyclif Society was founded in March, 1882, "to remove from England the disgrace of having left buried in manuscript the most important works of her great early Reformer, John WYCLIF," and to ensure that the 500th anniversary of his death,¹ the year 1884, should see at work a Society which would keep on foot until all his most important genuine writings should be "given to the world through the press."

2. At least 300 Members were called for : 230 responded. Forty of these were asked to pay five years' subscription in advance, in order that Manuscripts might be copied, and forty-two did so.

3. The following Treatises have been copied, those starred (*), wholly ; those daggered (†), partly ; (the numbers are those of Shirley's Catalogue) :—

- *11. De Actibus Animae (in Shirley : De Anima).
- †12. De Incarnatione Verbi (all the Oriel MS. : part of the Vienna MS.).
- *14. De Dominio Divino. (In three books.)

¹ Any one having any hints to give as to the celebration of the Quincentenary, or how best to get the Wyclif Society its £1000 towards printing WYCLIF'S Works, should write to the Hon. Sec., Mr. J. W. Standerwick. The Luther Commemoration Committee will help in the Quincentenary arrangements. Wyclif died on Dec. 31, 1384.

2 § 3. Works copied. 4. Publications for 1882 & 1883.

- *15. Summa Theologiae.
- * Book I. De Mandatis Dei (in Shirley : De Mandatis Divinis).
- * " II. De Statu Innocentiae.
- * Books III.-V. De Civili Dominio. (In three books.)
- * Book VI. De Veritate S. Scripturae.
- * " VII. De Ecclesia.
- * " VIII. De Officio Regis.
- + " IX. De Potestate Papae.
- * " XII. De Blasphemia.
- *23. De Eucharistia et Poenitentia.
- *39. Sermo Pulcher.
- *47. De Oratione Dominica.
- *48. De Salutatione Angelica.
- *54. Contra Magistrum Outredum.
- *55. Contra Willelmum Vynham.
- *59. Responsiones ad xliv quaestiones.
- *60. Responsum ad decem quaestiones.
- *61. Epistolae octo.
- *77. De Ordine Christiano.
- *92. De Praelatis Contentionum.
- *94. De Graduationibus.
- *95. De Gradibus Cleri Ecclesiae.

Commissions have been given for the copying of the rest of the *Summa* (namely Books X. and XI., *De Simonia* and *De Apostasia*), and of all WYCLIF's other Latin works except the Philosophical ones and the Sermons.

4. The work of the first copiers employed was not satisfactory, and the Committee found that there was no chance of producing any independent Society book till 1884. They therefore arranged with Dr. Rudolf BUDDENSIEG, of Dresden,—whose appeal to English students had in great measure led to the foundation of the Society—that the edition of *Wyclif's Polemical Works*, which he had undertaken in Germany, should be issued also here, with an English Introduction, Notes, etc., as the Society's first Publication, vol. i. for 1882, and vol. ii. for 1883, each volume consisting of about 500 pages. This work, the arrangement of which is, of course, after the German manner, is now ready, and contains—besides a very valuable appreciative account of WYCLIF and his work, critical apparatus, a list of the Vienna MSS., and full Index—the following twenty-six Polemical Tracts (Shirley's numbers are added) :—

A.—Against the Sects.

De Fundatione Sectarum. (91.)

De Ordinatione Fratrum. Shirley's (84) De Concordatione Fratrum cum secta simplici Christi, sive De Sectis Monachorum. In four chapters.

- De Nova Prævaricantia Mandatorum.** In eight chapters. ('A very interesting Tract against the Regulars, written after the Great Schism of the West,' A.D. 1378.) (79.) Shirley's '31. *De Purgatorio*' is part of this Treatise.
- De Triplici Vinculo Amoris.** In ten chapters. (49.)
- De Septem Donis Spiritus Sancti.** In 9 chapters. (27.)
- De Quatuor Sectis Novellis.** (1. The Priests endowed with lands and lordships ; 2. The landed Monastic Orders ; 3. The Canons ; 4. The Begging Friars.) (85.)
- Purgatorium sectæ Christi, sive contra Religiones Privatas,** Ashburnham MS. xxvii. c. ff. 49–54. This is not in Shirley's Catalogue. It is an exhortation to put down the sects of Friars.
- De Novis Ordinibus.** In three chapters. (87.)
- De Oratione et Ecclesiæ purgatione.** In five chapters. (25.)
- De Diabolo et Membris ejus.** In five chapters. (29.)
- De Detectione Perfidiarum Antichristi.** (86.)
- De Solutione Satanæ.** (30.)
- De Mendaciis Fratrum.** (88.)
- Descriptio Fratris.** (89.)
- De Daemonio Meridiano.** (Written after 1376.) (73.)
- De Duobus Generibus Hæreticorum.** (96.)
- De Religionibus vanis Monachorum, sive De Fundatore Religionis.** (80.)
- De Perfectione Statuum, sive De Minoribus Fratribus se extollentibus** (against the boasting of the Franciscans). (78.)
- De Religione Privata, I., II.** (81, 82.)

B.—Against the Pope.

- De citationibus frivilis et aliis versutiis Antichristi.** (72.)
- De Dissensione Paparum, sive De Schismate** (A.D. 1378). (Also in English, Shirley, No. 59, p. 48. Printed in Arnold, iii., 242.) (74.)
- Cruciata.** Shirley's 75. *Contra Cruciatam Papæ.* In nine chapters. (On the Crusade of the rival Popes against each other during the Great Schism.) (75.)
- De Christo et suo Adversario Antichristo.** In fifteen chapters. (76.)
- De Contrarietate duorum dominorum suarum partium ac etiam regularum.** In eight chapters. (A sharp attack on the Popes and Friars.) (83.)
- Quatuor Imprecations.** (Four conclusions about the state of the English Clergy.) (93.)

The two volumes, with binding, etc., will cost about £280 ; and in order to pay this sum, the Subscriptions for 1883 are wanted at once.

The Committee hope to add to the issue of 1883, WYCLIF's *De Incarnatione Verbi*, now at press, edited from the Vienna and Oriel MSS. by the Rev. Edward HARRIS, M.A. But until the 1883 Subscriptions come in, no decision can be arrived at about the issue of books. A sum of £200 is still wanted for copying and other non-printing expenses. Of

the Society's small income, only about £150 a year is available for printing, and this means only one volume a year. (To prevent any lowering of price of the Society's books, the number printed is limited to 500, of which 50 are given to the Editor of each Text.¹)

5. For 1884, the first volume (Books i and ii) of the *De Civili Dominio* is at press, edited by Reginald Lane POOLE, M.A., Oxford.

Mr. F. D. MATTHEW has nearly ready for press the *De Mandatis Dei (Divinis, Shirley)* and *De Statu Innocentiae*.

Dr. BUDDENSIEG is preparing for press the *De Veritate Sanctae Scripturæ*.

Prof. LOSERTH of Czernowitz has in hand the *De Ecclesia*, and Mr. Poole the *De Dominio Divino*.

Mr. J. H. HESSELS of Cambridge is preparing the *De Actibus Animæ*; but it is a very difficult treatise, and he wishes to give it the time necessary for a satisfactory understanding of the scholastic philosophy involved in it.

Now if the Members of the Society will only bestir themselves and raise £1000 for the Quincentenary of WYCLIF'S death, all these works, and more, can be printed and issued next year. The truest honour that can be paid to WYCLIF'S memory, is to print his words, the records of his thoughts, which, to the disgrace of every Englishman, have been left unheeded in foreign libraries for now five hundred years. The monument '*aere perennius*,' which Germany is now erecting to the memory of her LUTHER, is a new critical edition of Luther's Works, of which the first volume was issued on the day of the Luther Centenary, November 10, 1883. And till all our great Reformer's most important Treatises are in print, no question of monument or other memorial to him need be raised. The Committee therefore repeat from the Society's Prospectus their "appeal to all who care for the Religion, the Freedom, the Language, and the History of England, for aid in the work they have undertaken. No party feeling whatever enters into the Society's plan. The only desire is, to do England's long-neglected duty to the memory of a great English Worthy."

6. The Committee wish to express their thanks, and those of the Society, to Dr. BUDDENSIEG for his admirable edition

¹ If any Subscribers to the Quincentenary Fund wish, in return, for the Society's books, the Committee will increase the number of books printed to the amount necessary for that purpose.

§ 6. *Need of Subscriptions and Donations to the Society.* 5

of WYCLIF's *Polemical Works*, and to the Continental and English scholars who have undertaken to edit WYCLIF's other Works for the Society. They also thank specially Mr. F. D. MATTHEW for copying (or paying for the copy of) the text he will edit, *De Mandatis Dei*; Mr. J. H. HESSELS for his copy of the very difficult Corpus MS. of *De Actibus Animæ*; Dr. BUDDENSIEG for superintending the copying of some Vienna MSS. at Dresden; Prof. Paul MEYER for like kindness about the Paris MSS. in the National Library there; and M. PATERA for procuring copies of the Prag MSS. The Committee's thanks are also due to their Vienna copiers, Dr. Herzbergfränkel and Herr Rudolf Beer.

The Subscription to the Society is One Guinea a year, payable on every First of January. The payment of five or ten years' Subscriptions in advance will help the Society's work. All Subscriptions and Donations,—which are much desired,—should be paid to the Hon. Sec., J. W. Standerwick, Esq., General Post Office, London, E.C., and Members will save both him and themselves trouble by sending him an Order on their Bankers, in the following form, to pay their subscriptions :—

1883.

To Messrs. _____

Till further order, pay to the London and County Bank, for The Wyclif Society, One Guinea now, and on every following First of January.

(Signed) _____

The Society's books are sent out by its binder, Mr. Nevett, 44, Kirby Street, Hatton Garden, London, E.C.; and to him all complaints as to non-delivery of publications, etc., should be addrest.

Every Member should recollect that the Wyclif Society always wants badly, more money and Members, and that these can only be got by his making it his business to ask every friend and acquaintance he meets, to join the Society.

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS OF THE WYCLIF SOCIETY,

TO NOVEMBER 8TH, 1883.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
By 42 Subscriptions of 5 guineas .	220 10 0	Copying and Editing
Other Subscriptions—1882	174 6 0	Printing
" 1883-4, &c.	57 15 0	Incidental Expenses
Less cost of collection	<u>0 7 6</u>	Balance
	<u>57 7 6</u>	
Donations—		
A Friend per Mrs. Shirley.....	2 10 0	
J. M. Ludlow, Esq.	1 0 0	
W. Collyer, Esq.	0 10 0	
Anon. (2 April, 1883)....	<u>1 0 0</u>	
	<u>1 0 0</u>	
		<u>£457 3 6</u>
		<u>£457 3 6</u>

Audited and Approved, Nov. 29, 1883 { F. D. MATTHEW.
ED. BELL.

THE WYCLIF SOCIETY.

President.

HIS GRACE THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

Vice-Presidents.

- Rt. REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF CARLISLE.
- Rt. REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF DURHAM.
- Rt. REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF EXETER.
- Rt. REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF LIVERPOOL.
- Rt. REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF SODOR AND MAN.
- Rt. REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF TRURO.
- Rt. HON. THE EARL OF SHAFESBURY, K.G., ETC.
- Rt. HON. W. E. FORSTER, M.P., ETC.

Executive Committee.

- F. J. FURNIVALL, 3, St. George's Square, Primrose Hill, London, N.W., *Director.*
- ~~Rev.~~ Prof. MONTAGUE BURROWS, ~~D.D.~~, 9, Norham Gardens, Oxford.
- F. D. MATTHEW, 94, King Henry's Road, London, N.W.

Honorary Secretary.

J. W. STANDERWICK, General Post Office, London, E.C.

Bankers.

THE LONDON AND COUNTY BANK, Aldersgate Street, London, E.C.

Local Honorary Secretaries.

- Devonshire* :—REV. E. C. BRITTON, Vicarage, Dartmouth.
- Cheshire* :—REV. ALEX. MACKENNAL, Highfield, Bowdon, Cheshire.
- Essex* :—REV. W. GUISE TUCKER, Ramsey Vicarage, Harwich.
- Norfolk* :—REV. O. W. TANCOCK, The School House, Norwich.
- Somersetshire* :—REV. A. TOWNSHEND, Rectory, Puxton, Somerset.
- Yorkshire* :—REV. J. N. WORSFOLD, Rectory, Haddlesey, Selby.

THE WYCLIF QUINCENTENARY THOUSAND-POUND FUND.

Donations should be paid to the WYCLIF SOCIETY's account at the London and County Bank, Aldersgate Street, London, E.C., or to the *Honorary Secretary* of the Wyclif Society, J. W. STANDERWICK, Esq., General Post Office, London, E.C.

The following Donations have been promised :—

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
F. D. Matthew	10	0	0				
F. J. Furnivall	5	0	0				





1 1012 01196 7603

DATE DUE

~~JUN 15 1971~~
~~JUN 15 1972~~
~~JUN 15 1973~~
~~JUN 15 1974~~
~~JUN 15 1975~~
~~JUN 15 1976~~
~~JUN 15 1977~~
~~JUN 15 1978~~
~~JUN 15 1979~~
~~JUN 15 1980~~
~~JUN 15 1981~~
~~JUN 15 1982~~
~~JUN 15 1983~~
~~JUN 15 1984~~
~~JUN 15 1985~~
~~JUN 15 1986~~
~~JUN 15 1987~~
~~JUN 15 1988~~
~~JUN 15 1989~~
~~JUN 15 1990~~
~~JUN 15 1991~~
~~JUN 15 1992~~
~~JUN 15 1993~~
~~JUN 15 1994~~
~~JUN 15 1995~~
~~JUN 15 1996~~
~~JUN 15 1997~~
~~JUN 15 1998~~
~~JUN 15 1999~~
~~JUN 15 2000~~

GAYLORD

PRINTED IN U.S.A.



